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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MINISTERIAL MEETING, PARIS, DECEMBER 15-18, 1952

SINCE APRIL 1952, when the reorganization agreed to at Lisbon came into effect the North Atlantic Council has been meeting continuously in Paris. Member countries have appointed Permanent Representatives to speak for them at the Council, and from time to time some Ministers have attended Council meetings. In this way much useful work has been accomplished in strengthening the defences of the Alliance, particularly now that NATO has passed from the initial planning stages to the operational stage, where more attention must be given to the day-to-day problems that arise from integrating the national forces at the disposal of Supreme Commanders into an effective international defensive force. This growing defensive co-operation has brought with it a closer integration in other fields, and the Council has, therefore, had to deal with all manner of questions arising in the political, economic and social fields as well as problems of a more strictly military character. It has always been recognized, however, that there was great advantage in providing an opportunity for Foreign, Defence and Finance Ministers of the NATO countries to meet together to go over the many questions of common concern, and it had not been intended that such meetings of Ministers should only take place at critical times. There was general agreement that a meeting of Ministers would be useful before the end of 1952 and, consequently, one was called under the chairmanship of Mr. Kraft, Foreign Minister of Denmark, for the main purpose of hearing reports on the progress in the civil and military spheres and reviewing the operation of the organization and its plans for the immediate future.

Report of the Secretary-General

The Secretary-General, Lord Ismay, presented his first report to the Council. In this he outlined the organization of the International Secretariat, which was established after the Lisbon meeting, and reviewed the various activities in the civil field which had been undertaken by the Council. His report described the development of close working relations between NATO's civilian and military authorities, which is particularly necessary when it is realized that the responsibility for final recommendations to NATO members of all questions, military as well as civil, rests with the Council.

The Secretary-General's report also described the constructive work of the Council in the fields of civil defence, and of the non-military aspects of the Treaty covered by Article II. Under this heading, the Council had devoted particular attention to questions of over-population and to social, cultural and informational matters. The question of adequate public information on NATO subjects remains one of the most important, requiring continuous attention and development.

As has been their practice, the Ministers took the opportunity of their meeting to exchange views and information on political problems affecting their common interests. Particular attention was paid to the struggle in Indo-China, to the European Defence Community Treaty, and to the situation in Eastern Germany. These discussions had been carried out from time to time by Permanent Representatives in the Council and have proved to be one of the most useful developments in NATO. On this occasion it was noted in particular that, despite repeated declarations of the Soviet Union favouring a German peace treaty and German unification, no reply had been received to the proposals of the United Kingdom, France and the United States sent three months ago to the U.S.S.R.

In the military sphere, the Council approved several recommendations put forward by the Military Advisers. The European command structure for the defence of



NATO MEETING IN PARIS

A meeting of the North Atlantic Council was held at NATO Headquarters in the Palais de Chaillot December 15-19. Canadian representatives there included (front row, left to right): Mr. L. D. Wilgress, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; Mr. D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Mr. Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence; Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, Canadian Permanent Representative to NATO.

the North Atlantic area was completed by the establishment of a Mediterranean Command. Admiral Lord Mountbatten, R.N., was appointed Commander-in-Chief Mediterranean under General Ridgway, the Supreme Allied Commander Europe.

The Council approved the Strategic Guidance drawn up by the Military Committee to take into account the accession of Greece and Turkey to NATO. When approving this paper, the Council reaffirmed their determination to defend, without qualification, all the territories and peoples of the North Atlantic Treaty area.

The Council had invited the two Supreme Commanders, General Ridgway and Admiral McCormick, to make statements regarding their commands. They both paid tribute to the high quality of the forces assigned to them and, while recognizing that the decision regarding the forces which would be placed at their disposal rested with the Council, they both stressed the necessity of continuing the force build-up in order to make it possible for them to carry out their responsibility.

Continuing Requirements

One of the continuing requirements of the NATO forces is for permanent installation such as aerodromes, jet-fuel facilities and signals for the common use of these forces. Programmes for financing these facilities, known as "infrastructure", had been approved by the Council on previous occasions, and they were already under construction. As more forces were put at the disposal of NATO commanders and as steps were taken to work them into an integrated operational defensive force, the lack of

adequate facilities of this kind became increasingly significant. The Supreme Commanders had therefore suggested to the Military Committee that an additional infrastructure programme should be undertaken by member countries in 1953. Funds could not be made available to provide all that had been recommended. However, Ministers were able to approve a programme costing approximately £80 million and deferred a decision on the rest of the recommended programme until a future meeting.

The Military Committee report showed that there had been a great advance in the training and effectiveness of the various national forces assigned to the Supreme Commanders and described the combined land, air and sea manoeuvres that had been carried out to improve the co-operation between units and the staff organization. It was agreed that, to the extent that resources may not be available to accomplish everything the military planners consider desirable, more emphasis should, in future, be given to increasing the effectiveness of the forces and of the support units rather than to the provision of greater numbers of divisions.

Annual Review

This point of view will be kept in mind when the Annual Review, which is now in progress, reaches its final stage in the Spring of 1953. This comprehensive study of national-defence programmes has been undertaken as a result of the successful review carried out in 1951-52 by a Temporary Committee of the Council set up by the Council meeting in Ottawa. That Committee had reported on the economic and political factors that influenced the various national defence programmes. Both civil and military authorities realize that the strength of the NATO alliance cannot be expressed solely in terms of troops. Its strength depends on the individual strength of each of the member countries, and they in turn must be economically healthy and politically stable in order to play their part in the defence of the Atlantic area. The Council therefore directed that the detailed study of defence programmes should be undertaken again in order to determine the best efforts members could make to meet all the requirements of the strong alliance.

The Annual Review (1952) is being carried out by the International Secretariat under the direction of the Council and with the assistance of national delegations. The first report, which was presented to the Ministers at Paris, disclosed that the force goals for 1952 have been substantially achieved. Plans indicate further individual and collective efforts will be made in 1953 to increase, improve and strengthen the forces now in being. By the time the Review is completed next Spring, the Supreme Commanders should have a more definite idea of the forces which will be put at their disposal during the coming period.

The Ministers decided that they should meet again in the Spring of 1953, when the final report on the Annual Review is ready in order to reach agreement on the best contributions each could make to the integrated forces. The text of the final communique issued at the conclusion of the Ministerial Meeting is given below.

NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL FINAL COMMUNIQUE

December 19, 1952.

The Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council ended in Paris today. The Chairman was Mr. Ole Bjorn Kraft, Foreign Minister of Denmark. It was attended by thirty-two Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Economics and Defence.

2. The Council received a progress report by the Secretary-General, which outlined the structure of the International Secretariat. It described the work accomplished in the last eight months by the Council, meeting regularly through the Per-

manent Representatives, and the development of close working relations between NATO's civilian and military authorities. It also dealt with the constructive work of the Council's Committee on Civil Defence, and of those concerned with non-military aspects of the Treaty covered by Article 2, such as over-population and social-cultural and informational matters.

3. After taking note of Lord Ismay's report, the Council adopted a resolution periodically to review the Organization's work under Article 2 of the Treaty.

4. In parallel with the Secretary-General's report, the Council considered a progress report prepared by the Military Committee. This report showed a great advance in the training and effectiveness of the various national forces assigned to the Supreme Commanders. Combined land, air and sea manoeuvres had shown a marked improvement in co-operation between units as well as at the staff level. The report also showed a substantial advance in the standardization of international military procedures, notably in signals.

5. The Council approved proposals from the Military Committee for the establishment of a Mediterranean Command, so completing the European Command structure for the defence of the North Atlantic area. Admiral Lord Mountbatten has been appointed.

6. The Council considered the Strategic Guidance submitted to them by the Military Committee, which took account of the accession of Greece and Turkey to NATO. In approving it the Council re-affirmed their determination to defend all the territories and peoples of the North Atlantic Treaty area.

7. The Council also had the benefit of statements from the Supreme Allied Commander Europe, and the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic. General Ridgway paid tribute to the high quality of the forces under his command but emphasized that only by a continuing increase in the forces assigned to him would he be able to carry out his responsibilities. Consequently, there could be no relaxation; on the contrary, every effort must be made to increase NATO armed strength as rapidly as possible. Admiral McCormick spoke in similar vein.

8. Against this background the Council then considered the first report on the Annual Review for 1952. They noted with satisfaction that the increase in forces agreed to at Lisbon had been substantially achieved by the end of 1952, and that it was planned to make further individual and collective efforts in 1953 to increase, improve and strengthen the forces now in being. At the same time they recognized that strong defence requires a healthy economy.

9. For the future, the Council directed that more emphasis should be given to increasing the effectiveness of the forces of the alliance and the units necessary for their support rather than to the provision of greater numbers, to the extent that resources were not available for both tasks. The Council noted the progress being made in the co-ordination of production of defence equipment and directed that further study be given to this and to further standardization in this field. The Council also welcomed the assistance given to European production by United States off-shore procurement contracts.

10. Agreement was reached on the financing of a further portion of the Infrastructure programme for airfields, communications and jet fuel supplies, to the amount of approximately £80 million.

11. During the past eight months, the Council have regularly exchanged views and information on political problems affecting their common interests. At this meeting the Council paid particular attention to the struggle in Indo-China, to the European Defence Community Treaty, and to the situation in Eastern Germany. They noted in particular that, despite the Soviet Union's repeated declarations favouring

a German peace treaty and German unification, no reply had been received to the proposals of the United Kingdom, France and the United States sent three months ago. The Council also received a progress report upon the work of the Interim Commission of the European Defence Community. The Council adopted resolutions (the texts of which have already been released) on Indo-China and the European Defence Community.

12. It was agreed that the next Ministerial Meeting of the Council should be held as early as possible in the Spring of 1953, when its first task will be to consider the final report on the Annual Review for 1952.

13. In the course of the present Meeting, the Council considered the present situation of the Atlantic community and its prospects for the future. In the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, fourteen sovereign states have developed a degree of voluntary co-operation without precedent in history. By combining their resources and their knowledge, by sharing the material burden of defence, by the constant practice of mutual consultation and mutual assistance, member states have already increased their common strength, understanding and unity.

14. Member governments are more than ever convinced that the course they have chosen is the best way of protecting their free society from direct or indirect Communist attempts to overwhelm it. Such improvement as has taken place in the general international situation can be attributed to the efforts which member governments have made in increasing their collective strength since the foundation of the alliance. If there were any relaxation in these efforts, there would be a corresponding increase in the dangers to which they are exposed. The increasingly successful co-operation of the fourteen member governments is a clear proof that the avowed intentions of the Soviet Government to sow dissension in the free world will not succeed.

15. The Council re-affirmed the purpose of their alliance as being for defence, for peace, and for security, and their resolve to extend the scope of their joint action, and collectively to preserve their common heritage of freedom. The Council welcomed the sense of unity which is steadily growing among the peoples of the Atlantic community.



IMPRESSIONS OF A UNESCO CONFERENCE

Dr. Myrtle R. Conway

Miss Conway, President of the Canadian Teachers' Federation and a Director of the Canadian Education Association wrote this article about half way through the Conference. She did not intend it to be in any sense a report of the proceedings but rather a series of impressions received by a Canadian participant.

In Paris, the Hotel Raphael, a quiet and comfortable centre, about a block from the Arc de Triomphe, is the headquarters of the Canadian Delegation. It was here that General Eisenhower stayed when he was in France during the closing phases of the Second World War.

Across the street is UNESCO House, where the sessions are held. This building, formerly the Majestic Hotel, has been converted into offices and assembly rooms; the shining mirrors, glistening chandeliers and carved woodwork of the walls and ceiling remind us of the historic days of nineteenth century France.

Impressive Setting

The setting of the first full meeting was impressive. At the front of the chamber hung the flag of the United Nations, while at the sides, in two groups of 32 and 33, hung the 65 flags of the member states of UNESCO, forming a rich background of colour. There are, at present, actually 59 states with voting rights. Amid the blazing lights of film-cameras and the flashing bulbs of press-photographers, Mr. Howland Sargeant, the retiring president of UNESCO and head of the United States delegation, declared the General Conference open. Readers may be interested to know that Mrs. Sargeant, who followed the sessions closely as a spectator, is Myrna Loy, the film actress.

The presence of numerous interpreters and the use of special equipment for simultaneous translation made it possible for delegates to listen to addresses in English, French and Spanish. Mr. Sargeant said that UNESCO had enjoyed seven years of steady growth. Through the work of 61 national commissions, through the interest of non-governmental organizations and through its own efforts, the organization was becoming known to people throughout the world. We must continue, the speaker declared, the unremitting search for ways of educating people to live as citizens both of their own nations and of a world community. We must learn to devote the creative spirit of mankind to the achievement of peace and security. To give some notion of what UNESCO was doing to forward these purposes, Mr. Sargeant briefly reviewed some of UNESCO'S activities in Korea, the Middle East and other parts of the world.

Much of the time, delegates were engaged in planning and putting into operation a "World Good Neighbour Programme". In such an atmosphere, one became acutely aware of the broadening horizons of the world. On my left sat Princess Ping Peang Yukanthor of Cambodia, a good neighbour who, following the continental custom, shook hands with me at least four times a day. Occasionally she rose to address the assembly in French. Before important votes, she and I would consult together and she never failed to understand my few French phrases.

Election of President

H. E. Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, chairman of the delegation from India, was unanimously elected president of the Conference. Ten vice-presidents were elected by secret ballot. Fifty-five countries voted, and I am proud to report that Canada headed the list, with 54 votes, a tribute to both Dr. Doré himself, who is admired by his colleagues, and to Canada as a nation, which enjoys cordial relations with many countries throughout the world.

Mr. Torres Bodet, in the report of the Director-General, emphasized the importance of UNESCO'S work in fundamental education. Illiteracy is at the root of many problems in the under-developed areas of the world. A training centre for Latin America has been opened at Patzcuaro, and another for the Arab states is being set up at Sirs-el-Layan. This year a parallel campaign for free compulsory primary education will be sponsored by UNESCO. A regional conference for southern Asia will be held in December in Bombay.

Literacy alone is not enough. Basic problems in improving standards of living must be tackled at the same time. To this end, UNESCO co-operates with the International Labor Office, the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization.

Four seminars were organized this year — two in Europe, on workers' education, and on teaching about the United Nations and human rights, one in the United States, on the role of museums in education, and one in south Asia, on the education of youth for living in a world community.

Sixty-five technical assistance missions are operating in twenty-nine countries of Africa, Latin America, Asia, Europe and the Pacific. Two-thirds of the world's population live in under-developed areas, in countries unable to use their resources because of illiteracy, disease and lack of technical skill. Standards of living in such areas can be improved through technical assistance. UNESCO operates within the Technical Assistance Programme of the United Nations. For example, experts have been sent to Afghanistan to work on oil development, cotton production, control of animal diseases, education, child-feeding, malaria control, and sanitation. In the West Indies, an expert from Iceland was asked to give advice on the use of natural steam from volcanic springs to produce electric power.

Higher living-standards in other countries will create new markets for goods and make new products available to developed areas. Countries of low economic status resent the fact that people in other lands enjoy comforts and necessities which they cannot obtain. The "World Good Neighbour Programme" is a global effort for the achievement of peace, freedom and prosperity.

Director-General's Report

Delegates from forty-seven countries spoke in the debate on the Director-General's report. They congratulated Mr. Torres Bodet on the achievements of UNESCO in 1952. Many countries, including Sweden, Norway, Canada, Afghanistan, the United Kingdom, Australia, China, Philippines, South Africa, Israel, Korea, the United States and others, stressed the need for greater concentration of UNESCO'S activities and felt that priority should be given to certain important fields of work, in particular the fundamental education and technical assistance programmes.

From this point the work of the conference began to gain momentum. A Legal Committee of 15 members was set up to deal with matters requiring expert advice. Mr. Gerin-Lajoie was appointed to represent Canada on this committee.

One of the first questions to be faced was the right of the Chinese Republic (Formosa) to vote. The Nationalist Government has been in arrears of its payments to UNESCO, and, according to the constitution, it cannot enjoy the right to vote unless special authority is granted. It was decided to recommend to the General Conference that China be permitted to vote during the present session.

The admission of new member states (specifically, Spain) caused lively discussion and for a time the even tenor of the Conference was somewhat disrupted. Protests from both individuals and organizations against the admission of Spain had been received. However, the vote resulted in 44 countries in favour and 4 against, and Spain became a member. There were 7 abstentions and 3 absent. At the moment the result was announced, a shower of leaflets fell from the gallery and a French anarchist shouted "Down with Franco!" He was immediately removed from the



SEVENTH GENERAL UNESCO CONFERENCE

The Seventh General UNESCO Conference was held in Paris November 12-December 10 with H. E. Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan of India acting as chairman. Left to right: Professor E. Carneiro, Brazil; Mr. Torres-Bodet, Mexico, Director-General; Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan; and Mr. Howland Sargeant, United States of America, Secretary of the Plenary Conference.

building. The President, Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, urged that this assembly be "conducted with decency and decorum". Then the names of Libya and Nepal were presented and both countries were admitted as new members by the unanimous vote of all countries present.

Uruguay had extended an invitation to UNESCO to hold the Eighth General Conference at Montevideo. There was disagreement on this matter. The United Kingdom, India and some others felt that, although it would help to interest Latin American countries in the work of UNESCO, the expenditure of \$550,000, the interruption of the Secretariat's work, and the inability of governments to send large delegations would offset the advantages of a session in Montevideo. Nevertheless, Brazil, China, Belgium, Pakistan, Lebanon and Italy strongly supported the resolution. They felt that the Conference was under a moral obligation to accept this invitation since in the past the Conference had been held in centres other than Paris, notably Beirut and Florence. The resulting vote was 28 for and 13 against with 12 countries, including Canada, abstaining.

Debate on Budget

On November 21, strong opposition to the budget estimate for the proposed programme for 1953-54 resulted in the debate continuing for two plenary sessions. The Director-General advocated "development" and felt that "stabilization" meant decay. He proposed a maximum assessment level of \$20,439,104. Switzerland, India, the Netherlands and Indonesia supported the increased budget.

The United Kingdom considered that the 1952 level should be maintained and the maximum assessment level should be \$17,436,000. This proposal was supported by Australia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and the United States, New Zealand, Canada, Cambodia, South Africa, and others.

"One would think UNESCO was being sold at auction", declared Mr. Carneiro of Brazil in an eloquent appeal. He was strongly supported by the delegation from Colombia, which argued that "those who do not step forward step backward", as well as Liberia, the Philippines, the German Federal Republic, Lebanon, Mexico and Burma.

France suggested a compromise figure of \$19,000,000 and Belgium and Greece suggested \$18,000,000.

A fifteen-minute suspension of the meeting to allow delegations to consult with each other was prolonged to 50 minutes. Finally the vote was taken on the United Kingdom's proposal and it was rejected by 32 votes to 19, with 3 abstentions. A vote was then taken on the Belgian compromise proposal of \$18,000,000 and adopted by 29 votes to 21, with 4 abstentions.

Resignation of Director-General

Although a compromise had been achieved, the decision of the Conference regarding the budget gave rise to new problems. The very next day, November 22, the Director-General feeling that he could not undertake a programme of development without increased finances, tendered his resignation. Mr. Carneiro, Chairman of the Executive Board, and Mr. Rikorikar (Yugoslavia), a member of the Executive Board, also resigned. Several speakers, including representatives of Colombia and Switzerland, urged that these resignations should not be accepted, but the Director-General stated that his decision was irrevocable.

The Director-General's resignation caused both surprise and consternation. Some delegates felt that it symbolized the growing tensions and disunity in the world. Unlike the United Nations, UNESCO has no member from the Soviet bloc, so that the main issues did not divide themselves into the usual East-West pattern.

At the time this article is being written (that is, well before the General Assembly has ended), the Conference is seeking to find a solution to the crisis. Since President Radhakrishnan has left for India, one of the vice-presidents, Mr. Sharif of Pakistan, has been chosen as acting president of the Conference. He has proved a tactful and even-tempered chairman, and through his efforts some of the bitter feelings aroused by the budget debate are being calmed.

In the meantime, the main work of the Conference, which consists of the Commissions (notably the Programme Commission, which is broken down into working groups on specific subjects) is continuing. Groups are meeting to discuss natural science, social science, mass communications and culture, and their recommendations will be made known to the General Conference in due course.

Considerable time having been devoted to general discussion of the section on education, the Programme Commission has set up a Working Party to discuss the proposed programme and resolutions and to report to the Commission at the end of the week. Long hours are being devoted to studying detailed plans for UNESCO'S educational programme; but we are encouraged by the remarks of Mr. Muang Pin Malakul of Thailand, who says: "Philanthropy in education is the best philanthropy. Education is the basis of a lasting peace." He reminds us also that the best things cannot always be accomplished quickly: "Education is a big undertaking and a slow process. Teaching is like the cultivation of an orchid. It takes time, but the flower it bears surpasses all others. We hope our efforts will bear flowers sooner than we expect."

In spare moments between sessions and during the noon hour at UNESCO House, delegates manage to gain much first-hand information. One may visit the Documents and Publications Division and discuss with Mr. Vranek the problems of the distribution of material. At lunch in a nearby restaurant, the Gift Coupon plan

is explained. In the corridor of UNESCO House, the model for UNESCO's permanent headquarters is on display.

On the sixth floor, one may see a series of films entitled "Knowing the World". "Geneological Tree", the Canadian film on the list, shows the origins of the Canadian people and the cultural and social contribution made by each ethnic group. Some others are: "Enfants de Hollande", showing the education, amusements and life of children in the Netherlands; "Antarctica 1948", showing the Australian expedition of the Antarctic, and one describing the main volcanoes of Japan.

Especially interesting is the exhibit showing the work in fundamental education at Patzcuaro, Mexico. Photographs, posters and textbooks for new literates tell the story of the effort being made to bring literacy to a region comprising 20 villages and populated by 10,000 people. Simple readable materials have been prepared on health, agriculture and citizenship. In this area 10 percent are literate; 40 percent are beginning to read, and 50 percent are illiterate. At first, people are suspicious of the specialists and student teachers, but gradually their attitudes change. In pictures made before the work was introduced children appear thin, untidy and miserable. Pictures made afterwards show clean and tidy children neatly dressed. Older girls learn how to make clothing. Sports and games are introduced. Tractors are being used instead of oxen. What an effect a world network of fundamental education centres would have on the millions who need them!

Personal Contacts

Not the least important among the many activities of the Conference are the human contacts. Bridges are built each time friends arrive at mutual understanding. Among the outstanding personalities present is Senator G. Pecson of the Philippines, who champions the cause of fundamental education and the education of women in Asiatic countries. When she returns to Manila, she will have circled the globe by plane on her trip to this assembly. The charming young Princess Souvanna Phouma heads a delegation of three representatives from Laos. Mr. J. King Gordon, well known in his home city, Winnipeg, and in other parts of Canada, is here as United Nations representative from New York. Dr. Francisco Villagran, delegate from Mexico, is trilingual, and says he considers himself part Canadian, as he spent two and a half years in Montreal a short time ago.

There are, of course, many distinguished and able figures here whom I do not know personally but have seen in action. H. E. Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, with his warm smile and wise words, won the confidence of the assembly completely. This scholarly Indian is the first representative of an Eastern nation to occupy the post of president of the General Conference. Author of several books on Eastern religion and philosophy, he has lectured in America on comparative religion and is Spaulding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford.

Professor P. E. Carneiro of Brazil, formerly chairman of the Executive Board, is an eloquent and forceful speaker. He described his great vision of what UNESCO might accomplish in the future as follows: "It is incumbent upon the entire human race to safeguard the future of mankind by heeding the wisdom of the past, and enabling new peoples and new social classes to enter, through the door of science, education and culture, into the universal fraternity of mankind." Mr. René Cassin, of France, of the French Delegation, is a philosopher who looks like Victor Hugo and has something of his fire.

Many problems remain to be considered. Delegates realize that this conference is of no small account in the present state of world affairs. As member states of UNESCO, our countries have a responsibility, a trust to keep and maintain. Each year the importance of that trust increases. No matter how great the difficulties, we shall surmount them. We are not solitary adventurers. We are members of a growing brotherhood and the power to grow is one of the greatest forces in the world.

CO-ORDINATION OF CANADIAN POLICY AT THE UNITED NATIONS

In response to a request from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Secretary of State for External Affairs forwarded a special report on the formation of Canada's policy in United Nations matters. The text, which follows, may be of broad interest, since the processes it describes are similar to those followed in the shaping of Canada's foreign policies in other spheres.

Ever since the United Nations was established Canada has emphasized that, because of the autonomous character of each of the Specialized Agencies and because of the differences in the membership of the United Nations and the Agencies, effective co-ordination between the programmes, budgets and administrative practices of these organizations could be achieved only if each country took steps to ensure that its delegations to the meetings of the organizations pursued co-ordinated and mutually consistent policies. Such co-ordination on the national level is all the more necessary as the activities of the United Nations and its Agencies cover practically every aspect of the modern state's preoccupations and therefore involve, directly or indirectly, almost every department of national governments.

The essence of the Canadian system of government is the responsibility of the Cabinet to Parliament — and through Parliament to the Canadian people — for the policies of the Government on all national and international issues. Thus a study of the machinery for formulating, implementing and co-ordinating Canadian policy on United Nations matters, or indeed on any subject, must begin by emphasizing the paramount importance of the Canadian Cabinet. It is the chief instrument of co-ordination because it bears the ultimate responsibility for co-ordination. This is not to say that Cabinet alone can propose policy, or that Cabinet unaided must co-ordinate policy. Broad responsibility for proposing, interpreting, implementing, and co-ordinating policy, through procedures which are described in detail in the following paragraphs, is vested in the different government departments. The task of Cabinet is facilitated to the extent that consultation takes place and agreement is reached between interested departments before a submission to Cabinet is made. Cabinet's final responsibility however, cannot be delegated.

As the department of the Canadian Government entrusted with the conduct of foreign policy, the Department of External Affairs has general responsibility for Canadian relations with United Nations organizations. It exercises this responsibility in close co-operation with the other departments of the Canadian Government, the specialized functions and interests of which extend into the international field.

Allocation of Responsibility Among Departments

In respect of the recommendations of the United Nations on economic and social matters, the Department of External Affairs performs the following general functions:

- (a) it keeps the Government informed of major developments in the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in order to enable it to assess the situation and determine the necessary action;
- (b) it formulates, either singly or with other departments, recommendations on policy for consideration by the Government;
- (c) it makes recommendations, either singly or with other departments, to the Government for Canadian representation at international conferences and for the briefing of Canadian delegations;

- (d) it consults with the foreign ministries of other governments and with the Secretary-General on United Nations matters, through Canadian missions abroad and through the Canadian Permanent Delegations to the United Nations in New York and Geneva;
- (e) it provides general guidance and political advice to other departments and government agencies having special interest in specific aspects of the work of the United Nations, and acts as an agency co-ordinating their activities.

The Department of External Affairs has primary responsibility for advising the Government on international political questions and on the international political aspects of other questions discussed at meetings of United Nations bodies. It also deals in the first instance with a number of other questions which are not the direct concern of other departments, in particular constitutional and legal questions pertaining to United Nations bodies. The Department of External Affairs is also entrusted with making recommendations to the Government concerning Canadian relations with the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. There is no department in the Canadian Government responsible for educational questions: provincial government have sole jurisdiction in this field.

The Department of External Affairs usually assumes primary responsibility for consultation with other government departments, for the preparation of recommendations on policy, and for the subsequent interpretation and presentation of policy at international meetings. However, on matters of a technical or highly specialized nature falling directly within the jurisdiction of other departments, this responsibility may be shared with, or vested in, the interested departments. For example, the Minister of Finance, as Canadian member of the Boards of Governors of the International Bank and of the International Monetary Fund is responsible for Canadian policies in these Agencies. The special interests of other departments or agencies of the Canadian Government are reflected by their participation in the formulation and presentation of Canadian policies in respect to the following United Nations bodies:

<i>Canadian Department</i>	<i>United Nations Body</i>
Agriculture	Food and Agriculture Organization
Citizenship and Immigration	Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees
Civil Service Commission	All United Nations bodies (personnel questions)
Dominion Bureau of Statistics	Statistical Commission of the Economic and Social Council Population Commission of the Economic and Social Council
Finance	All United Nations bodies (administrative and budgetary questions) Fiscal Commission of the Economic and Social Council
Finance (in consultation with the Bank of Canada)	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development International Monetary Fund
Justice	Human Rights Commission of the Economic and Social Council <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on Restrictive Business Practices of the Economic and Social Council
Labour	International Labour Organization

National Defence	Disarmament Commission Collective Measures Committee United Nations Military Observers (for example, in Kashmir)
National Health and Welfare	World Health Organization United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund Social Commission of the Economic and Social Council Narcotics Commission of the Economic and Social Council
Post Office	Universal Postal Union
Transport	International Civil Aviation Organization International Telecommunications Union World Meteorological Organization Transport and Communications Commission of the Economic and Social Council.

The above list is not exhaustive. It is intended merely to indicate which Canadian departments have major and continuing functions with respect to various units in the United Nations system. In some instances, however, more than one department is involved. It is obvious, for instance, that the health and social security aspects of the work of the International Labour Organization require the attention of the Department of National Health and Welfare as well as that of the Department of Labour. Other United Nations problems are of almost equal concern to several departments. International discussions of such broad economic and political questions as the annual review of the world economic situation, full employment and the economic development of under-developed countries usually involve consideration of important policies affecting more than one department of the Canadian Government. It is the duty of the Department of External Affairs to bring questions of this sort to the attention of the interested departments in order to ensure that the views of those departments are taken fully into account when Canadian policies are decided upon. At the same time, the Department of External Affairs itself must provide guidance on the international political aspects of the questions.

Functions of UN Division

The many United Nations subjects for which the Department of External Affairs accepts initial responsibility — and they are the majority of United Nations subjects — are assigned, for the initial preparation of policy recommendations, to appropriate divisions within the Department. The Department's divisions are either "area" divisions or "functional" divisions and each United Nations subject usually falls logically within the competence of one division. Thus, the United Nations action in Korea is a question for the American and Far Eastern Division, the question of the Greek children is the concern of the European Division, the United Nations Disarmament Commissions is handled by one of the Department's two Defence Liaison Divisions, the proposal for an international development fund is dealt with by the Economic Division, the question of reservations to multilateral conventions is a matter for the Legal Division, and so on. Co-ordination in matters of policy on *all* United Nations questions is the primary responsibility of the United Nations Division. It keeps the area and functional divisions of the Department of External Affairs and other government departments informed on problems arising in the United Nations which are of particular interest to them. With their assistance and upon their advice, it drafts replies to communications from the Secretary-General and prepares reports requested

by United Nations bodies. It compiles instructions for Canadian delegations to sessions of the General Assembly, of the Economic and Social Council, and of some of the Specialized Agencies, and it reviews, in its function as co-ordinator, the instructions for delegations to other United Nations bodies. It also prepares, for the information of Parliament and of the Canadian public, periodic reports on Canadian activities in the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, for example, the annual publication *Canada and the United Nations*, and the section on the United Nations in the Department's monthly bulletin *External Affairs*.

The main function of the United Nations Division, therefore, is one of co-ordination rather than one of recommending policy. Nevertheless, there are several sorts of matters in which the United Nations Division itself accepts initial responsibility. These include preparations for international meetings and the selection of delegations (in co-operation with the Department's International Conferences Section), elections to United Nations bodies and the election of officers within those bodies, the constitution of the United Nations and its membership, various administrative and financial questions (in conjunction with the Department of Finance), and a wide variety of incidental short-term matters. Of the Specialized Agencies, three have been assigned directly to the United Nations Division: the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organization, and the Universal Postal Union. (Six other agencies — the Bank, the Fund, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Telecommunications Union, and the World Meteorological Organization — have been assigned to the Economic Division of the Department of External Affairs, while the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization comes under the Information Division.)

Inter-departmental Consultation

Inter-departmental consultation is carried out in a number of ways. In addition to the usual exchange of correspondence and telephone calls, the following devices have been developed:

(a) **Ad Hoc Meetings**

These are convened at the suggestion of External Affairs, or of any other interested department, to deal with specific problems. Officials of each department dealing with those problems attend. Much use is made of this device, particularly when questions are being first explored. It has the great advantage of being flexible and capable of producing speedy action.

(b) **Inter-Departmental Committees**

These are usually established by Cabinet direction and are composed of deputy ministers or their representatives. Only a few such committees have been set up as a direct result of Canadian participation in the United Nations; an example is the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Food and Agriculture Organization. In general, however, United Nations questions are referred whenever necessary to existing inter-departmental committees whose responsibilities are not confined to United Nations matters. Examples are the inter-departmental committees which deal with external trade, civil aviation and immigration.


(c) **Inter-Departmental Group on Technical Assistance**

All Canadian activities with regard to technical assistance, either under the programme of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, under the Colombo Programme for Technical Co-operation, or in response to direct requests from foreign governments, are co-ordinated by a Technical Co-operation Service. This Service is a part of the International Economic and Technical Co-operation Division in the Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce. The Director of the Division reports to an Inter-Departmental

Group on Technical Assistance, which supervises all Canadian technical assistance activities. Members of the Group are drawn from interested government departments and its chairman is an official of the Department of External Affairs.

Conclusion

The Canadian system for arriving at co-ordinated and mutually consistent policies in United Nations matters has two main features: responsibility and flexibility. Ultimate responsibility rests with a single body — the Canadian Cabinet — which approves and accepts responsibilities for the policies which are to be advocated by Canada in United Nations bodies. Below this level, responsibility for a number of subjects is assigned to the different departments which have an interest in those subjects. Residual responsibility rests with the Department of External Affairs and, within it, with its United Nations Division, for dealing with subjects which are not the direct concern of any other department, and for ensuring that subjects which were not foreseen in the inter-departmental division of responsibility are dealt with in the appropriate place. The same department and division have primary responsibility for co-ordination of policy on all United Nations subjects, and for ensuring that all interested authorities are consulted before decisions are taken. Within this framework of responsibility, procedures have been developed whose object is to provide the greatest possible degree of flexibility — to ensure that prompt, intelligent and consistent decisions are taken on the multitude of questions which arise as a result of Canada's association with the United Nations.



CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Seventh Session of the General Assembly

General

The seventh session of the General Assembly, which opened on October 14, was suspended on December 22 to meet again on February 24 or possibly earlier, at the call of the President. Since there is still an agenda of ten items to be discussed, a final assessment of the work done by the seventh session must be postponed to a later issue of *External Affairs*. But in view of the very important international problems already dealt with, the work of the first part of the session by itself deserves at least an interim evaluation.

Speaking as President of the General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, on December 22 issued a statement printed elsewhere in this number¹. In it the President touched upon the major issues so far dealt with: (1) the Korean question and the attempt to bring the fighting in Korea to an end on honourable terms; (2) the colonial and racial issues implicit in the terms on the agenda relating to race conflict in South Africa, the Moroccan and Tunisian questions, the problem of the Palestinian refugees and the establishment of peaceful relations between Palestine and the surrounding Arab states. An account of these matters is given below. On the whole, as appears from the President's statement, the discussions that took place and the resolutions adopted as a result represent an honest and constructive attempt to face some of the most serious of the world's problems, and have shown that the United Nations "remains — in spite of everything — our best hope for the establishment of peace and orderly progress".

Political Committee Topics

The topics discussed here in detail are chiefly those handled by the two political committees of the Assembly. In the economic, financial, social, legal and trusteeship fields, there is likely to be more continuity, and much basic and preparatory work is done in various organs and subsidiary bodies of the United Nations, such as the following: the Economic and Social Council; the Social Commission and Commission on Human Rights and other functional commissions of the Council; the Regional Economic Commissions; the Trusteeship Council, and the International Law Commission. The present session of the Assembly did not here strike out on any new path but contributed its share to this continuing task by reviewing the work of all these bodies. In the economic field the Assembly confirmed a proposal submitted by the Economic and Social Council for an expanded programme of \$25,000,000 for technical assistance during 1953. The United Nations, United States and Commonwealth programmes of technical assistance are the subject of an article in the December 1952 issue of *External Affairs*². The Fourth (or Trusteeship) Committee had a full schedule of work covering not only the regular reports presented to the Assembly on dependent territories but also certain specific problems in regard to trust and non-self-governing territories. During its deliberations, the Committee heard representatives of the inhabitants of several of the trust territories, who made statements concerning conditions that they believed required corrective action by the administering states. Much time was spent in debating the role that should be played by the natives of dependent territories in the work of the Trusteeship Council and of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. This latter Committee examines and reports to the Assembly on the information transmitted by member states concerning the colonial territories under their administration. It is not a

¹ See p. 27.

² See *External Affairs*, December 1952, p. 398.

permanent Committee of the Assembly and, at the seventh session, it was decided to continue its life for a further three-year period. Another item regarding colonial territories, of considerable interest to both administering and non-administering states, concerned the study of factors that might be taken into account in determining whether a territory has become independent or self-governing. The Assembly approved the formation of an *ad hoc* committee to continue the study of this problem and to report to the eighth session on its findings.

When the session resumes, probably on February 24, the agenda before it will contain a number of items calculated to emphasize the contentious issues dividing the members of the United Nations — such, for instance, as the item proposed by the Soviet Union regarding the alleged interference of the United States in the internal affairs of other states, and the item sponsored by the United States calling for an impartial investigation of charges of bacteriological warfare. The Assembly will also have to deal with the very serious domestic problems created for the United Nations by the resignation of the Secretary-General and the recent review of personnel policy in the Secretariat. It cannot be said, therefore, that the seventh session of the General Assembly has yet finished dealing with the difficult and important questions brought before it; but the work of the early part of the session, some of which is described more fully below, indicates that at least a good beginning has been made.

Korea

On October 8, the armistice negotiations at Panmunjom were adjourned by General Harrison, on behalf of the United Nations Command, after the Communist representatives had rejected the compromise proposals on the prisoner-of-war issue put forward by the UNC on September 28. Shortly afterwards the seventh session of the General Assembly opened and the Korean question was taken up as the first item on the agenda of the First (Political) Committee. In the course of a debate lasting almost six weeks, a number of draft resolutions were submitted. They centred for the most part on the disposition of prisoners of war who did not wish to return home. This is the principal issue preventing the completion of an armistice agreement, since the Communist Chinese and North Korean Governments insist on repatriation of all prisoners and the United Nations Command has refused to accept an obligation to force repatriation on prisoners who are unwilling to return home.

The first resolution was sponsored by twenty-one powers (including Canada and the United States) and called for approval of the “principle followed by the United Nations Command with regard to the question of repatriation of prisoners of war”. It also called on the Peking Government and the North Korean authorities “to avert further bloodshed by having their negotiators agree to an armistice which recognizes the rights of all prisoners of war to an unrestricted opportunity to be repatriated and avoids the use of force in their repatriation”. In agreeing to co-sponsor this resolution, the Canadian representative stated our willingness to consider any other suggestions or courses of action which might lead to an honourable settlement.

A draft resolution sponsored by the Mexican delegation provided in effect for the immediate release of all prisoners of war who wished to return home, and called upon members of the United Nations to agree to give asylum to those prisoners who had refused to be repatriated. On October 29, the Soviet representative introduced a vaguely-worded resolution calling for the establishment of a commission “for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question”. In its final form, after revisions, the Soviet resolution proposed a commission of eleven members: Burma, Communist China, Czechoslovakia, France, India, North Korea, South Korea, Switzerland, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. Decisions of the commission were to be a two-thirds vote, thus giving to the group of four Communist states

a veto on decision. As finally revised, the resolution would also have referred to this proposed commission "the question of the complete repatriation of prisoners of war".

During debate it became apparent that none of these resolutions was likely to receive a large majority vote in the Assembly. In an effort to break the deadlock, the Indian delegation introduced a resolution providing for the repatriation of prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention, and stated that force should not be used either to prevent, or to effect, the return of prisoners to their homelands. It called for the establishment of a repatriation commission, to consist of four states already agreed upon in the Draft Armistice Agreement as being members of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission — namely, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland. In addition, an "umpire" was to be appointed who would normally act as chairman of the commission. If the commission proved unable to agree on the selection of an "umpire" within a period of three weeks, the matter was to be referred to the General Assembly. The main tasks of the proposed commission were to receive the prisoners of war from the detaining powers, to supervise their classification according to nationality and domicile, and to arrange for their release and repatriation in accordance with the Geneva Convention. After classification, all prisoners would be free to return to their homeland if they wished to do so.

India Resolution

The Indian resolution was the subject of considerable discussion, particularly regarding the disposition of those prisoners of war who did not wish to return home. In its final form, as amended in debate, the resolution provided that, at the end of a period of 90 days after the armistice agreement had been signed, the question of the disposition of such prisoners would be referred to the political conference to be called under Article 60 of the Draft Armistice Agreement. If the political conference could not reach agreement on the disposition of these remaining prisoners within a further period of 30 days, it was provided that "the responsibility for their care and maintenance and for their subsequent disposition shall be transferred to the United Nations which, in all matters relating to them, shall act strictly in accordance with international law".

A decision to grant priority of consideration to the Indian resolution was taken on November 26 by the Political Committee, which adopted the resolution on December 1 by a vote of 53 in favour, 5 against, and 1 abstention. On December 3, 1952, it was adopted by the Assembly by a vote of 54 in favour (including Canada), 5 against (the Soviet bloc), and one abstention (Nationalist China).

On December 5, the President of the Assembly transmitted the resolution to the Foreign Ministers of Communist China and of North Korea, with an appeal asking the two governments to accept the resolution "as forming a just and reasonable basis for an agreement which will serve to bring about a constructive and durable peace in Korea".

On December 14, Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister of the Peking Government, replied, rejecting the Assembly's resolution as being "illegal and void", and charging that it supported "the United States Government's position of forcibly retaining in captivity prisoners of war in contravention of international conventions". After attacking in violent terms alleged terrorism by United States forces in Korea, this reply concluded by asking the Assembly to rescind its resolution and to call upon the United States Government "to resume immediately the negotiations at Panmunjom" on the basis of the Draft Armistice Agreement. A similar reply was received from the North Korean authorities a few days later.

The Assembly took no action on these replies before the seventh session was temporarily suspended on December 22. Just before the session was suspended, the Assembly rejected by an overwhelming vote a Soviet draft resolution calling for con-

demnation of the United States for the alleged "mass murder" of prisoners on Pongam Island during the riots which took place on December 14. The vote against this resolution was 45 to 5 (the Soviet bloc), with 10 abstentions (Asian and Arab states). The Canadian representative spoke and voted against the Soviet resolution.

Race Conflict in South Africa

The item entitled "The question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Union of South Africa" was proposed for inclusion on the agenda of the seventh session of the General Assembly by Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen. In an early plenary session, South Africa moved that the item should be excluded on the ground that the United Nations was not competent to deal with or even discuss the matter. But by an overwhelming vote the General Assembly decided, on October 17, 1952, to place the question of race conflict in South Africa on its agenda.

When the question came before the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee for consideration, South Africa introduced a motion whereby the Committee, having regard to the provisions of Article 2, Paragraph 7, of the Charter, would find that it had "no competence to consider" the item. This motion was rejected on November 20 by a vote of 6 in favour, 45 against (including Canada), with 8 abstentions. The same day the Committee passed two resolutions:

- (1) An 18-power resolution, submitted by the Arab-Asian states, calling for the establishment of a commission "to study the racial situation in the Union of South Africa in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, with due regard to the provisions of Article 2, Paragraph 7 . . . and the resolutions of the United Nations on racial persecution and discrimination and to report its conclusions to the General Assembly at its Eighth Session".
- (2) A resolution, submitted by the four Scandinavian states, calling upon "all Member States to bring their policies into conformity with their obligation under the Charter to promote the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms".

Eighteen Power Resolution

The 18-power resolution as a whole was carried by a vote of 35 to 2, with 22 abstentions. The Scandinavian resolution was adopted by a vote of 20 to 7, with 32 abstentions. Canada voted for the Scandinavian resolution and abstained on the 18-power resolution.

Speaking before the Committee on November 19, Mr. Paul Martin said that, in the Canadian view, a distinction must necessarily be drawn between the right of the Assembly to discuss any matters within the scope of the Charter and its competence to intervene. He did not believe that the provisions of the Charter were to be interpreted in such a way as to exclude discussion of an item once it had been placed on the agenda. Canada would therefore vote against the South African resolution on competence because competence to discuss an item is included in the broader term "competence to consider".

Turning to the 18-power resolution and the Scandinavian resolution, Mr. Martin stated that Canada would support the Scandinavian resolution because it endeavoured to find language which would unite rather than divide the United Nations, and tried to achieve a reconciliation between, on the one hand the domestic jurisdiction of sovereign states, particularly those with responsibilities for the administration of dependent peoples in their progress towards self-government and, on the other, the legitimate interest of the United Nations in human rights and freedoms for all peoples regardless of race, creed or colour.

In plenary session of the General Assembly, South Africa introduced a new resolution under which the Assembly would find that it was unable to adopt the proposals on this item. The South African resolution was defeated on December 6, by a large majority including Canada. The 18-power resolution passed by a vote of 35 to 1, with 23 abstentions including Canada, while the Scandinavian resolution was adopted by a vote of 24 to 1, with 34 abstentions. The Canadian delegation again supported the Scandinavian resolution.

At the final meeting of the Assembly, before it was adjourned for Christmas, the President of the Assembly named Dr. Ralph Bunche, Dr. Hernan Santa Cruz of Chile and Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet of Mexico as members of the commission which is to study the racial situation in the Union of South Africa under the provisions of the 18-power resolution and to report its conclusions to the General Assembly at the Eighth Session.

Tunisia and Morocco

At its Sixth Session in 1951, the General Assembly postponed the question of including the Moroccan problem on its agenda, and interested African and Asian states later filed to have the Tunisian question brought before the Security Council in April 1952 or before a proposed special session of the General Assembly in June. Both these problems were however included on the agenda of the seventh session of the General Assembly and thoroughly debated.

When M. Robert Schuman, chairman of the French delegation, addressed the Assembly in the general debate on November 10, he maintained that great progress had been made in Tunisia and Morocco under French guidance in the fields of agricultural and industrial development, public health, education, and labour relations. France intended to honour fully her obligations under the Charter with respect to non-self-governing territories. France alone, however, was in a position to decide the stages and the rhythm of the political evolution of Tunisia and Morocco in consultation with their duly qualified representatives. Any attempt by the United Nations to intervene would encourage instigators of disorder, would do harm to the United Nations and would not be tolerated by France. The French delegation absented itself during the subsequent discussion of the Tunisian and Moroccan questions in the First Committee in which African, Asian, Commonwealth, Soviet, and Western European nations took part.

Pakistani Motion

The First Committee rejected by a vote of 26 (including Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States) to 24 (including African, Asian and Soviet states) with 7 abstentions, a Pakistan procedural motion inviting the Bey of Tunis to depute a representative to take part in the discussion. On the substantive issue, member states were divided into three groups. African, Asian, and Communist representatives favoured a proposal made by 13 African and Asian states urging the Government of France to establish normal conditions and normal civil liberties in Tunisia and providing for the establishment of a United Nations Committee of Good Offices to assist in negotiations between the French and the "true representatives" of the Tunisian people. African and Asian speakers took a very serious view of disturbances in Tunisia, maintaining that international peace and security were thereby being endangered. They contended that by abusing its role as a protecting power, France appeared to be determined to keep Tunisians in a permanently inferior position, since representative government had not been established in Tunisia in spite of the wishes of the Bey and the Tunisian people. Tunisia, which had fought on the side of the allies in two world wars, should not be denied its freedom when so many less-developed countries in Africa and Asia had achieved their indepen-

dence. The United Nations had a right and a duty to try to reconcile the dispute over the interpretation of the protectorate treaties, which were valid international instruments.

The representatives of Australia, Belgium, South Africa, and the United Kingdom, rejected this argument and supported the French view that the United Nations was not competent to examine the Tunisian and Moroccan questions. They referred to the specific prohibition in Article 2 (7) of the Charter regarding domestic jurisdiction, to the terms of Article 6 of the Treaty of Bardo between France and Tunisia, and to the records of the San Francisco Conference which, it was argued, made it clear that the framers of the Charter did not wish the United Nations to assume direct responsibilities in respect of non-self-governing territories.

Canada, New Zealand, the United States, and the Scandinavian countries were among the nations favouring a resolution put forward by eleven Latin-American states which urged the parties to continue negotiations with a view to bringing about self-government for Tunisians and to refrain from acts likely to aggravate the present tension. The states which favoured this proposal broadly took the view that, although the situation in Tunisia was not a threat to international peace, the United Nations was nonetheless competent at least to discuss it. These states underlined the publicly expressed intentions of the French authorities to bring Tunisia progressively toward self-government and considered that it would be unwise for the United Nations to attempt to intervene, both because the best solution would be one achieved by mutual agreement and because the United Nations represented a moral authority and could not impose solutions except in the case of threats to the peace.

Latin-American Proposal Approved

After the Committee had rejected an Indian amendment designed to "strengthen" the Latin-American draft, African and Asian states gave their support to this proposal which was finally approved by the General Assembly in plenary session by a vote of 44 in favour, including Canada, 3 against and 8 abstentions, including the Soviet bloc.

The Moroccan debate followed closely the pattern established in the debate on the Tunisian item. African and Asian states, supported by the Soviet bloc, were strongly critical of French administration and submitted a resolution by which the United Nations would specifically recognize Moroccan sovereignty. The powers responsible for the administration of dependent territories contended that the whole discussion was outside the competence of the United Nations. The eleven Latin-American states again put forward a compromise proposal which was supported by Canada, New Zealand, the United States, and the Scandinavian countries. This resolution referred to the developing of "free political institutions" in Morocco rather than "self-government" — the phrase used in the Latin-American proposal on Tunisia. The sponsors explained this difference in drafting in terms of the more intricate racial structure in Morocco and the relative lack of experience of Moroccans in the processes of democratic government. An attempt was made by the Pakistan delegation to introduce a reference to "self-government", but this did not receive conclusive support and the resolution on Morocco finally adopted by the General Assembly was that originally put forward by the Latin-American and Asian states except Pakistan and carried by a vote of 45 including Canada to 3 against with 11 abstentions. Since the Assembly adjourned, the Bey of Tunis has enacted two draft laws for municipal and regional representative institutions in Tunisia which were put forward by the French authorities. Although agreement on similar proposals has not been achieved in Morocco, the situation in that territory has been relatively quiet since the United Nations discussions of this problem.

Palestine

At its seventh session the General Assembly complied with a request of Arab members that the work of the Palestine Conciliation Commission should be reviewed on the ground that Assembly resolutions relating to the Palestine problem had not yet been implemented. The Commission's terms of reference, drawn up in December 1948, had been: (a) to assist the parties to achieve a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them; (b) to facilitate the economic development of the area, helping to open up transportation and communication; (c) to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and their compensation for abandoned property, and (d) to prepare detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area, a function which was later transferred to the Trusteeship Council.

A chief concern of the Arab states was that a boundary settlement in Palestine should not perpetuate the temporary territorial arrangements made under the 1949 armistice agreements. By virtue of these agreements Israel controls roughly three-quarters of the former mandated territory of Palestine, instead of sharing it on a fifty-fifty basis with the Arabs as the General Assembly recommended in 1947. Arab delegates argued that to restore the balance which the Assembly had considered just in 1947 would enable a large proportion of the refugees to return to Palestine, even if they still continued to be excluded from Israel in spite of the repeated requests of the Assembly that they should be repatriated. Israel, on the contrary, desired a permanent peace settlement to grow out of the 1949 armistice agreements, not only because of the more advantageous territorial arrangements these provided but because they made no reference to repatriation of Arab refugees. The Assembly was thus confronted with a situation in which Israel was pressing for direct negotiations unless Israel agreed to be bound by these resolutions.

Draft Resolution

Both Israel and the Arab states were hesitant to put forward draft resolutions of their own, while the states composing the Palestine Conciliation Commission (France, Turkey and the United States) considered it inappropriate to present a resolution when their own work was under general review. The initiative was therefore taken by delegations of eight states not directly concerned with the Palestine question. Under the leadership of the delegate of Norway, the delegations of Canada, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, the Netherlands, Panama and Uruguay proposed a simple draft resolution urging that direct negotiations for a peace settlement should be undertaken, the Conciliation Commission being available to help the negotiations along if so desired. This draft resolution was later revised in the light of conferences with representatives of seven Latin American states which had offered amendments and with the representatives of four Asian states which had asked in effect for a reaffirmation of past Assembly resolutions, enlargement of the Conciliation Commission and a discussion of its work at the eighth session of the General Assembly.

What resulted from these conferences was an eight-power draft resolution considered by its authors to be a fair compromise between the Israeli and Arab positions. It neither reaffirmed past Assembly resolutions specifically, as the Arab delegations wished, nor proposed that direct negotiations should be free and untrammelled, as Israel had asked. Instead it proposed that the negotiations should be without prejudice to the respective rights and claims of the parties, who were asked to bear in mind "the resolutions as well as the principal objectives of the United Nations on the Palestine question, including the religious interests of third parties". The Conciliation Commission, moreover, was asked "to continue its efforts to fulfil the tasks entrusted to it under General Assembly resolutions" as well as being available to assist in the negotiations if so desired. Israel agreed to the revised draft, but the Arabs opposed it on the ground that the phrase "bearing in mind" past resolutions of the United Nations would mean in practice that the resolutions would be

brushed aside. They said they could not enter into direct negotiations with Israel until they had clear assurances on this point.

Philippine Amendment

In the plenary meeting on December 18 an effort was made by the delegation of the Philippines to secure a stipulation that peace negotiations must be "on the basis of" past United Nations resolutions, including in particular the principle of the internationalization of Jerusalem. This amendment received support from a number of countries with the result that the resolution as a whole failed to secure a two-thirds majority, and no resolution on the Palestine Conciliation Commission was adopted by the Assembly. Canada, which has consistently supported the principle of international supervision of the Holy Places, abstained with eleven other members of the Assembly in the vote on the portion of the amendment relating to the internationalization of Jerusalem, since this phrase has come to be associated with the Trusteeship Council's Jerusalem Statute which has proved to be inoperable. The Canadian spokesman, in explaining Canada's vote, made it clear that Canada continues to favour effective international supervision of the Holy Places.



HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN INDIA

Mr. Escott Reid, High Commissioner for Canada in India, with the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, on the occasion of the presentation of Mr. Reid's Letter of Commission to the President of India, on November 27.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

Statements of Government Policy

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

Canada-U.S. Air Relations

Lease to United States Air Force at Goose Bay

On December 16, the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. W. F. Harris, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, opened the deliberations of the House of Commons with the following statement:

I beg leave to table copies of notes exchanged by the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs and the United States Ambassador on December 5. The notes constitute a lease to the United States of certain parcels of land within the Royal Canadian Air Force station at Goose Bay in the Province of Newfoundland. The lease, which is to enable the United States Air Force to replace wartime construction and to construct some additional facilities, involves approximately 7,000 acres of land which is less than ten per cent of the area of the base. The field will continue to be under the over-all command of the RCAF.

Goose Bay airport was built by Canada in 1942 — before Newfoundland entered Confederation — as a stepping-stone along the North Atlantic and Arctic airways. During the war thousands of aircraft put down there on ferry flights from the United States and Canada to Europe. Since the war Goose Bay has been used by the RCAF and the United States Air Force to support certain northern weather stations, and it has served also as a centre for search and rescue operations in the area.

In view of the increased international tension during the last three years, the RCAF and United States Air Force facilities at Goose Bay have been considerably expanded. The base is, in effect, a joint defence installation, and is being used by both air forces for the co-operative defence of North America. Its use by both countries is essential for the fulfilment of their responsibilities under the North Atlantic Treaty.

The lease is for a period of 20 years, with the proviso that any United States request for an extension will be considered by Canada in the light of the common defence interests of Canada and the United States.

When the lease has expired, all buildings on the leased area will become the property of Canada, but removable improvements may be taken away by the United States Air Force.

Flights Over Canada by U.S. Military Aircraft

On December 1, in response to a question by Mr. M. J. Coldwell (Rosetown-Biggar, CCF) as to the authority under which aircraft of the United States might cross the Canadian border to investigate unidentified planes flying over Canadian territory, Mr. Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence and Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, replied:

... The defence of North America must be regarded as a single operation, and, in consequence of recommendations of the Permanent Joint Board, an arrangement has been worked out related to the defence of North America against attack. The important element in this arrangement is that air defence identification zones have been set up along both sides of the international border and along both coasts. Civil aeronautical regulations require that any aircraft operating in these zones should file flight plans.

Any unidentified aircraft flying in an air defence zone near the international border and apparently heading toward the border is liable to interception for purposes of identification by military aircraft of the country towards which the unidentified aircraft is believed to be headed. For this purpose United States Air Force aircraft may cross the border into Canada and RCAF aircraft may cross into the United States. Interceptor aircraft must obey the rules of interception procedure laid down by the country over which the interception is made. United States aircraft when flying over Canada are not permitted to order any aircraft to land . . .

Religious Persecution in Bulgaria*

Replying, on December 8, to a question by Mr. J. H. Dickey (Halifax, L.), concerning reports of religious persecution behind the Iron Curtain, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, spoke as follows:

During the past few years the civilized world has been repeatedly shocked by the brutal persecution of religious leaders which has taken place behind the Iron Curtain. Protests have been made by this Government in this House and in the General Assembly of the United Nations against these attacks.

Recently 40 members of a religious order in Bulgaria were brought to trial charged with subversive activities. The trial followed the usual horrible and grotesque Communist pattern, and death was decreed for the principal defendants, in this case on four priests, including Mgr. Eugene Bossilkoff, Passionist Bishop of Nicopol.

I am sure I am reflecting the view of every member of this House when I express our detestation and condemnation of this additional and shocking case of religious persecution. It is our intention at the first opportunity to voice our protest in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

* See statement on p. 28 made at the United Nations General Assembly by the Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. Paul Martin.

ADJOURNMENT OF SEVENTH SESSION

Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and President of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, on the Adjournment of the Seventh Session, December 22, 1952.

The seventh session of the General Assembly has just adjourned, to be resumed on February 24 next, or earlier at the call of the President. When I was elected to the Presidency on October 14, I was under no illusion that it would be anything but a difficult session, or that our tasks would be easy of accomplishment. I said then that the issues facing us would impose as severe tests on our world organization as any in its history. This has been borne out in our work of the past two months. The agenda has been crowded with problems of great importance and complexity, but the General Assembly in its deliberations, and in its decisions, has neither evaded the crucial issues of our troubled world, nor sought solutions which ignore the hard realities of the international situation. The task which confronted it, then, has been not an excuse for inaction, but a challenge to effort.

Korea

The main question before the Assembly has been that of Korea. At the beginning of this Session it was agreed unanimously that the Korean question should be given priority. That was done because it is the first responsibility of the United Nations to do what it can to bring the fighting there to an end on honourable terms. In the Korean discussions, the debate centered around the one remaining obstacle to the achievement of an armistice — the question of the repatriation of prisoners of war.

The Resolution on Korea, which 54 members of the General Assembly approved on December 3, represented an important and constructive move to solve this question. It reflected a full and free exchange of views between members of the United Nations, and was a consensus of these views arrived at after lengthy negotiation and discussion. If it had been accepted, it could have brought the fighting in Korea to an end without delay.

In my capacity as President of the Assembly, and under the terms of the Resolution, I communicated the Assembly's proposals to the Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government at Peking, and to the North Korean authorities. At the same time, as President of the Assembly, I made an appeal to the Chinese and North Korean authorities to accept these proposals as a basis of an armistice which could bring peace.

Proposals Rejected

The Central People's Government and the North Korean authorities have now rejected the United Nations initiative in terms which make it clear that they are not prepared at

this time to join in the task of bringing the war in Korea to an end on terms considered acceptable to the United Nations and in conformity with international law.

In speaking to the General Assembly on October 14, the opening day of the present session, I said:

"Our task will not be easy, for the General Assembly of 1952 faces its own crisis. The effort by the United Nations to bring about an armistice in Korea on honourable terms — which would be the only ones acceptable — remains frustrated and unsuccessful. The United Nations, therefore, has not been able to move forward into the positive phases of peaceful settlement and reconstruction in that area which should be possible, on the basis of decisions already taken by us, once the aggression has been stopped and the fighting ended. Those who prevent this armistice — the first step in the process of healing and restoration — bear a heavy responsibility before history and humanity".

Despite the reply from the Central People's Government and the North Korean authorities, I am convinced that the efforts which we have made have not been in vain and that they represent a major achievement in the history of the seventh session. For one thing, we would have failed in our responsibility to this world organization and its principles had we not made the attempt. For another, it has been demonstrated that nearly all our members were prepared to agree on a proposal which, provided with United Nations principles, provided the basis for an eventual peace in Korea.

To bring the fighting in Korea to an end and to move forward into the positive phases of reconstruction and peaceful settlement is still, therefore, the great challenge which faces the United Nations. I have no doubt that, through our Organization we shall persist — and we shall succeed — in our joint effort to achieve this objective, which remains our *only* objective (in Korea).

Colonial and Racial Problem

The other major problem which has occupied our attention arises from colonial and racial issues. The problem here has been to achieve a reconciliation of the principle of the domestic jurisdiction of sovereign states and the responsibility of some of them for the administration of dependent peoples in their progress toward self-government, with the legitimate interest of the United Nations in human rights and freedom for all peoples. Under several items on the Assembly's agenda, these issues have been fully and freely

discussed, and on the whole with moderation and a high sense of responsibility. We have come to see that our differences rest more on questions of means than of ends, more on the pace of progress than on our destination, about which we are in general agreement.

An Important Assembly

I have no wish to attempt to assess in detail the work of the Assembly. For one thing, it is not finished. I wished only to touch on one or two examples to show why I think that this has been an important and not unproductive Assembly so far. If we have failed to find answers to the big questions, if we have seemed to be substituting resolutions for solutions, and if we have at times laboured long for results that did not measure up to our hopes, this is not primarily the fault of the United Nations. I believe that, in the world in which we live — not the one in which we should like to live — this Assembly has made an honest attempt to come to grips in a constructive and responsible manner with some of the major problems of our day.

I should like also to take this opportunity of paying a very well deserved tribute to the Secretariat and to its distinguished leader,

the Secretary-General. The continuity and effectiveness of the General Assembly's work must depend very largely on the integrity and efficiency of our international civil servants. The Secretariat have once again served us loyally and well, and I should like to express the Assembly's appreciation for their extremely hard work and devotion to what is often a thankless and difficult task; and to what is often a misunderstood ideal, that of international service.

Best Hope for Peace

The work of the seventh session is not completed, and we shall be carrying on in the New Year. During these recent weeks I have received, as President of the General Assembly, a great many letters from men and women everywhere which deal with matters before our Organization. They reflect the deep interest and anxious concern with which the whole world follows the deliberations of the United Nations, and the hopes and prayers for the achievement of the purposes to which this Organization is dedicated. They reflect too the conviction that in the twentieth century we cannot dispense with the United Nations, which remains — in spite of everything — our best hope for the establishment of peace and orderly progress.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Statement made on December 17, 1952, by the Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the Third Committee, on Chapter V of the Report of the Economic and Social Council on Human Rights.

Once more the Third Committee of the General Assembly is called upon to review the work accomplished by the various agencies of the United Nations in the field of human rights. I do not believe it necessary for me to stress here that the question of human rights has become one of primary interest for the United Nations. The various agencies of this organization, taken together, devote close to half of their discussions to questions directly or indirectly related to this problem. Close to half of the resolutions adopted each year by the General Assembly and by the other agencies of the United Nations deal with the question of human rights. The delegation of Canada is in complete agreement with those delegations which insist that such a fundamental question can never receive too much attention. The question of human rights, after all, is the cornerstone of our Charter and has been proclaimed all over the world through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Principle Accepted

The numerous speeches that have been made within the United Nations since 1945 on this subject should not leave any doubt

that the principle of the observance of human rights is accepted and recognized, without qualification, by all member states of the United Nations. The speeches made in this Committee in the course of the present session should, in fact, be sufficient in themselves to eliminate any doubt that could have existed as to the good intentions of governments in the field of human rights. In other words, the United Nations has been deluged with professions of faith, and to ascertain this, one has only to read, for example, the summary records of the Commission on Human Rights and of the sub-commission on the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities.

And yet, if we glance at the introduction to the Report of the Economic and Social Council for the year 1951-52, we read the following:

"In the field of human rights, in spite of the progress achieved, the United Nations cannot be satisfied with the present situation. There are large areas of the world where the observance of essential human rights, personal liberty, freedom of expression, freedom from discrimination are regressing".

The President of the General Assembly was referring to that same tragic problem when he stated recently, on the occasion of Human Rights Day, that the objectives and purposes of the United Nations would never be achieved until all discriminatory measures have been eliminated and persecution ended.

Unfortunate Dilemma

In the opinion of my delegation the President of the General Assembly has touched on one of the most unfortunate dilemmas presently facing the United Nations. For indeed if we compare some of the statements which are still being made within the United Nations with the events that are taking place in certain countries, we cannot help but think about that part of the New Testament which refers to the man who would take the mote from his neighbour's eye but could not see the beam in his own. To put it in plain language I want to refer to those representatives in this Committee who have busied themselves in the last two months with depicting the most gruesome pictures of the manner in which their neighbours have practised the observance of human rights while they themselves have shown by all evidence available that they are guilty of the most flagrant discriminations and of the most inhuman persecutions.

It is because of this ever-deepening gulf between the words spoken by these representatives and the actions of their governments that my delegation finds it necessary today to draw the attention of the members of this Committee more particularly to Section V of the chapter of the report under consideration. This section deals, as we know, with the question of the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities, and the events which have occurred in the course of the last year in certain countries do not allow us to pass it without notice.

Canadian Protests

It is not the first time that the representative of Canada at the United Nations considers it necessary to make a statement of this kind. For myself, I have personally had occasion to protest, in the name of the people of Canada, at the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the fourth session of the General Assembly, against a venal disregard of human rights and of the fundamental principles of freedom which was then current in Bulgaria, Hungary and Roumania. Since then, at practically every session of the General Assembly and even of the agencies of the United Nations, we have heard the voices of many delegates raised in protest against the fate dealt behind the Iron Curtain to these basic principles of justice and liberty. One would have hoped that under such a pressure of protest, the governments concerned would have lent an ear and that the wishes of the free people would have been heard in some degree at least.

Alas, as we all know, the reaction was quite different and is still quite different. Not only have discriminatory measures continued to exist in the three countries which I have just mentioned but they have even spread to the other countries of the Soviet bloc. Not only has the intensity of the discriminatory measures and of the persecutions not decreased but it has reached such a level of frenzy that it can easily be compared to that which existed in the darkest hours of the Nazi and Fascist regimes.

1949 Proposal

I think it is important, in order to understand the extent of the responsibility which weighs on these governments, to recall the efforts of the United Nations in the course of the last three years in an attempt to put an end to the suffering of those who have had the misfortune to become victims of these persecutions. Let us recall, first, the proposal submitted in 1949 in the course of the second part of the third session of the General Assembly by Bolivia and Australia, the title of which read as follows:

"Having regard to the provisions of the Charter and of the peace treaties, the question of the observance in Bulgaria and Hungary of human rights and fundamental freedoms including questions of religious and civil liberties with specific reference to recent trials of church leaders".

Discussed at Fifth Assembly

The *Ad Hoc* Committee on this occasion studied many draft resolutions which might have provided a solution to these problems of persecutions if only good faith had existed on the part of the Governments of Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria. It was soon discovered, unfortunately, that this good faith was lacking and the General Assembly had to limit itself to a resolution which expressed the hope that measures would be applied in accordance with the peace treaties which might tend to rectify the situation which everyone deplored. In his declaration in support of the item tabled by Bolivia and Australia, the Canadian representative made a specific reference to the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty, to the persecution suffered by the Calvinist Church in Hungary and to the discriminatory measures taken against fifteen Protestant pastors in Bulgaria. The Canadian representative did not hesitate to explain further that, in the opinion of the Canadian Government, these persecutions were the natural outgrowth of Communism.

This same question was considered at the fourth session of the General Assembly in the fall of 1949, when the Assembly's attention was drawn to a similar situation existing in Roumania. The Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary and Roumania had rejected completely the charges made by the Allied Governments that they had violated the Peace Treaties. It was, therefore, necessary to ap-

peal to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on a number of specific questions which arose jointly from the articles of the Peace Treaties and from the refusal by the countries mentioned to answer to the accusations made against them.

The opinion handed down by the International Court of Justice left no doubt that an international dispute had arisen within the meaning of the peace treaties and that the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary and Roumania were legally bound to appoint representatives to the Commission provided for by the treaties. We all know that the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary and Roumania ignored completely the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.

The *Ad Hoc* Political Committee again discussed the question at the Fifth Assembly at New York in 1950. Unfortunately, it had become evident by that time that, without the voluntary co-operation of the governments concerned, little progress could be expected in the efforts of the United Nations to put an end to the crying injustices which prevailed in those countries.

The last resolution of the General Assembly on this question was adopted at its fifth session. In more ways than one, this resolution was — and we have to recognize it — one of resignation and despair. At the same time, it left no doubt as to the feelings of world public opinion towards those governments which refused to recognize the principle of respect for human rights and which challenged in the most flagrant manner the authority of the United Nations and of the International Court of Justice.

Bad to Worse

This history of discriminatory measures and of persecutions which I have just outlined, I regret to say has gone from bad to worse since the last resolution was adopted by the General Assembly. It is now with the greatest regret that we realize that the good faith and the goodwill of those governments responsible for these persecutions have not shown any improvement. On the contrary, if there has been any change, I would say that it has been towards a greater absence of goodwill and of good faith. In the light of these considerations, my delegation is painfully aware of the futility at this moment of placing before the General Assembly any draft resolution or of inviting the United Nations or the Secretary-General to take specific action on the problem.

But the Canadian Delegation, nevertheless, desires to protest formally and with all its energy, before this Committee and before the United Nations, against the systematic persecutions which rage practically everywhere behind the Iron Curtain and which are disposing in the most horrible manner of millions of human beings whose only crime has been their desire to be free.

Like my own, a number of governments of the free world will no doubt wish, at this session, to raise their voices in protest against the deplorable, if not incomprehensible, actions of these governments and they will be able to cite much evidence in support of their allegations. I would not wish, therefore, to delay this Committee unduly by a detailed recital of everything that has taken place behind the Iron Curtain in violation of human rights since 1950.

Many delegates around this table have probably read the documentation recently submitted by the United Kingdom on the human rights violations in Bulgaria, Hungary and Roumania. Many among you, no doubt, have also had the opportunity of studying the well-documented reports periodically published by such organizations as the National Committee for a Free Europe. The reading of these various reports is frightening, inasmuch as the picture they give is one of brutality and inconceivable cruelty.

Trial in Bulgaria

I should like, however, to say a few words about a trial which took place very recently in Bulgaria, the story of which will confirm the fact that the wave of terror which we deplored in 1949 is still persisting in those unfortunate countries, more implacable than ever. It is true that there will be little that is new or unexpected in the description which I am about to give you, since the trial followed a pattern which is unfortunately too well known. It followed the pattern designed to terrorize satellite regimes, to punish them for their shortcomings, to compel greater sacrifices under the shadow of fear, to produce scapegoats and to provide an opportunity for the Soviet Union's favourite propaganda of hatred against states, organizations and individuals of the free world.

The particular trial of which I am about to speak took place this year from September 29 to October 3 and forty persons were brought before the tribunal. Among the six principal defendants were Dr. Evgen Bossilkov, Bishop of Nikopol and Senior Bishop of the Church in Bulgaria, and several leading educators. These six principal defendants were charged with having created an organization for the purpose of overthrowing the Bulgarian Government by means of a *coup d'état* and with the help of foreign intervention. The other defendants were accused of having aided their efforts in varying degree. All defendants, without exception, were found guilty. Four were sentenced to death; two, to twenty years' imprisonment.

These, in brief, are the facts of the case. Fortunately, in spite of the tight censorship which surrounds Bulgaria, there is available further evidence as to the way in which the trial was conducted which enables us to judge for ourselves how little the trials resemble the proceedings of a civilized court conducting an impartial enquiry.

Guilt Assumed

From the beginning, the guilt of all the defendants was assumed by the Bulgarian press, in the speeches of Communist leaders and in the very wording of the indictment. The following statement by the Bulgarian Minister of the Interior, made just before the trial, is typical of the tone of the entire proceedings: "Let all who oppose the Communist regime know", he said, "that the People's Rule, through the divisions of the Ministry of the Interior, is able to put everyone where he belongs, and to deal mercilessly with all who try to hinder our efforts. Neither God nor their imperialist masters can help them".

The entire trial lasted only five days. On the first day all preliminary procedural questions were disposed of and the interrogations of the first fifteen defendants were completed. The witnesses, thirty in all, were all heard on the morning of the last day, when the Court not only heard the speeches of the counsels for the prosecution and the defence, but also delivered its verdict. And this in a trial in which there were no fewer than forty defendants!

No attempts was made to establish a convincing case on the basis of adequate evidence. Apart from the so-called confessions of some of the accused and the testimony of witnesses, many of whom were themselves prisoners, the material evidence produced to show that the defendants were preparing an underground resistance movement consisted of two small radio transmitters, one automatic carbine, two revolvers, one old hunting gun and some medical supplies. I believe the members of the Committee will agree with me that this is hardly the armament for a revolution!

Relentless Persecution

This so-called trial was clearly another calculated attempt similar to those which have been made in other countries behind the Iron Curtain to crush the Christian churches in Bulgaria and reduce them to complete subservience to the state. It was the culmination of the relentless persecution to which the Catholic Church as well as the other churches have been subjected during the last six months. By now, it is generally recognized that almost eighty per cent of the Cath-

olic priests, for instance, in Bulgaria have been arrested or otherwise persecuted, and the one remaining Bishop, the Bishop of Sofia and Plovdiv, has finally been arrested as a result of the latest "revelations" which the Bulgarian Government has pretended to have obtained during the course of the trial which I have just described.

We are still uncertain as to the ultimate fate of all those persons who were judged at this trial. According to certain rumours which have reached us, some of these unfortunate victims have already been hanged. At the same time, we have reason to believe that some of them are still alive. In the present circumstances, we cannot afford to be too optimistic about the success of our representations; but, in the event that the Government of Bulgaria and its leaders still have a minimum sense of justice and humanity, we like to hope that our appeal will be heard and that it will be possible to save the lives of those persons who have been so crudely tried and so unjustly condemned to death.

Attack on Freedom of Conscience

This example I have just cited, like earlier persecutions, deportations and purges, is a further example of a ruthless attack upon that most precious of all freedoms — the freedom of conscience — which is, after all, the cornerstone of our civilization. For, indeed, we should never forget that the only crime of these people was to practice their religion and, in so doing, perhaps to oppose Communism spiritually and morally. The government responsible for this latest act of suppression of freedom of conscience is not represented in the United Nations and it is unlikely that the censored and controlled press will give the Bulgarian people an adequate or, indeed, any idea of the indignation and anger with which the freedom-loving world regards such mockeries of injustice which I have just described. For this reason, my delegation wishes to call upon those governments which are members of the United Nations and which still maintain diplomatic or consular missions in Bulgaria to inform the Bulgarian authorities of these protests which are coming from all the peoples of the free nations, including the Canadian people, against this flagrant violation of the most elementary principles of humanity. Those who are guilty cannot close their eyes to the clamour of justice and of liberty.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- The Honourable R. W. Mayhew was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, as Canadian Ambassador to Japan, effective December 16, 1952.
- Mr. H. G. Norman, C.M.G., was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, effective December 5, 1952.
- Mr. J. F. X. Houde was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective November 27, 1952.
- Mr. S. H. Nutting was posted from temporary duty Tokyo, Japan, to Ottawa, effective December 6, 1952.
- Mr. W. F. Stone was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective December 7, 1952.
- Mr. L. V. J. Roy was posted from home leave (Buenos Aires) to Ottawa, effective December 8, 1952.
- Mr. O. W. Dier was posted from home leave (Caracas) to Ottawa, effective December 13, 1952.
- Mr. C. F. W. Hooper was transferred from the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, to the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires, effective December 31, 1952.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned).

Standing International Bodies on Which Canada is Represented

(Published annually; this listing as of December, 1952. Date of establishment of each body given in brackets).

1. CANADA-UNITED STATES

1. *International Joint Commission* (1909). Canadian Section: Chairman: Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton; Commissioners: J. L. Dansereau and G. Spence. External Affairs; Secretary: W. H. Barton, Department of External Affairs.
2. *International Boundary Commission* (1912). J. E. R. Ross, Dominion Geodesist, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
3. *Permanent Joint Board on Defence* (1940). Canadian Section: Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton; Rear-Admiral H. G. DeWolf, Vice-Chief of the Naval Staff (to be replaced by Rear-Admiral W. B. Creery, effective January 30, 1953); Maj. Gen. H. A. Sparling, Vice-Chief of the General Staff; Air Vice-Marshal F. R. Miller, Vice-Chief of the Air Staff; R. A. MacKay, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for
4. *Joint United States-Canada Industrial Mobilization Planning Committee* (1949). Canadian Section: Chairman: C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce and Defence Production; S. D. Pierce, Minister, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
5. *International Fisheries Commission* (Halibut) (1923). G. R. Clark, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries; G. W. Nickerson, Department of Fisheries.
6. *International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission* (1947) Senator T. Reid; H. R. MacMillan, Vancouver; A. G. Whitmore, Department of Fisheries.

2. CANADA-UNITED KINGDOM

1. *Canada - United Kingdom Continuing Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs* (1948). W. F. Bull, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce; Dr. J. G. Taggart, Deputy Minister of Agriculture; J. J. Deutsch, Department of Finance; L. D. Wilgress, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; (N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom is Chairman of the Committee when it meets in London).

3. COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

1. *Commonwealth Shipping Committee* (1920). N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
2. *Commonwealth Economic Committee* (1925). F. Hudd, and D. A. B. Marshall, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
3. *Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux* (1928). Executive Council: J. G. Robertson, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
4. *Commonwealth Telecommunications Board* (1948). J. H. Tudhope, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
5. *Commonwealth Air Transport Council* (1945). J. H. Tudhope, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
 - i. *Committee on Navigation and Ground Organization*. F. Hudd and H. R. Horne, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
6. *Commonwealth Advisory Aeronautical Research Council* (1947). A/V/M D. M. Smith, J. H. Parkin and Dr. J. J. Green, Department of National Defence; R. J. Brearley, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
7. *Commonwealth Liaison Committee* (1948). L. Couillard and J. Grandy, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
8. *Imperial War Graves Commission*. Col. D. C. Unwin-Simpson, Canadian Embassy, Paris.
9. *Imperial Institute* (1888). N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
10. *Commonwealth Committee on Mineral Resources and Geology*. Dr. G. S. Hume, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
11. *British Commonwealth Scientific Office* (1944). (Specialists from the Canadian Government Departments concerned attend the meetings of the Office.

4. NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (1949)

1. *North Atlantic Council* (1949). Permanent Representative. A. D. P. Heeney; Minister, A. F. W. Plumptre; Military Adviser, Maj. Gen. J. D. B. Smith; Counsellor, M. Cadieux.
2. *North Atlantic Military Representatives Committee* (1949). Rear-Admiral H. G. DeWolf.

5. UNITED NATIONS (1945)

1. *General Assembly* (Canada, as a member of the United Nations, is represented in the General Assembly which meets at regular annual sessions. Its representatives are appointed by the Government for each session).
 - i. *Interim Committee of the General Assembly* (1947). Representative: L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs; Alternate: D. M. Johnson, Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
 - ii. *Board of Auditors*. Watson Sellar Auditor General of Canada.
 - iii. *Collective Measures Committee* (1950). D. M. Johnson, Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations, New York; Alternate: J. George, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
2. *Security Council*. (Canada is not at present a member of the Security Council).
 - i. *Disarmament Commission* (1952). D. M. Johnson, Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations, New York; Alternate: J. George, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
 3. *Economic and Social Council* (Canada's membership in the Council expired on December 31, 1952).

Functional Commissions:

 - i. *Fiscal Commission*. A. K. Eaton, Assistant Deputy Minister of Finance.
 - ii. *Statistical Commission*. H. Marshall, Dominion Statistician, Bureau of Statistics.
 - iii. *Social Commission*. R. B. Curry, National Director, Family Allowances Division, Department of National Health and Welfare.
 - iv. *Commission on Narcotic Drugs*. Col. C. H. L. Sharman, c/o Department of National Health and Welfare.

4. *Special Bodies of the Principal Organs*

- i. *United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund* (1946) *Executive Board*: Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Welfare, Department of National Health and Welfare.
- ii. *Permanent Central Opium Board* (*Supervisory Body*). Col. C. H. L. Sharman c/o Department of National Health and Welfare.
- iii. *United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency Advisory Committee* (1950). Delegate: D. M. Johnson, Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations, New York; Alternate: W. M. Olivier, Permanent Delegation

of Canada to the United Nations, New York.

5. *Headquarters Advisory Committee*. C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce and Defence Production; Alternate: K. A. Greene, Canadian Consul General, New York.
6. *International Court of Justice*. (The parties of the Statutes of the Court automatically include all members of the United Nations. The Court consists of fifteen judges, in no way representatives of their country of origin, elected for a nine year term of office by the General Assembly and the Security Council voting independently. A Canadian citizen, John Erskine Reid, presently sits on the Court, his term of office due to expire in 1958).

6. UNITED NATIONS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

1. *International Labour Organization* (1919)*

- i. *General Conference*. (Canada sends delegations comprising two Government Members and one Member each representing management and labour together with their advisers to each session of the Conference which meets at least annually. Delegations to the conferences are not permanent and are appointed for each session).
- ii. *Governing Body*. Dr. A. MacNamara, Deputy Minister of Labour. (Canada holds a seat as one of the States of chief industrial importance).

2. *Food and Agriculture Organization* (1945)

- i. *Conference*. (Canada, as a member of FAO sends a representative, together with his alternate and advisers to each session of the Conference which meets bi-annually. Canada's representative is not permanent and is appointed by the Government for each session).
- ii. *Council*. (Also known as World Food Council) (Canada has always been a member and was re-elected at the 1951 Rome Conference for a further term of membership).

3. *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* (1946)

- i. *General Conference*. (Canada sends delegates to each session of the General Conference. Delegations comprising delegates, alternates and advisers are not permanent and are appointed by the Government for each successive session).

4. *International Civil Aviation Organization* (1947)*

- i. *Assembly*. Brig. C. S. Booth, Permanent Delegate of Canada to ICAO; H. A. Pattison, Deputy Delegate.
- ii. *Council*. Brig. C. S. Booth, Permanent Delegate of Canada to ICAO

5. *International Bank for Reconstruction and Development* (1946).

- i. *Board of Governors*. Governor: D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Alternate: J. J. Deutsch, Department of Finance.
- ii. *Executive Directors*. Director: L. Rasminsky, Bank of Canada.

6. *International Monetary Fund* (1945)

- i. *Board of Governors*. Governor: D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Alternate: G. F. Towers, Governor of the Bank of Canada.
- ii. *Executive Directors*. Director: L. Rasminsky, Bank of Canada.

7. *Universal Postal Union* (1875)

- i. *Universal Postal Congress*. (Canada, as a member of the UPU, is represented at each meeting of the Congress, usually held at intervals of five years. Canadian Delegations are appointed by the Government for each meeting. The next (14th) Congress of the UPU will be held in Ottawa in 1957).

* The Specialized Agencies marked with an asterisk set up from time to time, through their main organs, standing bodies, committees or commissions, in which Canada may or may not be invited to participate. Because of the large number of such bodies, committees or commissions to which Canada is a party, and their relative importance, it has been felt that they might be excluded from this list.

8. World Health Organization (1948)*

- i. *World Health Assembly*. (Canada, as a member of the WHO, sends delegations to each annual session of the Assembly. Delegations are not permanent and are appointed by the Government at each session).
 - ii. *Executive Board*. Dr. O. Leroux, Department of National Health and Welfare, serves as an independent expert and does not receive instructions from the Canadian Government).
9. *International Telecommunications Union* (1947)
- i. *Plenipotentiary Conference*. (Canada, as a member of ITU, is represented at the Conference which meets every five years. Canadian Delegations to the Conference are appointed by the Government for each session).
 - ii. *Administrative Council*. C. J. Acton, Department of Transport.
 - iii. *Administrative Conferences*. (These meet in principle at the same time and place as the Plenipotentiary Conference and, as a rule, every five years. Canadian representatives at the Ad-

ministrative Conference usually form part of the Delegation appointed by the Government to represent the country at the Plenipotentiary Conference).

10. *Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization***

11. *International Trade Organization***

- i. *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* (1947). (The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is an international trade agreement. It is not a specialized agency of the United Nations, but is serviced by the Secretariat of the Interim Commission of the International Trade Organization (ICITO). The regular sessions of the contracting parties are, as a rule, held once a year and these sessions are supplemented by intersessional meetings at the call of the Secretariat. Canada is one of the original contracting parties).

12. *World Meteorological Organization*

- i. *Executive Committee*: A. Thompson, Department of Transport.
- ii. *Regional Association I*: President: A. Thompson, Department of Transport.

7. MISCELLANEOUS

1. *Inter-Allied Reparation Agency* (1946). A. C. Smith, Canadian Embassy, Brussels.

2. *International Whaling Commission* (1949). G. R. Clark, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries.

3. *International Commission for Northwest Atlantic Fisheries* (1951). S. Bates, Deputy Minister of Fisheries; R. Gushue, President, Memorial University College, Newfoundland; S. H. MacKichan, United Maritime Fisheries Board.

4. *Organization for European Economic Co-operation* (1948). Representative: A. D. P. Heeney; Minister: A. F. W. Plumptre; Counsellor: M. Cadieux.

5. *International Materials Conference* (1950). Representative: J. H. English; Alternate: S. V. Allen, both of the Canadian Embassy, Washington.

6. *Permanent Committee of the International Copyright Union* (1948). Dr. V. Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland.

7. *International Wheat Council* (1949). Delegations vary from meeting to meeting but are usually headed by a senior official of the Department of Trade and Commerce or by one of the Commissioners of the Canadian Wheat Board).

8. *Consultative Committee on Co-Operative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia* ("Colombo Plan", 1950). (Annual sessions attended by Government-appointed delegates).

- i. *Council for Technical Co-Operation in South and Southeast Asia* Paul Sykes, Canadian Government Trade Commissioner, Colombo.

9. *International Hydrographic Bureau* (1921). R. J. Fraser, Dominion Hydrographer.

10. *International Committee on Military Medicine and Pharmacy* (1921). Correspondent: Brig. W. L. Coke, Department of National Defence.

11. *Inter-American Statistical Institute* (1940)

* The Specialized Agencies marked with an asterisk set up from time to time, through their main organs, standing bodies, committees or commissions in which Canada may or may not be invited to participate. Because of the large number of such bodies, committees or commissions to which Canada is a party, and their relative importance, it has been felt that they might be excluded from this list.

** Canada has indicated its willingness to become a member of each of these Organizations once they have been formally established, and is at present a party to the principal preparatory organs of these proposed agencies set up at the instigation of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in 1946 and 1947 respectively

12. *Postal Union of the Americas and Spain* (1921)
13. *Inter-American Social Security Conference* (1942)
14. *International Bureau of Weights and Measures* (1875)
15. *International Criminal Police Commission* (1923)
16. *International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property* (1883)
17. *International Cotton Advisory Commission* (1939)
18. *International Wool Study Group* (1947)
19. *International Rubber Study Group* (1944)
20. *International Tin Study Group* (1947)
21. *Inter-American Radio Office* (1937)
22. *International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs* (1890)
23. *International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works* (1886)
24. *Commissions on Geography and Cartography of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History* (1928)
25. *Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration* (1952, succeeded the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe, established in 1951).

Conferences Attended in December

1. *2nd Plenipotentiary Conference of the International Telecommunications Union (ITU)*. Buenos Aires, October 1-December 15.
2. *7th Regular Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*. New York, October 14-December 22.
3. *7th Session of the General Conference of UNESCO*. Paris, November 12-December 10.
4. *Commonwealth Economic Conference*. London, November 27-December 11.
5. *ILO Committee of Experts on Labour Productivity*. Geneva, December 1-11.
6. *World Congress of Journalists*. Santiago, December 2-6 (Observer).
7. *6th Session of International Study Conference on Child Welfare*. Bombay, December 5-12 (Observer).
8. *North Atlantic Military Committee*. Paris, December 8-13.
9. *International Conference on Social Work*. Madras, December 14-19 (Observer).
10. *Ministerial Meeting of NATO Council*. Paris, December 15-19.
11. *Resumed 14th Session of ECOSOC*. New York, December 16-18.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

A SELECTED LIST

This list of United Nations documents recently received in the Department of External Affairs contains the titles of those documents which may be of general interest. It consists of reports by subsidiary bodies of the United Nations on the more important current activities of the organization, research activities of the organization, research notes by the Secretariat and general surveys of the work of the United Nations. The following list has been divided into two sections, section (a) — printed publications — which may be obtained by the general public from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations Publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English), and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec, (French); and section (b) — mimeographed United Nations documents — which can only be procured by the general public, by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat at New York. They are available to university staffs and students, teachers, libraries and non-governmental organizations,

from the United Nations Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. UNESCO documents may be procured from the University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Ontario (English), and Le Centre de Publications Internationales, 4234 Rue de la Roche, Montreal, P.Q. (French). The publications and documents listed below may be consulted at the following places in Canada:

- University of British Columbia (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- Provincial Library of Manitoba (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- University of Toronto (English printed and mimeographed documents).
- Library of Parliament, Ottawa (English and French printed documents and English mimeographed documents).
- McGill University (English printed and mimeographed documents).

Laval University (French printed documents).

Dalhousie University (English printed and mimeographed documents).

University of Montreal (French printed documents).

Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto (English printed and mimeographed documents).

(a) Printed Documents:

Report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories; New York, 1952; document A/2219; 26 pp.; 30 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 18.

**United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund — Report of the Executive Board (6, 7 and 10 October 1952)*; 27 October 1952; document E/2337, E/ICEF/212; 63 pp.; 60 cents; Ecosoc Official Records: Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 2.

**Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East 1951*; 13 August 1952; document E/CN.11/345, 400 pp.; \$2.50; Sales No.: 1952.II.F.2 (Department of Economic Affairs).

**Government Accounting and Budget Execution*; November 1952; document ST/ECA/16; 90 pp.; 75 cents; Sales No.: 1952.XVI.2 (Department of Economic Affairs).

**Comparative Survey of Juvenile Delinquency*. Part I. North America; 18 September 1952; document ST/SOA/SD/1; 132 pp.; \$1.00; Sales No.: 1952.N.13 (Department of Social Affairs).

**A general economic appraisal of Libya*; 22 September 1952; document ST/TAA/K/Libya/1; 55 pp.; 60 cents; Sales No.: 1952.II.H.2.

Fifth World Health Assembly, Geneva, 5 to 22 May 1952; Geneva, November 1952; 452 pp.; \$2.50; WHO Official Records, No. 42.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Question of South-West Africa — Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on South-West Africa to the General Assembly; 21 November 1952; document A/2261; 101 pp.

**Handbook on the Legal Status, Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations*; 19 September 1952; document ST/LEG/2; 575 pp.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PRESS RELEASES

Number	Date	Subject
78	4/12	Announcement that exchange of missions between Canada and Uruguay would be of Embassy rank and that Maj.-Gen. L. R. LaFlèche, D.S.O., had been appointed Canadian Ambassador to Uruguay.
79	5/12	Canadian delegation to the December 15 Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council.
80	5/12	Announcement that Canada is extending most-favoured-nation tariff treatment to Egypt on a reciprocal basis.
81	5/12	Appointment of A. J. Andrew as resident officer in Vienna.
82	5/12	Presentation of Letters of Credence of Mr. Cavat Ustun as Turkish Ambassador to Canada.
83	19/12	Canada-United States preliminary talks on fishing problems in the Great Lakes.
84	30/12	Recognition accorded to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

- No. 52/50—*Government Policy in Economic Matters Relating to Aviation*, an address by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, made at the annual meeting of the Air Industries and Transport Association of Canada at the Seigniory Club, Montebello, P.Q., November 10, 1952.
- No. 52/57—*Canada's Economy in 1952*, the text of a press release issued by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, and Defence Production, Mr. C. D. Howe, December 29, 1952.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 52/51—an address delivered by the President of the Seventh Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at the dinner of the American Association for the United Nations, New York City, October 23, 1952.
- No. 52/52—*The Colombo Plan*, an address by the Administrator of the Canadian Participation in the Colombo Plan, Mr. R. G. Cavell, of the International Economics and Technical Co-operation Division, Department of Trade and Commerce, delivered at the Empire Club, Toronto, December 4, 1952.

No. 52/53—*Indian Resolution on Korea*, statement by the Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the First (Political) Committee, on November 27, 1952.

No. 52/54—*Report to Parliament*, statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the House of Commons during the debate on the Speech from the Throne, December 8, 1952.

No. 52/55—*Adjournment of the Seventh Session*, statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and President of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, on the Adjournment of the Seventh Assembly, December 22, 1952.

No. 52/56—*Tunisia*, statement by the Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the First (Political) Committee (Agenda Item No. 60).

No. 52/58—*Human Rights*, statement made on December 17, 1952, by the Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural), on Chapter V of the Report of the Economic and Social Council on Human Rights.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	Melbourne (83 William Street)
“.....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Austria.....	Minister (Absent).....	Vienna 1 (Sacher's Hotel, Philharmonikerstrasse 4)
Belgian Congo.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (35, rue de la Science)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
“.....	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Colombo (Galle Face Hotel)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Bank of London and South America Bldg.)
Colombia.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Bogotá (Calle 19, No. 6-39 fifth floor)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (Avenida de Las Misiones No. 17)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Krakowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Osterbrogade 26)
Egypt.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara)
Finland.....	Minister (Absent).....	Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken 3-C. 32)
“.....	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris 16e (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Ambassador.....	Bonn (Zittelmannstrasse, 22)
“.....	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Lancaster House, Fehrbelliner Platz)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatemala City (28, 5a Avenida Sud)
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Chambers)
Japan.....	Ambassador.....	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku)
“.....	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.,	
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)
Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Tuason Bldg., 8-12 Escolta)
Poland.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Lepa)
Portugal.....	Minister (Absent).....	Lisbon (Rua Rodrigo da Fonseca, 103)
“.....	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
Singapore.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building)

Spain.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Madrid (Avenida José Antonio 70)
Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvagen 7-C)
Switzerland.....	Minister.....	Berne (Thunstrasse 95)
Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (Colonial Bldg.)
Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (Müdafaayi Milliye Caddesi, No. 19, Cankaya)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (24 Barclay's Bank Bldg.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Building)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador.....	Moscow (23 Starokonyushny Chargé d'Affairs, a.i. Pereulok)
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	London (Canada House)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
“ “	Consul General.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
“ “	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
“ “	Consul.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.)
“ “	Consul and Trade Commis- sioner.....	New Orleans (201 International Trade Mart)
“ “	Consul General.....	New York (620 Fifth Ave.)
“ “	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street)
“ “	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
Venezuela.....	Consul General.....	Caracas (2° Piso Edificio Pan American)
Yugoslavia.....	Ambassador.....	Belgrade (Proliterskih Brigada 69, formerly Moskovska)
North Atlantic Council.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris 16e (Canadian Embassy)
*OEEC.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris 16e (c/o Canadian Embassy)
United Nations.....	Permanent Representative.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
“ “	Secretary.....	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Education for Palestine Arab Refugees

JOHN E. ROBBINS

In December 1951, Dr. John E. Robbins, Director of the Education Division of the Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, began a seven-month period of service as the director of an educational programme for Palestine Arab refugees jointly sponsored by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. He was succeeded as Chief of the Education Division of the Relief and Works Agency by Dr. Robert Westwater, Chief Inspector of Ottawa Public Schools. When he left Canada for the Near East, Dr. Robbins held the offices of Vice-President of the Canadian Association for Adult Education and of the Canadian Citizenship Council, Treasurer of the Canada Foundation and Secretary-Treasurer of the Humanities Research Council of Canada. He had attended UNESCO conferences in 1945, 1947, 1948 and 1950 at London, Mexico City, Beirut and Florence.

Since his return from the Middle East, Dr. Robbins has been kind enough to contribute to *External Affairs* the following account of the educational work being done under United Nations auspices for Arab refugees, both children and adults.

THE displaced Palestine Arab population of nearly one million is now in its fifth year of refugee status outside the borders of Israel. Since their flight to avoid the disorders in Palestine in 1948, the refugees have been living mainly in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria and in the so-called Gaza Strip in Southwestern Palestine, which is administered by Egypt. Over 850,000 of them are dependent on international support, the bulk of which is provided under United Nations auspices.

Long Range Plans

At first this aid was considered to be purely an emergency operation. Later, however, it became necessary to plan for the maintenance of the refugees for a longer period than a matter of a few months, pending the conclusion of a peace settlement, which has not been negotiated yet, to take the place of the existing armistice regime. On May 1, 1950, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, familiarly known as UNRWA, came into being. It was to continue administering direct relief as its predecessor in the field had done, but it was instructed also to develop works projects that would enable the refugees to become self-supporting as soon as pos-

sible. The first Director of UNRWA was Major General Howard Kennedy of Ottawa, Chairman of the Eastern Rockies Forest Conservation Board.

Even before UNRWA was established, however, efforts had been made by the earlier relief administration to provide for the education of some of the 200,000 Arab refugee children of school age who were living in the refugee centres in idleness in the latter part of 1948. Emergency arrangements in 1949 provided at least part-time schooling for 27 per cent of the children between 6 and 14 years of age. When UNRWA took over responsibility for refugee maintenance, educational work was continued as part of the direct relief programme. In the first fourteen months of the Agency's activities, \$282,388 was allotted to education. This relatively small sum, amounting to less than eight-tenths of one per cent of total expenditures, would have meant an outlay of little more than a dollar per child for the whole period had all children of school age been served. The soap which helped to keep refugees in good health accounted for 1.13 per cent.

Even though the funds available for education were inadequate, it became possible for 42 per cent of the Arab refugee children between the ages of 6



MAR ELIAS CAMP

The Mar Elias UNESCO School for Palestine Refugees, where the older boys receive gardening lessons as vocational training.

and 14 to attend elementary schools before the end of June 1951. Almost half of them were in schools jointly supported by UNRWA and UNESCO. Others were enabled to attend private schools, while room was found for a smaller number in the already crowded government schools of host countries.

Three Year Plan

In the light of this first year's experience, officials of the Relief and Works Agency reported that the effective planning of projects to enable the refugees to become self-supporting was impossible unless there could be some assurance in advance of the availability of funds. At the request of the Agency's Director, the United Nations General Assembly therefore agreed to a three-year plan for the period July 1, 1951, to June 30, 1954, on the basis of a total budget of \$250 million, part of which would be spent on direct relief in a diminishing ratio while the remainder would be devoted to carefully developed projects for the reintegration of refugees in normal life.

Although relief appropriations in general were cut, the education budget was continued on the former level, and eventually raised. Under the three-year plan, the fundamental education programme continues, as formerly, to be a charge on the relief budget, while specialized education and vocational training of the young and retraining of adults are financed through the reintegration budget. There has been some discussion, however, of the propriety of having the entire educational system maintained on a unified basis under the budget for reintegration, since all the educational services are helping to equip refugees for normal living and since an artificial separation of vocational training from general education might have harmful effects. The UNRWA Advisory Commission has felt, nevertheless, that only specialized education and training which promise to prepare individuals quickly for self-support can properly be charged to reintegration.

Agreements already concluded with the governments of Arab states in whose territories new development projects are to be located are enabling the Agency

to proceed with the task of preparing refugees for normal living in occupations freely chosen by themselves, which they may pursue wherever they make their permanent homes. It has been clearly stipulated that the agreements with Arab governments and the development projects that are giving the refugees an opportunity to develop their skills and improve their living conditions are not to prejudice their right to repatriation should an opportunity to return to their former homes present itself.

In the twelve months from July 1951 to June 1952, about \$600,000 was spent from the relief budget on education. With this amount UNRWA operated 120 schools, mainly in camps, with an enrolment of about 50,000 children. Another 50,000 refugee children were in schools operated by the governments of the countries where they are residing or in private schools, many of which are conducted by charitable organizations such as the Near East Council of Christian Churches and the Pontifical Mission. The Agency assisted one third of the private schools with small grants. The combined effort, which resulted in the enrolment of about 100,000 pupils, meant that about one half of the children of school age were in school.

School Attendance

A close look at statistics of enrolment shows that nearly all of the boys, or upwards of 80 per cent, appear in school between the ages of 7 and 9 but few remain beyond the age of 12, and the Agency has not attempted to provide secondary education in its schools until this year. Nowhere except in Lebanon do as many as half of the girls appear in school; and, while this is not an unfamiliar phenomenon in Moslem countries, the pressure of refugee parents for more girls' schools is very strong, and the waiting lists of applicants at existing girls' schools are long.

The Agency's schools operate on a budget of about one dollar monthly per pupil. Although classes are large, averaging 55 pupils, it is obvious that such a budget makes small provision for remuneration of the teachers. The Agency's employees are classified in a dozen salary

levels, of which teachers occupy the lowest of the twelve grades, while headmasters are in the second-lowest. There is consequently great difficulty in retaining trained teachers. Those who are qualified to teach in government schools find better remuneration there.

Most of the schools have been conducted in tents, which are reasonably satisfactory for only a part of the year. In the winter months the tents are cold and wet. Many of them were destroyed in the unusually severe storms of last winter, which the aged and dilapidated canvas was unable to withstand. A satisfactory type of building can be erected, however, at very small cost from local materials, except for the roof, which has to be of imported lumber. Some very serviceable school rooms have been built at a cost for each of less than the present low annual salary of a teacher. A few schools are able to operate in rented quarters.

Meagre Equipment

Equipment includes only bare essentials at best. Most of the schools started without furniture, but many are now equipped with desks and benches made in workshops where the older boys take instruction in carpentry. An effort is made to provide the children with pencils and notebooks and with text books that will allow them to follow the courses of study of the government schools in the country where the refugees are encamped.

For the current school year the allocation for education from the relief budget has been increased by almost two thirds. Whereas last year the allocation was a little over \$600,000, for the year 1952-53 it is just under \$1,000,000. This has enabled UNRWA to admit to its schools 3,000 children who had to be turned away last September, and, by the end of February it is hoped that an additional 17,000 may be accommodated. The size of large classes is being steadily reduced and by the end of February, it is hoped that the average will be 50 pupils to one teacher. Teachers' salaries are now being raised to levels usual in host countries. Plans are under way for the building of some satisfactory classrooms in each area in the spring of 1953 to replace outworn

tent classrooms. Although a general improvement in the quality of refugee education has thus become possible, there still remain more than 80,000 refugee children between the ages of 6 and 14 for whom no basic school education is provided.

Older pupils in the schools, as well as the teachers, have co-operated with a half-dozen paid supervisors in promoting a successful literacy campaign among adults and the children who have not had an opportunity to attend school. This effort has been based on Laubach methods, applying the principle that 'each one teaches one'. The materials used were developed by the Christian Missionary Council in Cairo at very small cost.

Technical Direction

While the educational programme is administered by UNRWA, UNESCO accepts responsibility for its technical direction, just as the World Health Organization makes provision for direction of the health services of the Agency. UNESCO provides a Chief and Deputy Chief for the Education Division of the Agency. It also makes an annual grant of some \$70,000, stipulating that \$15,000 of the amount shall be used to assist students at the university level. The latter sum, divided among the American University of Beirut, St. Joseph's University, Beirut, and the University of Syria in Damascus, has been used to assist about 100 students yearly. Palestinian students in the universities of Egypt, however, have been assisted by the Egyptian Government.

In the spring of 1952, UNESCO undertook, furthermore, to appropriate Technical Assistance funds to the extent of \$50,000 not only to provide certain specialized education personnel from abroad but also to train young Palestinians on fellowships to succeed them.

In the operation of its Gift Coupon Plan, UNESCO publicizes the needs of the Palestine Arab refugee schools and finds them a favourite object of interest in the United States, United Kingdom, France, Australia, Belgium, Sweden and other countries. The gifts produce direct contacts between schools at the sending and receiving ends, and bring about a

degree of understanding that is of value to the donors as well as to the recipients.

UNESCO also provides for an annual conference of representatives of the Ministries of Education of the Arab States to consider refugee education. The latest of these conferences, held in Beirut last April, was attended by representatives of Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon, as well as by an authority on education in the Middle East representing UNESCO Headquarters in Paris and by administrative officers of the joint UNESCO-UNRWA education programme in the Middle East. The conference recommended a unified educational system to be maintained under a single budget, in place of the present arrangement, which makes general education a charge on the relief budget and vocational training a charge on the reintegration budget. A considerably increased total budget for education was considered to be necessary.

Reintegration Programme

In the first year of the three-year reintegration programme only some small experimental training projects got under way. They provided for the training of a few hundred health and para-medical personnel, teachers, stenographers, typists, weavers and mechanics, at a cost of about \$100,000. Much time was given by the Agency's Education Division to the planning of larger-scale training in 1952-53, and \$5,000,000 has been earmarked in the reintegration budget to put these plans into effect. As a majority of the refugees are of peasant origin and must be expected to find their future on the land, agricultural education has had an important place in all of these plans. But training plans constitute only a part of the broader and more comprehensive agreements negotiated by UNRWA with the Arab governments, and can be initiated only as the latter are actually put into effect.

Toward the current year's work of the Agency, Canada has made a contribution of \$600,000. If other countries with responsibilities similar to those of Canada contribute in like degree, and if local conditions indicate that the operations of the Relief and Works Agency have a good



KINDERGARTEN IN LEBANON

A kindergarten in Dekwani Camp, Lebanon, one of the 117 elementary schools operated by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in conjunction with UNESCO.

chance of success, it is understood that the Canadian Government may consider making a further contribution this year. The largest contributors, however, have continued to be the United States, the United Kingdom and France, which together provided 80 per cent of the funds used by UNRWA during the first four-

teen months of its existence. These three countries, with Turkey, have also provided the membership of the Advisory Commission of UNRWA from the outset and have thus carried a large share of the responsibility for the day-to-day operation of a complex humanitarian enterprise of considerable dimensions.

Seventh General Conference of UNESCO

Report of the Canadian Delegation*

IT has become customary to refer to various general conferences of UNESCO in terms of crises and turning points. The Seventh General Conference held at Paris from November 12 to December 11, 1952, was no exception. It is no exaggeration to say that this was a critical conference for UNESCO; it would be incorrect to say that the crisis has been happily surmounted and that the Organization can now proceed confidently on a stable course. The different national conceptions of the work which UNESCO can and should do caused a serious rift in the middle of the conference. At its close there had been only a patchy and uneasy bridging of the rift.

Site of the Eighth General Conference of UNESCO

The action taken by the Sixth General Conference, commending to the Seventh Conference the invitation of the Government of Uruguay to hold the Eighth Conference at Montevideo, virtually predetermined the decision. Several delegations stressed the extra cost of holding general conferences away from the permanent headquarters of the Organization — an extra cost which could only be met by funds which otherwise would be devoted to programme activities. They also stressed the difficulties and disorganization for the secretariat. Some countries warned that the distance and the additional cost would make it impossible for them to send full delegations, or perhaps any delegations at all. However, the argument that this was an effective way of publicizing UNESCO and making its

work known on the South American continent won the day. The conference voted 28-13 (with 12 abstentions) in favour of Montevideo. It is expected that the 1954 conference will be held in May or September of that year; the decision rests in the hands of the Executive Board.

Admission of New Members to UNESCO

The admission of Nepal and Libya created no difficulties. The admission of Spain, however, aroused strong feelings among the delegations which had opposed it, and caused uneasiness amongst delegations that did not wish to take a strong stand either way. The conference accepted a resolution precluding debate on the admission of Spain. This was approved by a majority of 44-4 (with 7 abstentions). Spain's admission without debate led the Yugoslav member of the Executive Board to announce his resignation (which he later agreed to withdraw until his National Commission could review the issue) and resulted in the resignation of a member each from the French and Belgian delegations. The Canadian delegation voted in favour of Spain's admission on the ground that UNESCO's objective was universal membership and that it was a non-political organization.

Withdrawal of Poland

A letter was received from the Polish Embassy in Paris in the last days of the conference denouncing the nature of the Organization and announcing Poland's withdrawal from membership. It was not

*The Canadian delegation to the Seventh General Conference of UNESCO consisted of the following: Chairman: Dr. Victor Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland and Austria; Vice-Chairman: Mr. E. H. Norman, Department of External Affairs; Delegates: Mr. T. A. M. Kirk, M.P. for Digby-Yarmouth, Mr. Garnet T. Page, General Manager, Chemical Institute of Canada, Mr. Paul Gérin-Lajoie, Montreal lawyer; Alternate Delegate: Miss M. E. Conway, President Canadian Teachers' Federation; Adviser: Mr. René Garneau, Department of External Affairs; Financial Adviser: Mr. J. E. G. Hardy, Department of External Affairs; Adviser and Secretary: Mr. Blair Seaborn, Department of External Affairs.

a startling development, because Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary had not taken part in the work of the Organization since the Florence conference of 1950. A letter has been sent from UNESCO urging the Polish Government to reconsider its decision; but it seems highly improbable that this will have any effect, particularly since Hungary announced after the conference its intention of withdrawing.

Debate on the Budget Ceiling

The programme and budget estimates prepared by the Director-General and approved by the Executive Board for presentation to the conference called for a budget of \$20,400,000 for the years 1953 and 1954. This, according to the Director-General, was the minimum necessary to carry out the essential parts of UNESCO's programme. This figure represented a substantial increase over the budget ceiling of \$8,700,000 for the year 1952.

The debate on the budget ceiling probably was the most critical of the session. On one side were those countries which entirely supported the Director-General's programme and considered that it constituted but one more modest step in the direction of a constantly expanding UNESCO programme. They saw an almost limitless field of worthwhile projects in education, science and culture, and thought that only through UNESCO could these be initiated. On the other side, the countries that spoke in favour of a more modest budget, principally those such as the United States, the United Kingdom and ourselves, making the largest contributions to UNESCO, cited heavy commitments in other fields and inability to give unlimited funds to UNESCO. Although the division of countries into those which thought in an expensive way and those of a more conservative bent was not entirely clearcut, predominant among the former were the Latin American countries and some of the more important countries of Asia and Africa.

A compromise proposal providing a budget ceiling of \$18,000,000 for the two years was finally put forward late in the discussion and was carried by a narrow

majority of 29-21 (with 4 abstentions).

Although the ceiling of \$18,000,000 will mean a higher assessment for the forthcoming two years, the money available for the programme each year will be less than in the year 1952. There will be an effective spending budget of just over \$17,000,000. Firstly, it will cost, approximately, an additional \$300,000 to hold the Eighth Conference in Montevideo rather than in Paris. Secondly, non-recurring funds were used in 1952 to cover the expected shortfall in contributions and to permit the carrying out of projects which could not otherwise have been financed. This year no such funds are available. Thirdly, the estimated annual percentage of contributions considered uncollectable rose from 7.5 per cent in 1952 to 9.2 per cent in 1953-54. For all these reasons, there will be reduced programme activity.

One of the causes of the budget crisis was the constitutional vagueness concerning responsibility for the preparation of the programme and budget estimates. In theory, the Executive Board prepared the programme and the Director-General assembled the budget estimates necessary to implement it. But it was known that the Director-General, Mr. Torres Bodet, was very closely associated with the preparation of the budget and that he felt committed to its defence. The conference subsequently amended the constitution to give the Director-General full responsibility for the preparation of the programme and corresponding budget. The Executive Board will submit these to the general conference with its recommendations. This clarification of the respective powers and responsibilities of the administrative, executive and legislative organs should help the work of future conferences and lessen the chance of conflicts.

The Budget Committee was hampered in its consideration of the budget estimates prior to the opening of the General Conference by the Director-General's insistence that it neither examine the relative merits, in financial terms, of the projects in the programme, nor relate the proposed budget to the general financial policies of the fifteen member states on the Committee. The Committee was therefore limited to an analysis of the costing accuracy of each project. The

Budget Committee for the 1954 conference has been transformed into an Advisory Committee on Programme and Budget with enlarged terms of reference. It will have full power to examine, before the general conference opens, the programme and budget of the Director-General, as well as the Executive Board's comments on them. It will also examine and advise on new proposals by member states or the Executive Board. Such a committee should facilitate the work of the general conference through the elimination of the artificial distinction between the substantive and budgetary aspects of programme projects. Canada was again elected to serve on this Committee.

Resignation of the Director-General

On November 22, the morning after the budget had been fixed, Dr. Bodet announced his intention of resigning his post as Director-General of UNESCO. He said that he had "burned himself out" in his efforts to make the Organization what he thought it could and should be. Faced with a choice between retreat, stabilization, or advance by the Organization, the Executive Board and he had spoken in favour of advance, but the conference had, in his opinion, chosen retreat. He said that he had lost heart and faith, and could no longer continue in his job. His resignation was not prompted by any sense of personal pique. He would, he said, have resigned even had his proposed programme and budget been accepted by the conference by a small majority. He could not carry on unless he thought that a large majority of member states were whole-heartedly behind him in his endeavours. His resignation was followed by that of Dr. Paulo Carneiro of Brazil, the Chairman of the Executive Board, who associated himself fully with the Director-General's statement.

It is too early to judge whether the crisis of the budget and the resignation have been successfully surmounted. As was pointed out, after the resignation of Dr. Bodet, by Mr. Malik, Indian Ambassador to France and head of the Indian delegation in the absence of Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the repercussions in distant countries, particularly less-devel-

oped ones such as his own, could not be gauged by those sitting in the conference rooms of UNESCO. In the narrowest sense, the problem is unresolved. The choice of a suitable successor to Dr. Bodet presents a real problem. To carry on in Dr. Bodet's place, the conference appointed Dr. John W. Taylor, Dr. Bodet's deputy, to serve as Acting Director-General until a new Director-General is appointed. This will take place at an extraordinary session to be held in the spring of 1953.

Sequel to Dr. Bodet's Resignation

The day before Dr. Bodet's resignation, Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the President of the General Conference, had left hurriedly for India at Mr. Nehru's request. To succeed him as Acting President, the steering committee chose Mr. S. M. Sharif, the head of the Pakistan delegation and a senior official in the Pakistan Ministry of Education. During the course of the next three days, Mr. Sharif worked tirelessly to bring about agreement on a course of action for the remainder of the conference. In these efforts he was able to achieve much success. Those who had voted for the higher budget ceiling were not happy about the necessity of cutting the programme. But through Mr. Sharif's efforts they were persuaded to proceed to a critical examination of the programme to decide where reductions could best be made to bring the programme within the limits of funds that would be available.

Work of the Programme Commission

When the Programme Commission began a detailed examination of the programme and budget estimates it had before it suggestions already made by the Budget Committee whereby savings could be effected in carrying out the programme as drawn up by the Director-General. Examples of some of these are noted in the Annex. The Administrative Commission was also able to effect economies in budgeting for the Eighth General Conference as well as for the Office of the Director-General and the New York Liaison Office. The Programme Commission and the various working parties

which were set up under it had to work on the assumption that only A.1 priorities could be carried out in the years 1953 and 1954 and that all A.2, B.1 and B.2 priorities would have to be deleted from the programme. They had, moreover, to look for savings of approximately 7.8 per cent in the A.1 priorities in order to bring the programme within the limits of funds available. The discussions which followed reflected to some extent disagreement resulting from the budget-ceiling debate. However, the Canadian delegation is satisfied that none of the important projects has been sacrificed.

Establishment of Priorities

A Working Party on the Future Programme and Development of UNESCO was set up to examine an item proposed by the United States on the "establishment of priorities". In its report, which will be referred to member states for comments to assist the Director-General in the preparation of the programme for 1955-56, the Working Party divided the activities of the Organization into three categories: (i) established-services activities, i.e., the techniques and methods used in carrying out the permanent purposes or the particular programmes of UNESCO; (ii) programme activities corresponding to the present budgetary level; (iii) priorities for a programme corresponding to a higher budgetary level.

The activities of the Organization are so heterogeneous, its membership is so varied, the conceptions of its purposes are so different among various groups, that the problem of defining priorities will always be an arduous one. European countries, for example, tend to regard it as the successor to the Centre for Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations; whereas under-developed countries are more interested in fundamental education than in intellectual co-operation on a higher plane. Moreover, the Secretariat prefers to maintain the equilibrium worked out over seven experimental years among the various programme departments and their activities. Nevertheless, the general conference has recognized the desirability of establishing priorities. The fact that certain fields have been selected for special emphasis is in line with Cana-

dian thinking on concentration of effort, and represents an achievement on which it should be possible to build in the future.

Permanent Headquarters

The discussions on permanent headquarters for UNESCO were confused halfway through the conference when the French Government announced that it must withdraw its offer of a site at the Porte Maillot on the edge of the Bois de Boulogne. Complete plans for a building had been drawn for this site, and it seemed for a short time that it would be impossible at this conference to reach any firm decision about the building. However, the French Government was pressed into making a new offer to UNESCO, and this time it proposed the site at the Place de Fontenoy near the École Militaire, which had originally been offered but had been rejected as unsuitable by the panel of five architects which is advising UNESCO in this matter. In renewing its offer of the site at the Place de Fontenoy, the French Government agreed to reimburse the Organization in the amount of \$90,000 for the expenses incurred in drawing up plans for the other site. It also offered to withdraw the architectural restrictions on the Place de Fontenoy site which had previously made this ground unsuitable. The French Government renewed its offer of an interest-free loan of approximately \$6,000,000, repayable over 30 years to finance the building. Agreement in principle to acceptance of the new offer was reached, subject to final ratification at the extraordinary session to be held in the spring of 1953, when the architects will have drawn up new plans. It seems likely that agreement will be reached in the spring and that construction can proceed. If this is the case, UNESCO should have its permanent headquarters in good time for the Ninth General Conference in 1956.

Composition of the Executive Board

A long but fruitful debate was held in the Administrative Commission on the amendment to the constitution proposed by the United States. This would have had the effect of electing to the Executive

Board representatives of national governments rather than persons chosen in their individual capacities. Those in favour of this argued that such a change would make for closer co-operation between the Executive Board and the governments and member states in the period between ordinary sessions and in the formulation of the programme and budget estimates for future years. They hoped that through closer liaison with national governments it would be possible to avoid the type of crisis over the programme and budget which occurred in 1952. Those opposed argued that the Executive Board should be above national direction and pressures, and should serve not member states but the Organization as a whole. Canada played an active part in modifying the original amendment to meet some of the objections raised and the amendment was finally phrased was much more acceptable than the original. However, an Indian resolution to defer decision until 1954 gained the support of those who were opposed and those who were undecided, and was carried by a vote of 25-19 with one abstention and 14 absent. There appears to be a fair chance that the principle of the United States amendment will be accepted at the next general conference if Canada continues to press the point with other member states between now and 1954.

Following defeat of the revised amendment, changes were made to adapt the Executive Board to a system of biennial conferences. It was agreed that the Board should be composed of 20 rather than 18 members and that each member should serve for a period of four rather than three years. One half of the Board will retire at each ordinary session so that, once interim arrangements concerning numbers have been worked out, ten new members will be elected at each ordinary session.

Elections to the Executive Board

The members who were to retire in 1953 had their term of office extended to 1954. Professor Vittorio Veronese was elected to serve out the term, until 1954, of the late Count Jacini, the Italian member. The eight new members elected to the Executive Board are as follows (in order

of votes received):

Mr. Luther Evans . . .	United States
Mr. Henri Laugier . . .	France
H.E. Ventura G. Calderon	Peru
H.E. Toru Hagiwara . . .	Japan
Mr. Luang Pin Malakul . .	Thailand
H.E. Dr. G. A. Raadi . . .	Iran
Prof. Oscar Secco Ellauri	Uruguay
Prof. Jakob Nielsen . . .	Denmark

The Yugoslav member, who had announced his resignation over the admission of Spain, was persuaded, to let it stand in abeyance pending consideration by the Yugoslav National Commission and Government. Should he renew his resignation, it will be necessary to elect one more member to replace him.

Legal Questions

A Legal Committee, on which Canada served, was set up at the conference to consider the many amendments to the constitution, rules of procedure and various directives consequent upon the adoption of a system of biennial rather than annual conferences. Canada was elected to the Legal Committee for the 1954 conference.

Conclusion

There are various considerations in Canada's participation in UNESCO. One point of view is that it is an Organization to which we give, but from which we also receive. This has not always been recognized in Canada but Canadian scientists, educators, social scientists and others are beginning to realize that they can draw positive advantage from some of UNESCO's projects. UNESCO can also be regarded as another channel for helping the less-developed countries of the world.

In the final analysis, the crisis of the recent conference arose from the clash of concepts over the proper purposes and potentialities of the Organization as seen by delegates of the less developed countries on the one hand and the major contributing nations on the other. Debate on this central issue which precipitated Dr. Bodet's resignation generated a degree of bitterness on the part of some delegations. They expressed the view that at the end of the Second World War the great pow-

ers had stimulated the hopes of the whole world concerning the peaceful and constructive role of UNESCO; but now these same powers were showing greater concern with other matters, particularly defence, and were inclined to neglect the ideals represented by UNESCO. While these views may seem to some to have been based on a misunderstanding of what UNESCO can do in the present world and while the emotions aroused in the debate may have seemed excessive, these symptoms of disillusionment are phenomena which we in Canada should not ignore or belittle. It is true that the Canadian delegation, together with a number of others, chiefly representing the larger contributors, insisted upon economies in certain projects, but there was no disposition to abandon what these delegations regard as the core of UNESCO responsibilities, namely fundamental education and technical assistance. Perhaps the effective way to dispel any misunderstanding or resentment among some delegations who expected a larger budget would be continued and detailed interest in the work of UNESCO between conferences and a willingness at forthcoming conferences to display a lively and sustained interest, both financial and professional, in those projects which we in Canada have always regarded as basic.

ANNEX

Voluntary societies and interested persons in Canada will undoubtedly be anxious to know the practical implications for UNESCO'S activities resulting from the need to reduce the overall budget for projects with A.1 priority by 7.8 per cent. Although there was some discussion of the possibility of making a cross-the-board reduction on each project, it was decided to make the reduction selective.

The following list is not exhaustive, but includes most of the major and a number of the minor modifications of UNESCO'S projects decided upon at the conference.

Education

1. The annual subvention to the International Association of Universities was reduced by \$1,000.

2. The annual subvention to the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession was increased from \$3,000 to \$6,000, and upgraded from A.2 to A.1 priority.
3. The subvention of \$2,000 for the New Education Fellowship was upgraded from B.1 to A.1 priority.
4. It was decided to publish the World Handbook of Educational Organization and Statistics every three years rather than every two years. The next edition will be published in 1956.
5. The studies on the training of secondary school teachers in Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States were deleted.
6. A committee of six consultants was established to consider the aims and methods of education for living in a world community, and this project was given an A.1 priority.
7. It was reluctantly agreed to discontinue the programme of studies aimed at assisting educational activities in member states designed to equip children better for living in a world community.
8. The time limit for seminars was reduced from five to four weeks.
9. The UNESCO University Course is to be dropped entirely.

Social Sciences

1. Establishment of an International Social Science Research and Training Centre was postponed. Its place has been taken provisionally by a small Research Office.
2. The proposed subvention to the International Studies Conference was reduced from \$3,500 annually to \$1,750.
3. It was decided that the meeting of experts during 1954 to consider international conflicts and their mediation should be deferred and the study of theories and opinions regarding the causes of war postponed.
4. It was agreed that contracts with the Provisional International Social Science Council should be reduced from \$9,000 to \$6,000, and that the meeting of experts to evaluate international co-operation in the social sciences should be reduced in size.
5. The publication of the International Repertory of Social Science Documentation Centres was discontinued.

6. An increase of \$3,000 was approved for work on the Bibliography of South Asia.

Natural Sciences

1. It was decided not to investigate the possibility of forming an Institute for Brain Research. Instead, a small budgetary allocation was allotted to the creation of a Regional Pacific Oceanographic Institute.
2. Financial support for the proposed International Computation Centre was withdrawn.
3. There will be no new travelling science exhibition, and the three existing exhibitions now abroad, will complete their programmes and then will be

- kept in Paris for the next two years. The estimated saving will be \$38,000.
4. Publication of "Impact" is to be continued on a much reduced basis, and no Arabic or Spanish editions are to be prepared unless extra funds become available.
 5. The printing costs for a number of publications were reduced by the decision to publish them either in one language only or in a single bilingual edition.

Cultural Activities

1. It was found possible to reduce the cost of the Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind by \$40,000 for the next two years.



—dasmfoto

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO TURKEY

Mr. H. O. Moran, centre, the Canadian Ambassador to Turkey, on the occasion of his presentation of Letters of Credence to President Bayar. Mr. Moran is accompanied by the Assistant Chief of Protocol, Mr. Beheet Sefik Özdoganci, left, and the Aide-de-camp to the President.

The UN General Assembly— A Senator's Impressions

HON. GORDON B. ISNOR

In the following article Senator Isnor of Nova Scotia describes his personal impressions as a member of the Canadian Delegation to the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly.

ALMOST the first words used by Canadians and other visitors to the United Nations are — "Isn't this wonderful, it seems fantastic, tell me more about it."

You agree with the first two thoughts but when it comes to "telling more about it" that's a different story for the very simple reason that there never has been anything just like the United Nations.

Then perhaps, after having invited your friends to have lunch with you in the Delegates' Dining Room, which operates on a self-supporting basis, you start to explain the functions of the United Nations and answer all manner of questions.

By way of background I should explain my position by stating that early last September I received an invitation, extended on behalf of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, to be a representative on the Canadian Delegation to the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly opening in New York on October 14.

"Land of Queer Names"

While feeling honoured, I questioned my usefulness to the Delegation, due to the fact that I had never made any special study of External Affairs, or of the United Nations. However, it was pointed out that, because of my long years of service in the House of Commons and the Senate, particularly in connection with financial matters, there was certain Committee work for which I was adapted. So here I am — in the "Land of Queer Names"—such as: UNRWAPR, UNICEF, UNKRA, UNESCO, ILO, FAO, ICAO, UPU, WHO and many others, too confusing to try to enumerate. It was in a state of "bewilderment" in its truest sense

that I found myself seated next to Mr. Paul Martin in the Plenary Session of the Assembly on the opening day.

It really took me the best part of the first week to get my feet firmly on the ground — but things quickly adjusted themselves. I felt proud to be a Canadian as I listened to the favourable comments regarding the election of Mr. Pearson to the Presidency. As this was the first session to be held in the newly completed quarters of the U.N., the retiring president, Dr. Padilla Nervo, Hon. Vincent Impellitteri, Mayor of New York, Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General and others spoke in glowing terms of the work of the Headquarters Advisory Committee which handled the details in connection with the new building.

The Buildings

These extraordinary structures, housing the U.N. Permanent Headquarters, occupy an 18-acre tract of land on Manhattan Island, covering six blocks from 42nd to 48th Streets, between First Avenue and the East River. At first sight one almost has a feeling of awe — the buildings are unique in so many ways, and so outstandingly different from other buildings. The three elements are the 39-story skyscraper office building of the Secretariat; the long, low Conference Building paralleling the river with its Council Chambers and Conference Rooms; and the strikingly magnificent General Assembly Hall.

Underground parking and garage facilities are provided for 1,500 cars. The U.N. maintains a postal service and there is usually a line-up of persons purchasing U.N. stamps both for philatelic and personal use. (Letters bearing U.N. stamps must be mailed within the U.N. Buildings.)



—United Nations

UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS

The United Nations General Assembly Building, showing (from top to bottom) the Press snack bar; the lounge area; and the Delegates entrance.

The headquarters itself is what might be termed a self-governing organization —it has every facility required to service its operations.

Now the questions arise: — how much did this cost? Where did the money come from? Who pays? On what basis are contributions made?

Administrative and Budgetary Matters

I was a member of the Fifth Committee, which is one of the main committees and deals with administrative and budgetary matters. All financial items come before this committee for careful scrutiny, examination and approval. Therefore I

have been in a particularly good position to supply answers to these questions.

Well, to start with, the site was acquired with the \$8,500,000 donated to the U.N. by John D. Rockefeller Jr. The building was constructed at a cost of approximately \$67,000,000. The Budget Estimates, as presented by the Secretary-General for the year 1953, amounted to a gross total of \$47,765,200*— against this was estimated income of \$6,112,500 — leaving a net budget of \$41,652,700.

“Where does the money come from” — This needs to be answered more fully so that the picture will be clear. There are 60 countries enjoying U.N. membership and on each of the six committees there is a representative of each country. Then there is the Committee on Contributions, composed of nine members selected on a geographical basis, whose duty it is to meet annually and prepare a rate of contributions or assessments, based broadly on “capacity to pay”. This Committee has before it a statement called “comparative income per head of population” and this plays an important part in arriving at the scale of assessment of each country. Another important factor must be borne in mind — “temporary dislocation of national economies arising out of the Second World War”. Perhaps I could not do better than to illustrate with the figures for Canada. The recommended scale for us is 3.30% of total budget, which on \$44,000,000 would be \$1,452,000. Since our last census shows that Canada’s population is slightly more than 14,000,000,

this would work out to a Canadian contribution of 10 cents for each man, woman and child — surely a low rate of insurance for an effort to maintain peace throughout the world, or among the member-nations of the U.N.

Purposes and Principles

But someone else might ask — yes, you have told us about the buildings, the cost of administration, and the manner in which assessments are made, but tell us in a word as to the *purposes* and *principles* of the United Nations — To this I would say in the language of the Charter: “To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppressions of acts of aggression”. It is an effort to save this and succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind.

Aim of Canadian Delegation

To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom — this is the aim of every member of the Canadian Delegation, and, I believe the thought of practically every other nation’s delegation attending the seventh session. I wish every Canadian, in every walk of life, could learn more of the aims and purposes of the United Nations. I wish more Canadians could see the Canadian Delegation at work.

I conclude this statement as I began — “It’s wonderful, it seems fantastic, tell me more about it” — These are some of my views and impressions.

*The gross budget finally approved..... \$48,327,700
The estimated income \$ 6,238,200
The estimated net expenditure..... \$42,089,500

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

Statements of Government Policy

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

On January 15, in the reply to a request by Mr. Croll (L-Spadina) for enlightenment on "the implications of recent signs of growing anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and the satellite countries in Eastern Europe", Mr. Pearson (Secretary of State for External Affairs) said:

... The ominous and familiar pattern which seems to be developing within the Soviet world is a matter which must be viewed with deepest anxiety — especially, if I may say so, by citizens of the Jewish faith in Canada and other countries. Communist action against Jews has been recently highlighted in the purge in Czechoslovakia. There have been indications that similar purges may be in the making in other satellite capitals. The news from Moscow that six Jewish doctors have been arrested in that city, charged with fantastic and obviously trumped-up crimes, fits into the same pattern. There has not yet been time for the Department of External Affairs to receive sufficient information on this latest development to make possible a balanced assessment of its probable implications. That it may prove to be a very serious matter indeed is, I think, obvious to all of us.

Terrible atrocities stemmed from unbridled anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany. It would be a great tragedy and crime if the rulers of Communist Russia were now planning to revive this dark and evil force from the past and to make use of it for their own ends.



UNITED NATIONS ESSAY CONTEST

The United Nations Department of Public Information has announced plans for its annual essay contest for members of non-governmental organizations collaborating with the United Nations.

The contest is open to members between the ages of 20 and 35 who are nationals of UN member countries, except the United States, or of countries administered by a member state.

Candidates may choose between two subjects: "United Nations Technical Assistance and Peace", or "The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in the Implementation of the Principles of the United Nations." The essays may be written in the candidates' mother tongue.

The winners will be offered a month's stay at UN Headquarters in New York, in September-October 1953, with their living expenses and travel paid for by the UN.

Ten prizes will be awarded, no more than one to the same country. One prize will be reserved for a member of an association of a non-member state of the United Nations if an essay of sufficient quality is received.

The essays will be examined by national organizing committees, and the two best entries from each country will be judged by an international panel consisting of officials of the UN Department of Public Information and experts in the field of international education. Entries must reach the national organizing committees before May 1, 1953, and the prize winners will be announced before June 20, 1953. Complete rules for the contest may be secured from the Department of Public Information United Nations, New York, N.Y.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. P. Sigvaldason was posted from annual leave (Office of the High Commissioner, London) to Ottawa, effective January 5, 1953.
- Mr. T. P. Malone was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C. to Ottawa, effective January 2, 1953.
- Mr. A. J. Andrew was transferred from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to the Canadian Legation, Vienna, effective January 15, 1953.
- Mr. W. G. M. Olivier was transferred from the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations, New York to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective January 30, 1953.
- Mr. R. E. Reynolds was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Prague, effective January 28, 1953.
- Mr. K. Goldschlag was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in New Delhi, effective January 28, 1953.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of international conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of January 1953. Earlier conferences will be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations of international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, or where appropriate, by Cabinet, upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on Which Canada is Represented

(Published annually. Only new international bodies on which Canada is represented will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1953, for the last complete list.)

Conferences Attended in January

1. 11th Session of Executive Board of WHO. Geneva, January 12.
2. Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices (ECOSOC). New York, January 12.
3. Regional Conference of ICAO. Melbourne, January 13.
4. 19th Annual Meeting of American Society of Photogrammetry. Washington, January 14-16.
5. 10th Session of ECE Steel Committee. Geneva, January 19.
6. 11th Session of the International Wheat Council. Washington, January 30.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

Treaty Series 1952, No. 8:—Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the accession of Greece and Turkey. Signed at London, October 17, 1951. English and French texts. Price 25 cents.

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STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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No. 53/1 — *The Eskimos: A Canadian Human Resource*, an address by the Minister of Resource and Development, Mr. R. H. Winters, delivered at the Annual

Convention of the Canadian Construction Association, Montreal, January, 19, 1953.

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No. 53/2 — *Trade and Communications in an Interdependent World*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at the Annual Dinner Meeting of the Dominion Marine Association and Lake Carriers' Association, Seigniory Club, Montebello, P.Q., January 21, 1953.

CORRIGENDA

Vol. 5, No. 1, January 1953, page 19. Line 8 should read: "It called for the establishment of a repatriation commission, to consist of the four states".

Ibid, line 17, for "Geneva Convention" read "Geneva Conventions".

Ibid, page 22, last paragraph, lines 16 and 17 should read: "Assembly was that originally put forward by the Latin-American and Asian states. In the end it was supported by all the African and Asian states except Pakistan and carried by a vote", etc.

Ibid, page 23, paragraph 2, last line, insert before the word "unless" the following: "for a peace settlement untrammelled by considerations arising out of past Assembly resolutions, while the Arabs refused to consider direct negotiations . . ."

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Land Reform in Italy

Among the most important of the social and economic policies of the present Italian Government is that of land reform. It will probably constitute one of the main themes in the forthcoming national elections in Italy, especially in the regions where the land reform programme is already being carried out. The Italian experience, as it develops, may also be of some interest to Asian and Middle Eastern governments, some of which have been showing an increasing concern in the question of land improvement and redistribution. As the Italian land reform programme is progressively carried into execution, it is likely to affect not only domestic conditions but also the Italian attitude toward plans for European agricultural integration. The study printed below is based on official Italian documents and on articles which have appeared in a number of Italian publications.

Constitutional Conception of Landed Property

The Italian Constitution makes it a duty of the State "to remove obstacles of an economic and social nature which, by limiting in fact the liberty and equality of citizens, impede the full development of the human person and the effective participation of workers in the political, economic and social organization of the country". As a means of achieving this fundamental objective, "private property is to be made accessible to all" through appropriate legislation and policies designed to bring about more equitable distribution of land and to assist and protect small and medium owners. Thus, while the Constitution "recognizes and guarantees private property", it ascribes to the legislator the task of determining "the methods of its acquisition, its uses and its limits . . . in order to ensure the fulfilment of its social function". As a corollary, private property may "in cases provided for by law and with indemnity, be expropriated for reasons of general interest".

This conception of private property reflects in large measure the teachings of Christian socialism, according to which every man has a right to the possession of those goods that are necessary for the satisfaction of his essential needs and the free and full development of his personality. Beyond that point, the proprietor becomes the custodian of wealth, which he administers on behalf of the community to which he belongs. He has the

responsibility of managing his trust in the manner best calculated to serve the general interest. Should he fail to do so, the community may deprive him of his possessions and return them to its members, or entrust some more qualified persons or groups with their administration, or, in certain cases, assume that function itself.

Applying the above conception to real property, a subsequent article of the Constitution stipulates that "to the end of achieving a rational exploitation of the soil and of establishing social relations of equality, the law places obligations upon private landed property, fixes limits to its extension according to agrarian regions and zones, promotes and enforces land reclamation, the transformation of the *latifondo* and the reconstruction of productive units. It helps small and medium property". As was realized by the framers of the Constitution, land reform has an economic as well as a social aspect. Not only must it aim at satisfying the legitimate spiritual and social aspirations of the individual members of the community but it must also result in an increase of production and in a real improvement in living conditions, if it is to serve the general interest in a truly effective and lasting manner. The multiplication of legal titles to property, while apt to spur initiative and release previously frustrated or unused human energies, will not in itself necessarily ensure a higher level of production and add materially to the general welfare. It is the practical task of the legislator to reduce to a minimum any possible conflict between the

desirable social objective of extending the ownership of property as widely as possible and the requirements of efficient and maximum production.

General Objectives of Land Reform

Major nuclei of large private landed property remaining in Europe from feudal times are to be found in Italy and Spain. The percentage of the Italian farm land occupied by small holdings (i.e. of approximately 50 hectares⁽¹⁾ or less) is one of the lowest on the continent. Around 1930, the latest year for which comparative data are available, it stood at 57 per cent, the corresponding figures being: more than 90 per cent for Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands and Norway; more than 80 per cent for Denmark, Finland and Sweden; and more than 70 per cent for France and Germany. While, in most non-Communist European countries, practically all small farms are owned directly by the peasants, this is not the case in Italy, where a large number of plots are tilled by sharecroppers, tenants or day labourers, in many cases to the benefit of absentee landowners. A survey made before the Second World War showed that less than 35 per cent of the Italian agricultural soil was covered by peasant properties.

From a strictly economic and technical point of view, it would appear that the existence of large private estates, far from being a liability, is a necessary condition anywhere for the use of modern agricultural implements and large scale production. This, of course, varies with the types of production and the prevailing economic and social conditions in the agricultural region concerned. It is truest in regions of extensive cultivation, such as the Canadian Prairies, where a few staple crops of high quality are produced over wide areas, where the landowners have the will and the means to adopt modern methods of farming and to undertake the required capital expenditure, where the supporting industry for the use and maintenance of the machines is well developed, and where the population of the available productive surface is small. However, these conditions are

lacking in varying degrees in Europe, and most notably in Italy. Demographic pressure, the relative scarcity of land and the frequent financial and social inability of large owners to improve it have led gradually to its sub-division and to increasingly intensive and diversified cultivation by small and medium farmers, or else to appropriation and development by the State. The Italian Government has chosen to accelerate the historical and natural process of fragmentation through a reform of land tenure coupled with a programme of public assistance which aims gradually and scientifically to effect a fuller use of this scarce commodity, and at the maximum employment and welfare of the agricultural population. These basic economic and social pre-occupations govern the extent of expropriations and the method of distribution and improvement of the land affected by the reform legislation.

Land Reform Legislation

In April 1950 the Government submitted to the Senate a general land-reform bill covering the whole of Italy. This law, however, has not yet been approved by Parliament. In view of the great regional differences of geographical conditions and of social and economic development, it was felt that it would be wiser to proceed by steps, applying the reform first in those areas where it was most urgently needed and most likely to produce tangible and beneficial results. Consequently, in May 1950, a limited plan came into effect for the colonization of the Sila plateau and adjoining districts in Calabria. In October of the same year, the principles governing the expropriation and re-distribution of land in the Sila region were extended with certain modifications, to several other parts of Italy, particularly in the centre and the south. The relevant law became known as the "stralcio" or partial law, in the sense that it partially implements the general reform bill. Finally the autonomous government of Sicily promulgated a similar scheme for that province in December 1950. The three basic laws at present in force are to be integrated eventually into the general reform bill. A number of laws and decrees have since been approved

⁽¹⁾ The *hectare* is approximately 2.471 acres.



that clarify, interpret and in certain cases modify the provisions of the basic legislation described above, as a result of experience gained in its application.

(a) Expropriations

Under the Sila law, all holdings "susceptible of improvements", in excess of 300 hectares, including some situated outside that region, are expropriated. Under the "stralcio" and the Sicilian laws, private landed properties are subject to expropriation in a proportion determined on the basis of the revenue of the entire property and the average rev-

enue per hectare. A table is appended to the law which provides for a progressive percentage of expropriation from 0 to 95 per cent of the total surface, depending, on the one hand, on the total taxable income of the property and, on the other, on the average taxable income per hectare on January 1, 1943. In this way, the two factors of surface and value of the property are taken into account. Such a formula was considered desirable, as the value and revenue of the Italian soil may vary according to regions in the proportion of 1 to 1800. For a period of six years following expropriation, landlords

are prohibited from acquiring new plots which would increase the property left at their disposal beyond 750 hectares.

(b) Exemptions

Holdings in the Sila region are exempted from expropriation up to 300 hectares. In other parts of Italy, the "model" farm enjoys exemption. It is described in the 'stralcio' law as an organic and efficient holding under intensive cultivation, managed in association with the peasants and provided with a modern, centralized equipment station. It must fulfil a number of specific conditions. In particular, its average unit yields (whether from crops or animal products), calculated over the past 15 years, must be at least 40 per cent higher than that of similar production in the agricultural zone to which the farm belongs. It must use a minimum quantity of labour per hectare, and the economic and social conditions of the peasants who work on it must be markedly superior to the average for the district, having regard to continuity of employment, housing facilities and the degree of participation of the workers in the yields. Owners of several farms of this type can obtain exemption for only one, which they may choose. Certificates of exemption are granted by the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry.

Initial expropriation takes place only on two thirds of the land subject to it under the new law. The landlord has the right to ask permission, within sixty days, to complete during the following two years the transformation and improvement required by the reform authorities on the remaining third. If he takes advantage of this privilege, he must also undertake the development of all the other plots left to him after expropriation in the region to which the reform law applies. Once this work has been completed, he must hand over to the reform authorities, for distribution, half the plots constituting the remaining third, before he can receive his expropriation indemnity and reimbursement for the transformation costs he has borne. The other half remains his property if the reform authorities are satisfied that all the necessary improvements have been carried out. In addition, the landlord can retain for each

of his sons 15 per cent of the remaining third. These provisions are intended to encourage landowners to develop the unexpropriated part of their properties and to make due allowance for their family responsibilities.

(c) Compensation

Landlords are entitled to compensation corresponding to the value of the expropriated property, payable in the form of public bonds bearing interest at 5 per cent and redeemable in 25 years. They can receive a partial advance payment in cash to assist them in the transformation of the "remaining third" and of the unexpropriated part of their land.

(d) Distribution

The expropriated land is distributed among "manual agricultural workers" who are neither proprietors nor holders of a farm that they exploit for their own profit under a long-term contract of concession (*emphyteusis*), or who are so in a measure insufficient to ensure employment of members of their families. Workers who had a preferred contract of employment on the expropriated land and who contributed in this way to its past cultivation and improvement are given preference to the allocation of plots. Land may also be transferred to legally-recognized institutions that have as their specific purpose the vocational training of orphans and children of peasant families preparing themselves to become qualified farmers or teachers in agricultural schools.

(e) Repayment

Plots are obtained under a regular contract of sale between the Reform Organization and the recipient. This provides for repayment in 30 annual instalments with interest at the rate of 3½ per cent. The price must not be higher than 2/3 of the compensation granted to the farmer owner plus the cost of the improvements carried out by the Reform Organization. Repayment in advance is not accepted. The law establishes a trial period of three years and prohibits the sale or cession of plots by the new owners until final and complete settlement of the price.

(f) *Functions of Land Reform Organizations*

Eight main regional organizations have been set up to administer the land reform laws: one for the Province of Calabria; one for the Provinces of Puglia, Lucania and Molise; one for the region of the Volturno, Garigliano and Sele rivers in the Provinces of Campania and Southern Lazio; one for the Maremma and the Fucino basin in the Provinces of the Lazio and Tuscany; one for the Po Valley; one each for Northern and Southern Sardinia, and one for Sicily.

These public agencies are directly financed by the State. In addition to being entrusted, under the supervision and control of the Government, with the expropriation and re-distribution of land, they give technical, economic and financial assistance to the new settlers. They must encourage and organize free vocational training classes and pools of agricultural implements. They must also promote the creation of co-operatives for each organic unit of colonization or create syndicates to which will be transferred gradually the technical assistance functions initially performed by the Land Reform Organizations. The recipients of land must agree to join these co-operatives or syndicates and participate in them for a minimum period of 20 years.

Progress made so far

The full benefits of the reform in increased employment, production and welfare will not be felt until all the expropriated land has been re-distributed and the new owners have had time to organize and develop their plots. In a progress report given on January 26, 1953, the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Signor Fanfani, announced that all individual expropriation plans drawn up by the reform organizations had by December 31, 1952, the time limit fixed by law, received the approval of the Council of Ministers. Excluding Sicily, which administers its own scheme, expropriation decrees cover a surface of nearly 585,000 hectares⁽²⁾ out of an area of some 8 million to which the reform is applicable. With the addition of Sicily, the figure may reach 700,000 hectares.

This land will be distributed to more than 100,000 peasant families. More than 100 model farms and co-operatives have been exempted for some 40,000 hectares. So far, 153,000 hectares have been allocated to 35,000 peasant families. Nearly 5,000 new farm houses have been erected and several kilometers of road have been traced. Four villages with their churches and schools have been constructed and inaugurated and some thirty more are being planned. 1,600 hectares have been acquired and 200,000 quintals⁽³⁾ of seeds and fertilizers have been made available to the peasants. Heads of cattle to a value of more than 2 billion *lire*⁽⁴⁾ have also been distributed. These figures give but a partial picture of the task of renovation and development undertaken by the Italian Government to improve agriculture and living conditions in the traditionally depressed areas of the south.

Not a Revolutionary Upheaval

The need for a reform of Italian agriculture is not seriously contested by any political party or any other major group in the country. However, opinions differ widely as to its extent and the forms it should take and on the necessity of modifying the property and tenure structure in order to achieve the desired results. The fundamental aim of the Christian Democrat Government is not a revolutionary upheaval of the existing order but rather the provision of a wider and more stable basis both in social conditions and in a rational and efficient exploitation of the soil. The Government has tried to harmonize the technical and economic requirements of optimum production with the social objective of establishing a closer relation between property and work in order to promote the peasantry's initiative, sense of responsibility, dignity and welfare. It believes that the legislation, by providing for exemption from expropriation for model farms, by reducing the extent of expropriation in favour of landlords who are ready to develop their holdings for their own profit or that of their

⁽²⁾ See footnote, Page 63.

⁽³⁾ *Quintal* — measure of either 100 or 112 lb.

⁽⁴⁾ *Lire* — plural of *lira*; the *lira* is worth approximately one sixth of a cent.

sons, and by grouping small farmers in co-operatives and syndicates to make technical knowledge and agricultural implements accessible to them, achieves an equilibrium between the economic and social aspects of the reform which in the long run will benefit the whole community.

Criticisms from the Left and Right

Criticisms of the reform come from both the right and the left. They are usually formulated in technical terms, though the Opposition parties, of course, hope to obtain a political advantage from them. The arguments from the right are advanced by the landowners themselves and by liberal economists and politicians, in particular through the Monarchist and Liberal Parties. Their arguments are generally subtler than those of the Communists and the Nenni Socialists, whose criticisms are addressed to the less sophisticated masses and whose chief purpose appears to be to stimulate popular discontent. Both types of criticism, however, aim at discrediting the achievements of the Government, to the benefit of one political group or another.

Generally speaking, the conservative elements claim that the reform fails to respect the well-run estates that have been consistently developed by their owners, who may have spent considerable sums on upkeep and in introducing modern methods of agriculture. They also maintain that the reform will frighten away capital that, in the normal course of events, would find its way into agriculture. The Government parties reject these arguments, contending that they hold good only to a very small degree in the depressed areas of Central and South-

ern Italy, which are the object of the limited reform now being carried out. It is precisely because landlords have for so long neglected their land and been either unable or unwilling to invest the necessary capital in it, they assert, that the Government has been forced to intervene. Nevertheless, many would agree that the rightist objections point to real dangers and would increase in validity considerably if the land reform were extended to the whole of Italy, as was originally intended, and if the conception of the limitation of property were to be applied indiscriminately.

Communist Arguments

The leftist elements, on the other hand, insist that the reform should have been undertaken in a much more drastic way — through more rigorous expropriations, wider investments and increased agrarian credits at low interest. They also contend that the peasants are given plots that are too small and too poor to be transformed into viable productive units. However, the unstated reasons behind the Communists' criticisms are probably more cogent. Since the war, they have gained a considerable political advantage by pointing to distressed social conditions in Italy and instances of alleged government neglect. They have drawn attention to the low standard of living of a large part of the Italian peasantry and to the numerous unsolved problems that make the peasant's struggle for livelihood more difficult. If the Government through land reform and extensive public works can go some way toward improving the lot of the peasants, the foundation of the Communist case will be considerably weakened in the eyes of the electorate.

The World Meteorological Organization

ESTABLISHMENT of the World Meteorological Organization, newest Specialized Agency of the United Nations, in March 1950, climaxed 72 years of co-operation among the weather scientists of the world. National meteorological services are not much more than 125 years old, yet for half their lifetime they have been setting an example of practical internationalism equalled in few other fields of knowledge. By the middle of the last century weather research had been carried on for some years in France, Germany, Russia and the United Kingdom. These nations already practiced exchange of meteorological information. However, the movement toward international co-operation on a universal scale began in 1853 with a conference of weather experts in Brussels. Further exploratory meetings followed, in Leipzig in 1872 and in Vienna in 1873. The trend culminated in a conference held in Utrecht in 1878, at which was formed the International Meteorological Organization, which passed into history three years ago when the World Meteorological Organization took over its functions.

Meteorology in Canada

The first Canadian weather office was set up in 1839 at Old Fort York, Toronto, at least partly in response to a suggestion by Baron von Humboldt, famous German naturalist and traveller and one of the pioneers of international co-operation in weather research. Von Humboldt had pointed out to the British Royal Society that British military posts could provide a unique chain of weather-observation stations encircling the globe. The original observatory was operated by the British Ordnance Department. In 1853, the Province of Canada took over the station and placed it under the direction of the University of Toronto. Finally, in 1871, the Dominion Government set aside funds for the development of weather forecasting in Canada. By 1875, the new service was

spending each year what was for that day the large sum of \$35,000. With the assistance of the United States weather offices, Canadian meteorological experts now were able to study the making of synoptic weather charts — the master charts from which daily weather forecasts are derived. A development of major importance took place in 1876, when the first Canadian storm-warning was issued. In 1877, Canadian weathermen produced their first general weather forecast and the country possessed a full-fledged meteorological service, ready to take its place in the International Meteorological Organization, founded one year later.

International Co-operation

The IMO, a voluntary body, never received official recognition from any of the countries represented at its conferences. An association possessing little political significance, it was inspired solely by the concern of meteorologists that their observations should be available to their colleagues in all parts of the world. Although the IMO was established as a European body, its membership expanded with the spread of weather services throughout the world, until it acquired global dimensions. Its expansion was accompanied by a corresponding development in its structure, so that the final form of the IMO, achieved just before the Second World War, provided a pattern for the WMO, to which the older body passed the ideals, aims and experience of three-quarters of a century. The governing bodies of the IMO were very similar to those ultimately set up in the WMO Convention, though the authority and duties assigned to them in the new organization were altered. The senior constituent body of the IMO was a Conference of Directors, composed of the heads of national weather services. There were also: an International Meteorological Committee empowered to act for the Conference between meetings of the lat-

ter; an Executive Council to supervise the work of the Organization; a Secretariat; a Commission for each of six regions into which, for meteorological purposes, the world was divided, and ten Technical Commissions.

The pace at which change and development occurred in all spheres of twentieth century life imposed increasing strain on a voluntary body operating over so vast an area as the IMO. Meteorology became more complex year by year and the uses to which weather information could be put multiplied at a similar rate. For example, during the past 50 years the rapid development of types of transportation dependent on accurate weather reports has brought the subject forcefully to the attention of governments. The most striking illustration of this development has been the growth of aviation, especially in its military aspects. Weather research thus acquired strategic and diplomatic importance it never possessed before. The use of aircraft during the recent war, not only in aerial combat but in transport flights to all parts of the world, required the adoption of a unified weather code and procedure and showed the desirability of an organization with authority to establish international codes for the transmission of weather data.

The application of meteorology to transportation is, however, by no means the only direction in which its uses have expanded. The enormous increase in population that has taken place in most parts of the world since 1900 has imposed proportionate new burdens on the agricultural resources of the food-producing nations. In this situation, the contribution of meteorology is of the greatest importance. Farmers in countries growing such staple cereals as wheat and rice stand in need of constant reports from weather stations located at the sources of the weather conditions they have to take into account. They must be warned of the imminence of drought, rain, hail, hurricanes and unseasonable frost. Cities and densely-populated areas must be able to take precautions against weather conditions dangerous to public health. We have had numerous demonstrations during recent years of the devastation wrought by floods. The recent catastrophic combination in the North Sea of heavy gales and

high tides emphasizes the necessity of early storm-warnings. A dry spell in the heart of North America always magnifies the danger of forest-fires, a peril of which Canada has had much experience.

Nor do these examples exhaust the applications of weather information to everyday problems. The network of communications that covers the face of the globe is dependent on meteorological reports from all parts of the world; and weather reports enter into the calculations of many other sciences.

Formation of WMO

At a meeting of the International Meteorological Committee in Paris, in July 1946, a draft was drawn up of an instrument to be known as the World Meteorological Convention, designed to win the adherence of the governments and countries having weather services. This, it was proposed, together with any alternative drafts presented by members, should be discussed at the next regular meeting of the IMO Conference of Directors, to be held in Washington at the end of September 1947. Letters were sent to the governments concerned asking them to authorize the directors of their meteorological services to sign the draft of the Convention approved by the Conference.

Many weather experts of IMO countries were persuaded of the need for a meteorological organization with government support and consequently studied the Paris draft with great care. Several countries, including Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States, submitted alternative drafts to the IMO Conference through the Chief of the Secretariat. The various drafts were read and criticized by diplomats as well as weathermen. Everyone concerned with the establishment of the new international body was determined that it should be brought to birth with every care and precaution.

Differences inevitably arose regarding the scope of the Convention. There were those who thought that the new organization should be an "operating" agency, rather than simply like the IMO, a "facilitating" one. To cite an illustration of their extreme position, they favoured the distribution of all weather reports, whatever their origin, from a central inter-

national office. Such sweeping changes were opposed by the more cautious members. In addition, it was necessary to ensure that territories and groups of territories that maintained their own meteorological services (such as Rhodesia, British East Africa and Bermuda) and that had possessed, while members of the IMO, the same voting privileges as the great nations, should suffer no loss of power in voting on all technical matters as members of the new organization. Also, there was concern lest, owing to the large number of European states (many of which, on account of their small area, did not require costly weather services), the simple principle of "one state, one vote" might place the organization under European control. (In fairness, however, it should be noted that the European countries contributed 48 per cent of the IMO's funds during its last fiscal year.)

As it turned out, these problems did not greatly hamper the exploratory meeting of the IMO in the performance of its main business. A Convention was agreed upon, duly signed by members and referred to their governments for ratification. The first 30 ratifications — the number needed to bring the World Meteorological Organization into being — were deposited more slowly than had been expected and the opening WMO Congress, planned for 1950, was not held until 1951. With the concurrence of the United Nations, it was agreed that, until the WMO could come into existence officially, the IMO should act as the "competent agency".

First WMO Conference

The first WMO Congress, held, at the invitation of the French Government, in the Hotel du Palais d'Orsay in Paris, was preceded immediately by the final Conference of Directors of the IMO, during which "all assets, liabilities and obligations" of the parent body were transferred to its successor.

Representation at the first WMO meeting consisted of delegations from the 44 countries that had previously been represented in the IMO, as well as observers from four non-IMO countries and eight international organizations. The initial membership of the WMO — 74 states and

territories — was considerably lower than that of the IMO, to judge from the attendance of representatives from 85 countries at the concluding Conference of the latter. With the adherence last year of the Government of Cuba, the WMO increased its membership to 75.

Among the more important acts of the first WMO meeting was approval of a draft agreement with the United Nations under which the Organization became a Specialized Agency. At this Congress, too, six Regional Associations and eight Technical Commissions were established. (It should be noted that although these constituent bodies had been taken over from the IMO, the WMO Convention gave them new responsibilities.) It was decided that the WMO's first financial period should run until December 31, 1955, and a budget of \$1,273,000 was approved for this four and a half years.

It has been mentioned that the meetings preceding the creation of WMO brought to light a difference of opinion as to whether the new agency should be a "facilitating" or an "operating" one. The former view prevailed, as is shown by the following statement of purposes from the World Meteorological Convention:

To facilitate world-wide co-operation in the establishment of networks of stations for the making of meteorological observations related to meteorology and to promote the establishment and maintenance of meteorological centres charged with the provision of meteorological services;

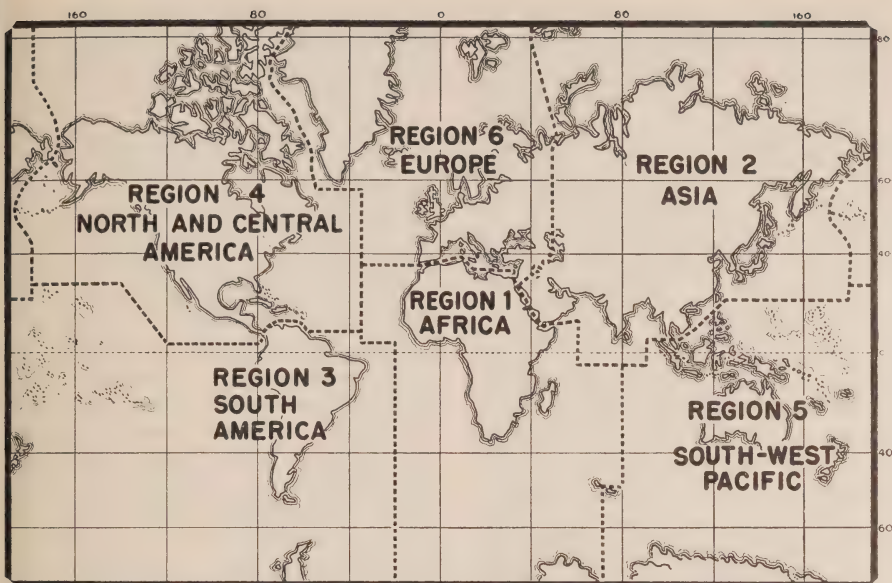
to promote the establishment and maintenance of systems for the rapid exchange of weather information;

to promote standardization of meteorological observations and to ensure the uniform publication of observations and statistics;

to further the application of meteorology to aviation, shipping, agriculture and other human activities;

to encourage research and training in meteorology and to assist in co-ordinating the international aspects of such research and training.

Through its Secretariat, the WMO acts as a documentary centre. It collects for the use of members information available on the organization of weather stations throughout the world. In addition, it pro-



vides a pool of relevant information of other kinds. It has no power to interfere in the activities of national or regional services. On the contrary, its role is limited to assisting national services in making their findings known in other parts of the world and to helping to maintain a uniform method for expressing weather readings. The latter important function reduces the labour involved in translating from one coding-system to another. Thus atmospheric conditions reported by the chain of weather-posts jointly operated by the Canadian and United States Governments throughout the Canadian Arctic can be readily expressed in terms intelligible to meteorologists in Norway or the Federated States of Malaya. Similarly, data collected by weather-ships operated by the United States in the Pacific Ocean can be rapidly telegraphed to Santiago or Cape Town and added to the synoptic charts kept at those points. Likewise, although the countries of the Soviet bloc use a slightly different code, Soviet meteorologists can warn British farmers of the approach of weather dangerous to their crops having its origin in Siberia. Aircraft flying non-stop over great distances can now pick up weather reports and forecasts along their routes. The same is true of sea-going vessels, which not so many

years ago had no earlier storm-warning than could be provided by their barometers or the eyes of their lookouts.

The WMO Structure

The structure of the WMO is similar to that of the IMO: (1) A World Meteorological Congress, corresponding to the old International Meteorological Conference of Directors, but with the important difference that its members are states, not individuals, and directors of national weather services are now delegates instead of members. The Congress meets every four years. It is the supreme constituent body of the WMO and has the final word on all questions raised in its subordinate agencies. (2) An Executive Committee, performing the functions of the International Meteorological Committee and the Executive Council of the IMO. (3) Regional Meteorological Associations, six in number, composed of members "the networks of which lie in or extend into" these regions. (4) Eight Technical Commissions, in which most of the purely scientific work of the WMO is done. (5) The Secretariat, a permanent body of international civil servants, consisting of the Secretary-General and his technical and clerical staff.

Congress: The Organization's programme for its first financial period, outlined at the first Congress meeting, was an ambitious one. It was agreed that close co-operation should be maintained with other Specialized Agencies of the United Nations and with other international organizations, governmental or not. The WMO is to take part in the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for the Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries. Among the publications planned for the life of the present Congress are a number of meteorological manuals formerly issued by the IMO and a new edition of the International Cloud Atlas. The first President of the WMO was Sir Nelson Johnson, of the United Kingdom, who was formerly President of the International Meteorological Committee of the IMO. He was succeeded by Dr. F. W. Reichelderfer, of the United States, who will continue in office until the end of the next Congress.

Executive Committee: The Committee, which meets at least once a year, is composed of 15 members, all of whom are directors of national weather services.¹ Between meetings of the Congress, the Committee is the senior constituent body of the WMO. It administers the Organization's finances, sees that resolutions of the Congress are carried out and prepares the agenda for Congress meetings. One of the more important Congress resolutions called for the drafting of provisional technical regulations covering meteorological practices and procedures. Since the establishment of the WMO, there have been three Committee meetings — two during 1951 and one during 1952. Among the more important acts of the Committee has been the setting up of an *ad hoc* sub-committee to study the creation of an International Meteorological Research Institute.

Regional Meteorological Associations: These differ from the IMO's Regional As-

sociations by including ocean as well as land areas. They co-ordinate meteorological activities in their areas, promote the executing of resolutions of the Congress and the Executive Committee and make recommendations to these senior bodies on subjects "within the purposes of the Organization". The map on Page 71 shows the six meteorological areas of the world as Africa, Asia, South America, North and Central America, the Southwest Pacific and Europe.

Technical Commissions: The first WMO Congress set up eight Technical Commissions, named after the subjects with which they were to deal: Aerology, Aeronautical Meteorology, Agricultural Meteorology, Bibliography and Publications, Climatology, Instruments and Methods of Observation, Maritime Meteorology and Synoptic Meteorology. Nine Technical Commissions of the IMO were dissolved. It was arranged that important work in progress in these Commissions at the time of their dissolution would be given to interim working groups taken over from the IMO. It is intended that these, in turn, shall be replaced as soon as possible by working groups of the present eight Commissions.

Discussions of the Technical Commissions are uncomplicated by the political and economic considerations that demand the attention of the Regional Associations, the Executive Committee and the Congress. These Commissions keep up with developments in the theory and practice of their science and contribute to that development. It is chiefly in the Technical Commissions that meteorological techniques are standardized. Through the Secretariat, they maintain contact with other international organizations concerned with weather information.

Secretariat: The WMO headquarters, located in Geneva, is the permanent home of the Secretariat. The Secretary-General and the Deputy Secretary-General head a staff of 35, composing an administra-

¹ The Committee, as of March 1 1953, has consisted of the following members: President, F. W. Reichelderfer (U.S.); First Vice-President, A. Viaut (France); Second Vice-President, N. P. Sellick (Rhodesia); six presidents of Regional Associations — Region I (Africa) — D. A. Davies (British Central African Territories), Region II (Asia) — V. V. Sohoni (India), Region III (South America) — F. X. R. de Souza (Brazil), Region IV (North and Central America) — A. Thomson (Canada), Region V (Southwest Pacific) — M. A. F. Barnett (New Zealand), Region VI (Europe) — J. Lugeon (Switzerland); six directors of meteorological services, including Sir Nelson Johnson (United Kingdom), H. A. Feireira (Portugal), Th. Hesselberg (Norway), A. A. Soltukhine (U.S.S.R.), M. Aslam (Pakistan), and L. de Azcarraga (Spain).

tive and a technical division. The former Secretary of the IMO was appointed by the Congress as Secretary-General of the WMO, to ensure as much continuity as possible.

The Secretariat is the WMO's administrative, documentary and informational centre. It performs secretarial duties at meetings of the WMO Congress and the Executive Committee. In addition, it is responsible for certain technical studies and will later take over some of the work done under the IMO by the Technical Commissions. Each officer in the technical division performs secretarial duties for one or more Technical Commissions. The present Secretary-General is Dr. Gustav Swoboda, former Chief of the IMO Secretariat. His Deputy is Mr. J. R. Rivet of the French National Meteorological Service.

Status as a Specialized Agency of UN

The fact that the budgets of certain Specialized Agencies were enormous in comparison with that of the IMO made it desirable that the new international weather body should have provision in its charter for its eventual acceptance by the United Nations as a Specialized Agency. Only thus could its authority and its status among world organizations be secured. The budget of the IMO for the last complete fiscal year of its existence (1949-50) was about \$95,000, whereas the budgets of ICAO and UNESCO for the same period were \$2,600,000 and \$7,900,000 respectively. It was complained by the directors of some national weather services that they were unable to recover the costs of attendance at conferences held outside their countries from their governments unless the meetings had been under the auspices of the United Nations.

The mere act of its establishment was not enough to make the new Organization a Specialized Agency. Although the World Meteorological Convention contained an article covering the relations between the WMO and the United Nations, a separate instrument was required for the approval of the General Assembly. First, however, it was necessary to clarify the WMO's relations with the International Civil Aviation Organization, which

was performing certain meteorological functions. Duplication had to be avoided. It was also evident that the co-operation of the WMO with other Specialized Agencies, such as the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the International Telecommunications Union, would be important enough to call for preliminary study. The document setting forth the terms of these various relations was therefore subjected to searching scrutiny by member governments. Finally, in December 1951, the General Assembly of the United Nations formally accepted the application of the WMO, which thereupon became the youngest Specialized Agency.

Co-operation in Technical Assistance

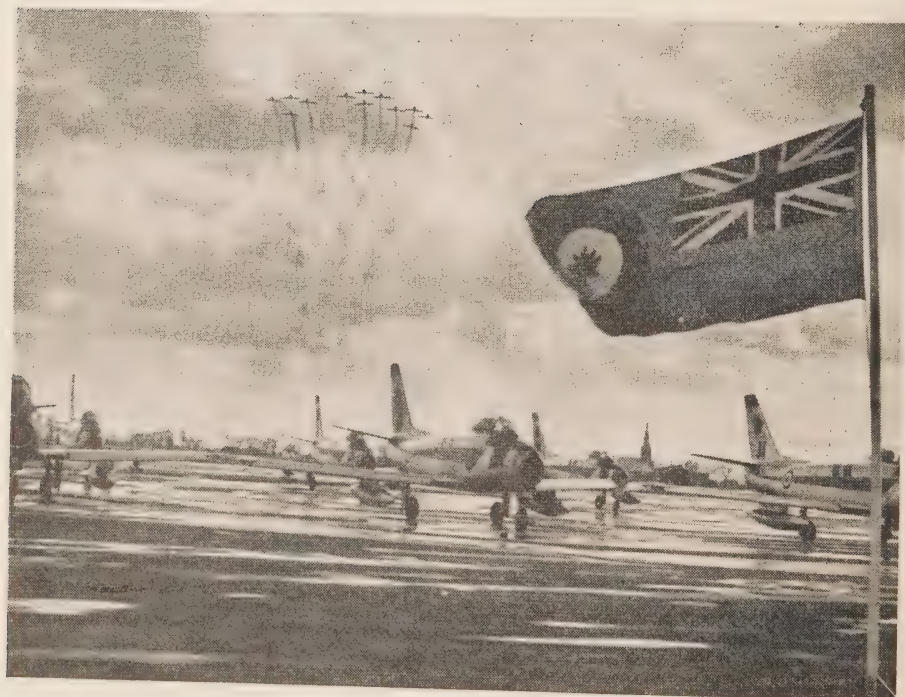
An important item in the programme adopted by the first Congress of the WMO was participation in the technical assistance activities of the United Nations. The WMO and the UN Technical Assistance Administration subsequently agreed that the TAA should provide, from its 1952 budget, a sum not exceeding \$200,000 to finance particularly the training and education of meteorologists in under-developed countries requiring assistance. A further \$15,000 was voted by TAA to cover the administrative costs of these undertakings. Under this arrangement, the WMO was to develop the various training schemes, to recommend the technical staff they would require and to supervise the actual work. The provision of administrative facilities was to be the business of the TAA. Thus, it was to assign to the WMO Secretariat a technical assistance administrator, who would co-ordinate the technical assistance activities of the WMO with those of the other Specialized Agencies. He would also, at the request of the governments concerned, conduct surveys in under-developed countries to find out how they might benefit from the aid of the WMO.

WMO Scholarships

Besides sending experts to the assistance of countries wishing to establish weather services or to improve existing ones, the WMO provides scholarships for young

men from under-developed nations for basic training in physics, mathematics and related subjects and for advanced training in meteorology. It is preferred that these awards should be held in the schools and universities of the countries

receiving assistance, rather than in foreign educational institutions. This attitude stems from the conviction that meteorological training is most effective when taken under the very conditions that will affect the future work of the student.



CANADIAN JET SQUADRON FOR NATO

—Capital Press

A portion of the NATO RCAF jet squadrons, at St. Hubert, P.Q., on the occasion of the inspection and ceremony of farewell on March 5, of the Third Fighter Wing by the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Lord Ismay.

Canadian Passports

IN 1952, 76,180 Canadian passports were issued by the Passport Office, a branch of the Consular Division of the Department of External Affairs. In the last ten years there has been an increasing annual total, bringing the number of valid passports in Canada to over 500,000. Travel-conscious Canadians whether bound for the Coronation or not, applied, in January 1953, for a record monthly total of 7,501 passports.

Definition

In Canada certification of citizenship is by a certificate issued by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. A passport, issued by the Department of External Affairs, is evidence but not proof of citizenship. A passport may be defined as a document of identity issued by a state, ordinarily to its own nationals, which requests foreign governments to grant the bearer safe and free passage and all lawful aid and protection while within their jurisdiction, and implicitly guarantees that he will be re-admitted to the issuing country.

Page 1 of the 32-page Canadian passport gives the national status of the holder and on the back of the front cover are the words: "The Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada requests in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, all those whom it may concern to allow the bearer to pass freely without let or hindrance and to afford him or her every assistance and protection of which he or she may stand in need."

Before the First World War, travellers did not usually require passports or visas to enter many countries. The first annual report of the Department of External Affairs, reviewing the work from July 1, 1909, to March 31, 1910, included among the passport requirements of foreign countries: "Corea(sic)—Passports are not required within a radius of 100 li (33 miles) from the open port. Persons travelling in the interior must obtain a passport through the British Consul. (Fee 3.50 yen, about \$1.75)."

When Lord Monck became Governor General in 1861, British subjects by birth did not need passports in America. For British subjects travelling in Europe, such passports could be arranged by the Foreign Office. However, the mayors of Canadian towns had for some years been issuing a form of passport to persons naturalized in the Colony.

The Imperial Parliament, by the Act of 1847⁽¹⁾, had denied the right of a Colonial Legislature to confer British status outside the limits of the Colony. The passports issued by the mayors were rather a form of certificate. In the Province of Canada, certificates of naturalization were in a form prescribed by an act of 1859, subject to the Imperial Act of 1847, saying that the bearer "hath obtained all the rights and capacities of a natural born British subject *within this Province* to have, hold, possess and enjoy the same *within the limits thereof*."⁽²⁾ The "rights" referred to included the right to vote.

Regulations Established

In January 1862, the Governor General established Canadian passport regulations. Passport agents were authorized to issue a document in the form of a double certificate in which the Provincial Secretary certified the bearer's nationality and the Governor General certified the Provincial Secretary. This passport contained no request in the name of the Sovereign. Instead, it indicated the provincial domicile of the bearer and stated that he possessed its privileges and advantages on the strength of that domicile.

The new system was a step toward the assumption by the Governor General of control over passports. It did not commit the Colonial Office, which could always say that the document was not, in fact, a passport. In a letter to Viscount Monk dated January 28, 1862, the British Minister at Washington, Lord Lyons, in-

(1) (1847) 10 and 11 Vict. (Imp.) C. 53.

(2) Consol. Statutes of Canada (1859) C.VIII S.4.



BRITISH PASSPORTS

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC!

Passport Office: 67 Yonge Street, Toronto.

It having been notified to me, that, notwithstanding the Order of His Excellency the Governor General in Council of 30th August last, forbidding any Mayor, Warden, Reeve, or other Municipal Officer of *ANY MUNICIPALITY* to issue Passports to British Subjects about to travel in foreign parts, His Worship the Mayor and Subordinate Officers of the Municipality of this City, still continue to put forth such Passport or Certificate of British birth, under the signature of the Mayor and Seal of the Corporation of Toronto, I deem it but due to the public requiring such documents, after repeated appeals made to me that I should take this step, to caution applicants, and to state that such as are issued by them are wholly unauthorised by the Government of Canada,

"INVALID AND OF NO EFFECT WHATSOEVER,"

And that I am the only authorised Agent for the City of Toronto, to issue **GOVERNMENT PASSPORTS**, which are alone recognized by Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, Lord Lyons, at Washington, the British Consuls throughout the United States, as also by the American Authorities, as affording the requisite protection to British Subjects for abiding in, or travelling through the United States of America, or elsewhere.

JOHN CAMERON,

Toronto, 17th Nov. 1864.

Passport Agent.

Poster, dated Nov. 17, 1864, indicating to the public that thereafter the above passport agent was the only authorized agent for the City of Toronto for issuing passports under the new regulations.

cluded a copy of the following report he had made to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Seward:

I have been in communication with the Governor General of Canada upon the subject of the arrangements to be made for the issue of passports to British subjects wishing to pass through the territory of the United States, and I have the honour to inform you that those arrangements are completed. It has been decided that agents shall be appointed at various towns in Canada who shall be appointed to issue such persons as may require them and may be

entitled to them certificates of their being British subjects, under the hand of the Provincial Secretary. These certificates will have the force of passports; they will be countersigned by the agent issuing them, and they will, it is hoped, receive without difficulty, the counter signature either of the United States Consul General in Canada or of the agents of the State Department at the posts in this country, according to the regulations which you have laid down.

These arrangements will at once be put into force, and it will therefore be no longer in the power of the mayors of Can-

adian towns to issue passports or Certificates of Nationality as they have occasionally done. All such papers will in future be issued either by the Governor General himself or by the authorized agents.⁽³⁾

It is worth noting that, at the time of Confederation, there does not appear to have been any question as to the jurisdiction over passports raised between the Dominion and the provinces. This was no doubt owing partly to the fact that Viscount Monck, who had appointed the passport agents, became the first Governor General of the Dominion. As British subjects by naturalization were the only ones in need of passports, their position was under consideration at various times. It was decided that such passports should contain the statement that the recipient was a British subject naturalized in the Colony. Holders were advised that they might exchange their passports for Foreign Office passports. It was evident that there had been originally some distinction between a "naturalized Colonial subject" and a "naturalized British subject" with regard to Consular protection. This was done away with in 1866.

History Difficult to Trace

The history of passports for the first fifteen years after Confederation is difficult to trace because of the small number issued and the relative unimportance of passports in relation to the volume of work of the Governor General and the Secretary of State. In the annual reports of the Secretary of State for the first ten years, passports are not even mentioned. In 1878 a practice was adopted of including a statement of departmental revenue. The report of that year listed "passports . . . \$50", and for the next four years the annual receipts varied between \$35 and \$50. As the fee for a passport was \$1, it would appear that for the first fifteen years after Confederation, there was probably an average of about forty naturalized Canadians a year who applied for and obtained the special form of passport exchangeable for a Foreign Office passport in London.

The Colonial Secretary sent out a circular from Downing Street, September

23, 1891, to the Governors of the Colonies, empowering them to issue passports to British-born persons. The form suggested was that which had been used by the Governor of Victoria, Australia, containing the national status of the bearer and the request for assistance when necessary. Canada began issuing passports to British subjects by birth for the first time in 1893.

The suggested form was in reality intended for British subjects by birth only and the form of passport for all Canadians did not come until 1915. The Imperial Parliament and the Dominions in 1914 enacted legislation on naturalization of aliens, along somewhat similar lines. This gave persons naturalized in Canada the same status as persons naturalized in England and the Letter of Request type of passport was followed for all persons.

International Form Adopted

From 1915 to 1921, a ten-section single-sheet folder was established as the form of passport. However, a conference held under the auspices of the League of Nations in 1920 suggested an international form of passport, in booklet shape, and this was adopted in 1921, at the beginning of the term of Baron Byng of Vimy as Governor General. Until 1946, all passports were issued in the name of the Governor General; these were lineal descendants of the original document in which the Sovereign prayed safe-conduct for one of his subjects. This has now been changed so that the Secretary of State for External Affairs makes the request in the name of the Sovereign.

For some time now the Letter of Request on the back of the front cover, the information on the inside of the back cover and other material printed in the passport have been in both French and English.

While there have been various efforts to eliminate restrictions on travel, including a conference under the auspices of the United Nations in 1947, considerations of humanity have been counterbalanced by considerations of security. During the past year Canada was able to arrange with European members of the

(3) "Minister at Washington to Governors", G.6 Vol.10, p.32.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization and with Sweden and Switzerland for members of the Canadian forces to travel on leave without passport or visa. On the one hand, Canadians may now visit, in addition to the Commonwealth countries, France, Norway, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Switzerland without having their passports visaed. On the other, a new passport regulation was published on June 30, 1951, in the *Canada Gazette* requiring Canadians who intended to visit the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Roumania or the Soviet Zone of Occupation in Germany to notify the Department of External Affairs of their travel plans and intentions. After reaching any of these countries, they must report their arrival and departure to the appropriate Canadian or United Kingdom authorities.

Royal Prerogative

Throughout the British Commonwealth, passports are issued by virtue of the Royal prerogative. In Canada this means under regulations passed by the Governor General in Council, which in practice means the Cabinet which is responsible to Parliament. It is of the essence of the Royal prerogative that no subject can complain of the way it is exercised. No applicant who is refused a passport has any redress in the Courts.

It is interesting to note that the right to refuse a passport, associated under our law with the Royal prerogative, has been preserved in the law of the United States. The Secretary of State at one time refused a passport to a Member of Congress who had stated his intention of attending a conference in Paris of groups

reported to be supporting revolutionary elements in Greece. At that time, it was the policy of the United States to support the existing government in Greece. The action was justified on the ground that "the holding of a passport is a privilege, not an inherent civil right. The Secretary of State, under legal and traditional authority, may or may not grant a passport to a citizen to travel abroad. He has had that authority since the founding of the Republic."⁽⁴⁾

Three Types

Ever since the Canadian Citizenship Act came into force in 1947, Canada has issued three types of passports. The previous blue-backed and blue-paper passports were retained for British subjects. Blue backs with pink-tinted sheets were adopted for Canadian citizens. New diplomatic passports in red covers and new Official (now Special) passports in green covers were issued.⁽⁵⁾

On January 15, 1953, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, replying in the House of Commons to a question as to whether the Government intended to "follow the example of the United States and pick up the passports of people who have attended the so-called 'Peace Conferences' behind the Iron Curtain", said: "... that is a very important question of policy and I do not think I should be asked to give a reply to it at this time without notice. I can say, however, that our policy in regard to the possession of passports by Canadian citizens — that a passport is merely a certificate of national identity — has not changed and I do not know that it is about to be changed."

⁽⁴⁾ *N.Y. Times*, April 11, 1948.

⁽⁵⁾ *Order-in-Council, P.C. 839*, March 6, 1947.

Halibut Convention Signed

The North Pacific Halibut Convention signed in Ottawa on Monday, March 2, 1953, to replace the Halibut Convention of January 29, 1937, is the third revision of the Convention of March 2, 1923, for Securing the Preservation of the Halibut Fishery of the North Pacific Ocean and the Bering Sea.

The International Pacific Halibut Commission

The Convention was revised in 1930 and again in 1937, and during the past three years negotiations have taken place between the two countries which have led to the present revisions.

The signing of the present Convention on the thirtieth anniversary of the first Halibut Fisheries Convention with the United States recalls the fact that the latter was the first formal international agreement signed for Canada by its own plenipotentiary alone. Prior to 1923 several multilateral treaties had been signed by both Canadian and United Kingdom plenipotentiaries on behalf of Canada.

The change in name from the "International Fisheries Commission" to the "International Pacific Halibut Commission" is to enable ready identification and to distinguish the Commission from other fishery commission on which Canada and the United States are represented.

Original Provisions

The original treaty provided a close season and established a commission of four — two from each country — to investigate and recommend to the two governments measures for restoring the dwindling stocks of halibut. In 1930, powers of making regulations subject to approval of the two governments were bestowed on the Commission. These powers were further extended in the 1937 revision. In the present revision the number of commissioners has been increased from four to six — three from each country. The reason is that in the United States, unlike in Canada, fishery jurisdiction is vested in each state and the Federal Government only acquires some jurisdiction by virtue of a treaty made with another country.

In this case the United States wanted to give Alaska representation on the Commission. The other two United States Commissioners represent the Federal Government and the industry at large.

More Open Seasons

Under the new treaty, the Commission has power to establish more than one open season. There was some doubt as to the Commission's power to do this under the former treaty. The granting of this power was considered necessary in order to allow the Commission to extend fishing over more than one period of time. The scientists of the Commission advanced the hypothesis that during a concentrated short season, some fishing grounds might be under-exploited. The experiment of dividing up the season will be useful to determine to some extent whether this hypothesis is correct.

Under the former treaty, the Commission had power to limit or prohibit the incidental catch of halibut taken by vessels fishing for other species during the close season only. Additional power is now being given to the Commission so that it has the right also to regulate such incidental catch during the open season.

The first treaty limited the Commission's powers to regulate the fishery by a three-month close season and this was ineffective in stemming the decline. Evidence of the success of the Commission's work following the second revision of the Convention is shown in the increase in Canadian halibut landings. During the years that intervened between 1932 and 1952, the Canadian halibut fishery increased its total annual yield about four-fold — from 6,500,000 pounds to 24,500,000 pounds. The landed value of the 1952 Canadian catch, including livers and viscera, was about \$4,200,000 or 20 times the 1932 value.



—NFB

NORTH PACIFIC HALIBUT CONVENTION SIGNED

Representatives of the Governments of Canada and the United States signed the North Pacific Halibut Convention in Ottawa on March 2. Seated, left to right: Mr. W. C. Herrington, Special Assistant for Fisheries and Wildlife to the Under-Secretary of State; Mr. D. C. Bliss, Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the United States, who signed on behalf of the United States; the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, who presided at the ceremony; Mr. James Sinclair, Minister of Fisheries; and Mr. Hughes Lapointe, Minister of Veterans' Affairs, who signed on behalf of Canada. Standing at the back: Mr. H. F. B. Feaver, Chief of Protocol; Mr. W. L. Rodman, United States Embassy; Mr. L. D. Wilgress, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; and Mr. Stewart Bates, Deputy Minister of Fisheries.

The total Canadian and United States catch in 1952 from the areas under regulation was 62,282,000 pounds, the largest catch in 37 years.

When the Commission was first established evidence of over-fishing was apparent. Since that time it has regulated the areas to be fished, and changed the quota for areas as it seemed advisable at the time. The Commission established

nursery areas where fishing was completely prohibited, and also set quotas for the entire fishery.

Present members of the Commission are Mr. George R. Clark, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries, Ottawa; Mr. George Nickerson, Prince Rupert, B.C.; Mr. Milton C. James, Washington, D.C.; and Mr. Edward W. Allen, Seattle, Washington.

North Sea Floods

ON February 2, Mr. St. Laurent, the Prime Minister, spoke in the House of Commons as follows on the recent floods that had inundated the coasts of the United Kingdom and the Low Countries:

... We have all been deeply moved by the news of the disasters both on sea and on land that have taken place as a result of the terrible storms raging about the United Kingdom, and the channel between the United Kingdom and continental Europe ...

We all remember what great comfort our people got out of the sympathy of the peoples of those lands when disasters overtook some of our fellow-citizens in the Fraser valley, in Manitoba, in Rimouski and Cabano in my native province of Quebec. We all know how much good it does

to people who are in the throes of such disaster to realize that they have the active and concrete sympathy of those they regard as their friends.

He next made the following motion for a message of sympathy to the people of the disaster countries:

... That His Honor the Speaker be asked to convey to Her Majesty the Queen, to Her Majesty, the Queen of the Netherlands and to His Majesty the King of the Belgians, the deep sympathy of the Commons of Canada to the people of the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Belgium who have been so sorely stricken by the appalling disaster which has befallen them and the earnest desire of the Canadian people to manifest their sympathy to the sufferers in such concrete form as, after more accurate information is available

(Continued on p. 92)



—Anphoto

CANADIAN BRIGADE HELPS DUTCH FLOOD VICTIMS

Through contributions of officers and men of the 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade, Group, Hannover, Germany, 3,308 guilders have been donated to Dutch flood victims. Mr. T. A. Stone, Canadian Ambassador to the Netherlands, (right), presents the cheque for that amount to Lt. General P. Alons, director of the Dutch National Disaster Fund, at the Canadian Embassy in The Hague. Representing the 27th Brigade at the ceremony were Major R. A. Briggs, (right rear), and Captain L. W. Garen.

A similar amount, approximately 309 pounds sterling, was contributed by the Brigade to the Lord Mayor's Disaster Fund through Canada House, London, for the flood victims in the United Kingdom.

REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Statements by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the House of Commons, February 5, 11, and 12, 1953.

... I have had an opportunity ... of studying the text of the statement by the President of the United States ... In that statement, ... the President announced the modification of the Presidential order to the 7th Fleet issued by his predecessor on June 27, 1950. That order which was given, ... shortly after the aggressive attack on South Korea, was in the nature of an instruction to the United States 7th Fleet both to prevent any attack upon Formosa from the mainland, and also to ensure that Formosa should not be used as a base of operations against the Chinese Communist mainland.

The order was issued, of course, before the large-scale intervention by Chinese Communist forces in Korea, and its objective was to neutralize Formosa in order to limit the hostilities arising out of the aggression of June 25, 1950, on the Korean peninsula.

... the original order was an action taken on the sole responsibility of the United States Government, just as the recent action modifying it with respect to what the President has termed the employment of the 7th Fleet to "shield Communist China" was taken on the sole responsibility of the United States Government. That, however, does not make the matter one of little or merely indirect interest to other countries, including Canada.

Canadian Position

With respect to the position of the Canadian Government, while we remain resolved to carry out our United Nations obligations in Korea, we do not think that the defence of Formosa, which has not been assumed by the United Nations, should be confused with the defence of Korea, which has. As I have mentioned on several occasions in the House, on May 15, 1951, on May 22, 1951, and on April 1, 1952, our consistent position has been that this island should be neutralized so far as that is possible, while hostilities continue in Korea. Our view has been that the final disposition of Formosa should be a subject to be discussed at a conference on Far Eastern problems which should be held when the fighting ceases in Korea; and we strongly supported the statement of principles approved by the Political Committee of the Fifth United Nations General Assembly which specifically provided for such a conference. In any decision regarding the future of Formosa, the wishes of the people there would naturally be a primary consideration.

In considering the possible effects of this recent action by the United States Government, I should emphasize that on Far Eastern issues, as on other questions in which we are both concerned, the fundamental and long-term aims of Canada and the United States are similar, although naturally we may differ on occasions in our approach to specific issues

and as to how these long-term aims can best be achieved.

Canadians of course know President Eisenhower well. They feel a deep gratitude for the services he has already rendered the free world and have full confidence, I am sure, in his peaceful and constructive purposes. And I am convinced that one of these purposes — as it is the purpose of this Government and this Parliament and our country, and the purpose of the other governments who are now engaged in Korea — is to end and not to extend the Korean war.

It should also be noted that in his statement President Eisenhower stated clearly that "this order implies no aggressive intent on our part". Nor should we, I think, assume that because of this order any large scale operations in the near future are likely to be undertaken by Chinese Nationalist forces on the mainland. The order does, however, rescind that part of the original order by which the United States 7th Fleet would prevent any such operations.

The original order did give, I suppose, to the Communist forces in China a feeling of immunity from attack from Formosa. This has become increasingly unacceptable to the people of the United States, as the Chinese Communists have continued their aggression in Korea and only recently rejected a resolution, approved by the present United Nations General Assembly which could have ended the war there on acceptable terms. The United States Government has, therefore, found it necessary to take action to alter a situation which was considered to no longer have its original justification.

Aim of Order

It is no doubt hoped that this change may keep more Chinese Communist forces in China and hence have an advantageous effect on United Nations operations in Korea. It would of course be another matter as hon. members will be aware, if Chinese Nationalist raiders or invading forces were escorted or protected in their operations by the armed forces of other United Nations governments. We have no reason to believe, however, on the basis of any information available to us that any such development will take place, the consequences of which would be far-reaching.

We are not of course committed by, though naturally we are concerned with, the action taken in Washington in connection with this matter. The Government will follow developments with the closest possible attention and take appropriate action to make our views known if and when the occasion so warrants. Meanwhile I think it would be unwise and premature to jump to dogmatic or critical conclusions concerning the step taken by the

United States Government, and announced in a statement by President Eisenhower which contained so much that was wise and heartening to us all.

Korean Resolution

... I should say first that the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, which is proving to be a momentous Assembly indeed, has already given us cause for some encouragement and for some anxiety. The main subject, of course, as I have indicated, is Korea. The Korean resolution, which I discussed more fully in my statement of last December, has since that time, ... been rejected by Communist China and by North Korea and, therefore, unfortunately has not led to an armistice in the unhappy Korean peninsula. Nevertheless I think that this effort, and the resolution which reflects this effort were of very great significance and importance as a demonstration of unity and solidarity — unity which included all the Asian members of the United Nations. In fact the effort was led by one of the Asian members, India.

Although this resolution has not brought an end to the fighting in Korea, it has become the starting point, the basis for any future action. Finally, I believe that it is important that this resolution showed very clearly where the will to peace now lies by exposing the insincerity of Communist declarations that they wish to end the war in Korea.

If the United Nations proposal on Korea, which was a fair compromise, had been accepted by the Communists who talk so much about a cease-fire we would have been able long since to enjoy a cease-fire — a cease-fire on the basis of an armistice agreed upon, with prisoners of war already exchanged; and we would now be well on the way to a political conference on outstanding Korean and other Far Eastern questions.

Their summary rejection, and it was a summary rejection by the Communists, of this great opportunity for peace exposes the hollowness and hypocrisy of the Communist clamour for a cease-fire without an armistice and without an exchange of prisoners — matters which, along with others in the Soviet proposals, echoed recently by Peking, are to be left for later disposition to a commission which would be set up after the cease-fire and on whose decisions the Communist members would have had a veto.

On that important question and other important questions, the General Assembly has already shown that even when faced with matters potentially very explosive it is capable of reaching decisions which bear a relation to the present facts and to the possibilities of constructive international action.

It is probable, however, that there will be further far-reaching discussions at later sessions of the General Assembly on the reconciliation of domestic jurisdiction as laid down in the Charter with the claim that the United Nations is competent to consider and to intervene in any question which anyone may wish

to put on the agenda. There is probably no more important long-range problem facing the United Nations General Assembly than this.

In the economic, social and legal fields the General Assembly did not strike out on any new paths, but it reviewed and developed the work of its various technical agencies. It is possibly worth special mention that there was a decision to recommend a \$25 million grant for the expanded programme of technical assistance which the Economic and Social Council had already proposed.

Such achievements as the General Assembly has been able to make are I think the more commendable in that they were made under the handicap of the uncertainty attendant upon the Presidential election in the United States. The General Assembly was also faced with serious problems posed for the organization itself by the resignation of the Secretary-General and by certain difficulties which arose over personnel problems in the Secretariat. I shall say no more about these matters now, as they will undoubtedly be discussed at the resumed session.

However, there are some additional subjects on the agenda which promise to give rise to discussion and indeed to opportunities for propaganda. These include, for example, germ warfare, the Polish resolution on "peace" and Czechoslovak resolution referring to the alleged interference of the United States in the internal affairs of other states. We are now more than half way through the session of the General Assembly, I hope; and while I do not wish to indulge in any idle or unrealistic praise of what it has done or to minimize the difficulties which lie ahead, I think we can take some encouragement from the spirit in which the General Assembly tackled the great issues which faced it last October and the constructive way in which so many delegations sought for solutions to those issues.

Close Relations

At the United Nations the relations of our delegation were particularly close, as they always have been, with the delegations from the other Commonwealth countries and from the United States, and I should like to say a few words at this point about our relations with the United States.

For the past months we in Canada, and indeed the people of the whole world, have followed with mounting interest the constitutional and democratic processes of the United States in connection with the choice of a Federal Administration by the people of the United States. In Canada, and elsewhere, I think people were struck by the way in which, once the elections were over, the tumult had ceased and the television had faded away, the people of the United States closed ranks behind their new Administration and took up once again the gigantic task to which destiny has called them at this time.

To Mr. Truman of Independence, Missouri, Canadians owe much and I think will acknowledge a great debt. He met international

challenges during the years he sat in the most important office in the most important state in the world with courage and conviction, and he played an indispensable part in laying the foundations which made collective resistance to aggression a reality and in strengthening the sinews of the free world. Now President Eisenhower is taking up this Herculean burden. We all know the towering contribution he made to victory in war. It is encouraging today to know that his qualities of statesmanship, and his strength of character, his wisdom and experience will be placed at the service not only of the United States, but of all the free world in our search for peace and security.

The inaugural speech of the new President breathed, I think, both humility and strength. It was an inspiration to all those who were able to hear or read it.

Canada-U.S. Relations

There are no two countries in the world, . . . whose relations are closer and more intimate than those of Canada and the United States. We have our problems and our differences and will continue to have them, problems which arise not only from strictly bilateral questions but also from the position of the United States as the leader of the free world coalition of which Canada is a part. Naturally, as the United States possesses so much the greatest power in that coalition and as its influence is correspondingly, and rightly, greater than others, we others are preoccupied — and at times intensely so — as to how that power will be used and how that leadership will be exercised.

One problem for any Canadian Government in its relations with the United States as the leader of our coalition — and it is sometimes a difficult problem to solve — is to know when we should give up our own particular view in the interests of general agreement and when we should persist in our own policy even if it means disagreement of the kind which gives so much aid and comfort to the Communists.

In seeking for the right answer to this question, on the occasions when it is presented to us, there are various factors which I suggest we should always take into consideration. The first is our responsibility to our own people which means, when necessary, stating our own views to our friends frankly but responsibly. Second, it means an understanding of the desirability, indeed the necessity, in the face of the menace that confronts us, of maintaining the maximum degree of unity that is possible. Third, it means a recognition of the special responsibility that the United States is bearing in the effort for peace. All this, I suggest, makes it desirable not only that the Canadian voice in international affairs should be frank and clear and in a recognizable Canadian accent, and also that there should be the greatest possible harmony between that voice and the other members of the chorus, especially the leader.

So far as our strictly bilateral relations with

the United States are concerned, if it is possible to separate them from the collective problems which we share with others, they are closer, more complex and more varied than ever before. Take trade for instance. The currents of trade now criss-cross our boundary with the United States until trade between our two countries has become greater than that between any two countries in the world and, indeed, I believe is greater than trade between the United States and the whole of South America. Every state in the United States and every province in Canada has a part in that trade which reaches farther into Canada as our northern frontiers assume greater importance in the industrial development of both countries.

So . . . we were glad to hear President Eisenhower, in his State-of-the-Union message, urge upon the United States Congress the need for basing foreign trade securely on fair and equitable arrangements, and in particular to hear his recommendation regarding the reciprocal trade agreements act and the revision of customs regulations aimed at reducing obstacles to trade. We hope that this will soon result in enhancing the economic strength of the whole free world by securing its foundation in rational trading policies which will benefit us all. Political co-operation and economic conflict are difficult at times to reconcile.

Joint Defence

In joint defence, if I may turn to another field, our partnership with the United States is also becoming closer and more complex. Today our common defence requirements are greater than ever before, so great, for instance, that it has been necessary for Canadians, and Americans to take their places side by side at lonely northern outposts in Canada as protection against possible aggression which, if it occurred, would not be aggression against a nation but aggression against a continent. It must be expected, that as the advances of modern science and technology increase the speed with which an enemy could strike, so it will be necessary to push our continental defences and our continental development farther north.

In this increasing preoccupation with common defence there is ground for satisfaction on two counts. First, Canadians know the United States Government respects our rights and our natural desire to retain in our own hands the responsibility for administration over all our territory, subject of course to the requirements of collective security. Second, the increasing need for northern defence arrangements in turn requires a further development of transportation, communications and other facilities which are making a material contribution to opening up the wealth and resources of our last remaining frontier, the north.

St. Lawrence Seaway

There is one matter, however, in which our American friends have not been able to co-

operate with us at the pace we feel the requirements of the situation demand. I am speaking of the St. Lawrence Seaway. We have made great progress during the last few months toward the completion of arrangements for the joint development of the power works in the International Section of the river, which are essential before we can proceed with the development of the navigation works, either alone or in co-operation with the United States. All arrangements in Canada have now long since been completed. It remains only for the Federal Power Commission of the United States to issue a licence to an appropriate agency to construct the United States share of the power works for this whole project to get under way. We are waiting for the Federal Power Commission to reach a decision on this matter. We hope that it will be soon, and we are disappointed that that decision has not already been reached.

As arrangements for this Canadian project approach completion, there has been renewed interest in the United States in participating in the construction, the operation and the control of the waterway. Our position, which has already been made public, is simply that we must get on with the entire development just as quickly as we can. The need for power has long been urgent. It must be met, and the St. Lawrence River is the last important source of low-cost hydro-electric power available to serve this particular area. Once the arrangements for the development of this power have been completed, and only then, we can discuss whatever new proposal the United States may wish to make for participating in the Seaway. It has been made clear, however, that the discussion of any new proposal for sharing this task must not delay any longer the whole project.

Canada and the United States has solved many problems together in a spirit of good will and good neighbourliness, with faith in each other's intentions and purposes. Surely they will be able to solve this one, and soon.

Latin America

I should like to turn for a moment . . . if I may, to our relations with Latin America, which are growing in importance, both politically and commercially. It has been the policy of this Government to do everything it can to foster that growth and to strengthen our relations with this increasingly important part of the world. The importance and influence of the Latin American countries is evidenced not only by their growing trade but also by their growing influence in the world's councils, especially at the United Nations.

So far as trade is concerned, Latin America has become the third largest trading area for Canada, our total trade with it having risen from \$33 million in 1938 to well over \$500 million in 1952, almost equally divided between imports and exports. Although our trade with Latin America averages only about 6 per cent of our commerce with the world in general, it accounts for about one-quarter of our trade with all countries other than the

United States and the United Kingdom. So one of the principal aims of Latin America and Canada in recent years in particular has been to increase trade in both directions.

We are especially glad . . . to welcome back to the House our colleague the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Howe), who has recently made such a distinguished contribution toward strengthening our political and our commercial relationships with Latin America. From all accounts we have received, his mission was greeted with quite exceptional cordiality in the countries which it visited, and this gives real hope of fruitful results of the kind we are accustomed to securing from the Minister of Trade and Commerce. . . .

The Commonwealth

. . . Now, I would like to say a few words about our relations with the Commonwealth. It is not easy, of course, to bring the Commonwealth neatly into any geographical tour since it is as scattered on the map as it is varied in its peoples. It remains one of the most important associations through which Canadian foreign policy is worked out collectively with our friends. It is an association deep-rooted in our history but sensitive to political evolution, as was pointed out so eloquently in this House the other day. Unlike the United Nations and unlike NATO, it has no formal treaty between its members, no formal machinery or firm commitments of any kind; but it is a source of political, economic and moral strength to all of its members and it is of value indeed to the free world which not so long ago it saved from disaster and defeat. Its tried methods of consultation have survived many perils and are always followed by decisions taken by the respective member governments and by agreement on the part of its respective member governments, if only agreements to disagree, which occasionally happens.

The relations, for instance, among the Commonwealth delegations at the United Nations are very close and important and it is significant, I think, to realize that at the recent General Assembly of the United Nations there were members of the Commonwealth who were in what might be termed almost violent disagreement in their approach to certain items on the agenda; but that never at any time prevented those members of the Commonwealth in such disagreement from meeting around the table at a Commonwealth meeting to try to iron out their difficulties in private before they were expressed in public.

London Conference

May I, while I am on Commonwealth relationships, mention one other recent consultation, the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers held in London last November. It will be recalled that this conference concluded that — and I quote from its communiqué —

— a more positive policy can now be adopted both by the Commonwealth countries themselves, and in concert with other friendly countries, to promote the expan-

sion of world production and trade.

And it emphasized that Commonwealth countries — and again I quote —

— have no intention of seeking the creation of a discriminatory economic bloc; rather their object is by strengthening themselves to benefit the world economy generally . . . the Commonwealth countries look outward to . . . co-operation with others, not inward to a closed association . . .

That is from the communiqué at the end of that conference. This conference was no narrow group aiming to improve its position at the expense of or without consideration for others. It was a widely representative meeting seeking to find some basis on which beneficial national action could be taken and from which international co-operation could proceed, but fully aware that such co-operation, to be effective, must have a broader basis than even the Commonwealth association.

The effectiveness of this Commonwealth conference cannot of course, be judged finally until more is known of the measures adopted by individual governments following it, and until further discussions have taken place between its members and other governments, particularly the Government of the United States, and with various international organizations, particularly the Organization for European Economic Co-operation. The Commonwealth countries have, however, taken a useful initiative. In following it up there will have to be co-operation on the broadest possible basis to ease the necessary but not easy adjustments which may have to be made, especially by some of the members of the Commonwealth. In this process the Canadian Government will naturally wish to play a full and, I hope, constructive part.

Another Commonwealth initiative on which I can only touch at this time, but which I am sure will be given consideration later, is the Colombo Plan which likewise was framed in full awareness of the interests of other countries and other organizations, particularly the United Nations. That plan is now nearing the end of its second year and it continues to be one of the most important and constructive elements in our foreign economic policy.

The significance of the Commonwealth, however, rests on more than trade and economic development factors. In today's world the effort to bring the condition of men a little closer to the ideal of brotherhood, though an aim which we share with many others outside the Commonwealth, can be felt and understood within the Commonwealth as something with a special and I think a deeper meaning.

Today the Commonwealth, including its Asian nation members, is able to do much in promoting this understanding and co-operation, especially between the West and Asia. The presence at Her Majesty's coronation next June of representatives of all nations of the Commonwealth, whether monarchy or republic, from East and West, will be a striking demonstration of this free world-wide association of which our young Queen is the gracious symbol. Furthermore, since the Common-

wealth embraces territories which, though not yet qualified for membership, are nevertheless advancing toward self-government, it may before long be faced with proposals for the inclusion of new members. The old Empire gave way to the new Commonwealth, and that new Commonwealth in its turn is developing and changing and gathering, I hope, new opportunities of service and usefulness in the process.

This influence of the Commonwealth with its Asian members is one reason Canadians think more about Asia and the Far East than they did a few years ago. Today the Far East is also close to our interest because fighting is actually going on there in Korea, in Indo-China and in Malaya, and it threatens in other places. We continue to do what we can to end this fighting, especially in Korea, as a prelude to a general settlement in that area.

Canadian Policy in Korea

As I said a few moments ago the most recent attempt at the United Nations General Assembly to end the war in Korea has failed. But the effort to that end must not stop, and I am sure it will not stop. The guiding principle of Canadian policy in Korea is to continue to do everything possible to limit the present hostilities by peaceful negotiation. It follows from this that our general attitude in the United Nations General Assembly, as elsewhere, is to support proposals designed to facilitate an armistice agreement, and to oppose proposals which, in our judgment, would impede such an armistice.

On the specific question, for instance, of the disposition of prisoners of war, the Canadian position has been quite clear and consistent. We do not believe that any prisoner should be compelled by force to return to what was once his homeland or should be prevented, through any kind of moral or physical force, from so returning.

We consider also that the purpose of the United Nations in Korea remains the defeat of aggression there, and does not include intervention in the civil war in China. So long as Chinese troops act as aggressors in Korea they must be opposed and that aggression, if possible, defeated. This does not mean that we who oppose them, by so doing, are committed to the overthrow by force of the government now in effective control of the mainland of China. As we see it we are engaged not in a national war against Communist China or in intervening in a Chinese civil war, but as a member of the United Nations in a police action against aggression.

New Concept of Arms

Such action may be, and in this case is, just as bloody and dangerous and as hard to bear for those who are engaged in it, as any war of old. But it does embody a new and heartening concept of arms used to defend international order and law rather than to defend national interests alone. . . .

On this point . . . I should like to quote a

few words from a magazine which will be familiar to hon. members, though possibly not on account of its comment on international affairs so much as its humour. I refer to the *New Yorker*. In an editorial in its issue of November 8, 1952, I find these words:

Korea was undertaken, and stands at this date, as an attempt to honour a prior commitment among nations; that is, the United Nations Charter agreement about armed aggression. This fact, without making Korea less bloody, make Korea unique and distinguishes it from wars this nation — the editorial is referring to the United States — has known and fought in the past. . . .

When a policeman chases a thief, he does so because of a prior decision of the community regarding felony. The community of the United Nations, new and shaky and divided against itself, made a decision about aggression, and a bloc of non-Communist armies, egged on principally by us Americans, rushed in to enforce the global ordinance in the name of collective security. It may be a mess, and the events leading up to it may lack clarity, but nobody need apologize for police action in support of world belief, and nobody should belittle the word "police". It is a good word, and cannot be dissociated from justice and peace. . . .

Another point of importance in the policy Canada holds towards Korea and the Far East generally is our belief that it is essential that Western and Asian democracies should maintain in this matter the highest possible degree of unity of purpose and action. We do not believe, accordingly, that the Western powers should press for military or economic measures, at the United Nations or elsewhere, which would certainly not be supported and indeed might be actively opposed by important non-Communist Asian states, and which without such support would be less effective in ending the Korean war than in extending it.

This principle has guided our policy in this matter in the past, and it will continue to guide us in considering any such proposals which may be made in the future. We think that such proposals should be considered, not emotionally or from the standpoint of our feelings about the Communist régime in Peking, which we detest, but in the light of our United Nations obligation to stop aggression in Korea, and from the point of view whether their value in that respect is more than offset by the risk of precipitating a war on the mainland of China which, it is clear, would not stop there. It is, of course, very natural indeed to desire to hit the aggressor in new places and with new weapons, but it is also wise to realize that in consequence he may also hit us somewhere else and with new weapons. There are, for instance, about two million people on the very small and rocky island of Hong Kong.

Pacific Security Pact

. . . I should like to say a few words about the concept of a security arrangement in the

Pacific along the lines of the Atlantic Pact — a concept which we usually embody in the words Pacific Security Pact.

I have told the House on a number of occasions that, in my view, the time was not yet ripe for a Pacific pact along those lines. I believe that that is still the case. On June 20, 1952, when I last mentioned the subject in this House, I said we were in agreement with the views of Mr. John Foster Dulles, who had said that he did not think it feasible on any quick time-table to associate the countries of Asia in a security pact in the same way as the countries of the Atlantic were associated. Mr. Dulles is of course, now the United States Secretary of State. We continue to agree with these views which he then expressed and which I believe he still holds. I hope those who hold other views on this subject will produce concrete and impressive evidence in support of them, so we may be given an opportunity, on the basis of that evidence, to consider whether we should change our minds and not merely reiterate that we should have a Pacific pact and that we should do more in that respect in the Pacific.

As I see it, there are three fundamental difficulties which remain — and I have mentioned them before — in the way of the early realization of a Pacific pact on a multilateral basis. The first difficulty — and it is a basic one — is which Pacific states should be included and which should be left out; the second is how to get the various countries which might participate to agree to team up with other potential members; and finally there is the lack of community of interest and purpose and policy among some of the potential members.

Until these problems are solved, and they are certainly not solved yet, a Pacific pact which attempted to be the counterpart of the North Atlantic Pact would, I think, inevitably be an artificial creation and might well do more harm than good.

The Pacific, however, is by no means a security vacuum. The United States has security arrangements with Canada, of course, but also with Japan, with the Philippines, with Australia and with New Zealand.

ANZUS Pact

. . . It has been suggested by some . . . that Canada might adhere to the tripartite security treaty, now known as the ANZUS Pact, between the United States, Australia and New Zealand. On April 1, 1952, I expressed . . . the opinion that the objections to broadening this arrangement at this time into a general Pacific pact, or indeed the objections to including any additional states in this arrangement, were accepted as overriding by certain countries whose support for such broadening would be essential; and that certainly means first of all the United States. That opinion, has subsequently been reinforced by the communiqué issued on August 7, 1952, by the ANZUS Council itself, at the conclusion of its first meeting. That communiqué reads in part as follows:

It would be premature at this early stage in its own development — (that is the development of ANZUS) — to establish relationships with other states . . .

As the ANZUS Council itself has taken that attitude not particularly or especially in relation to Canada but in relation to other countries as well, including countries which have a deep and abiding interest in such a pact, I do not think it would be appropriate for us to press for membership at this time . . .

We obtained, I think, quite adequate information on which to base the policy which we have followed. So I repeat, . . . that while we are not members of a Pacific Security Pact along the lines of the North Atlantic Pact, and while we are not now members of the ANZUS association, we are just as much concerned with security in the Pacific as we are with security in the Atlantic; because security, like peace itself, is indivisible. But that does not mean, as I see it, that the expression of this concern must be through the same type of collective security machinery everywhere.

Japan

When talking about a Pacific pact it is natural, I think, to say a few words about our relations with Japan which would have to play an important part in any collective security arrangement in the Pacific, and this indicates one of the reasons it is not easy at this time to broaden the more limited association into a wider one.

Earlier last month our colleague, the former Minister of Fisheries, Mr. Mayhew, took up his new duties as first Canadian Ambassador to post-war Japan . . . He has got down to work at once, as one would expect of him. His arrival in Japan and indeed the exchange of ambassadors with that country not only reflects the developing significance of Canada as a Pacific power, but it also points up the increased importance which both countries, Japan and Canada, attach to their relations with each other.

Canadian interests in Japan are important and varied. In trade, for instance, Japan has again become one of our best customers. The question of our trading relations with her is a difficult one; and some of us may find it hard to approach the problem entirely dispassionately. But I suggest that we cannot afford to ignore it, for Japan is at present our fourth largest market. Last year we sold Japan \$102 million worth of goods, about eight times as much as we bought from her.

Political considerations reinforce these economic reasons for reasonable trading relations with Japan. If she is to be retained as a healthy and reliable friend and ally in that critical part of the world, we and the other free countries must be prepared to join with her in working out satisfactory arrangements for maintaining and expanding the trade on which we are both so dependent, and on which she is especially dependent, as she sees her markets on the mainland of Asia being curtailed or possibly being lost because of political difficulties.

As an associate in the free world community, we look to Japan to adhere to her new-found democratic way of life, and we expect her to make a constructive contribution to collective security in the Pacific. On the other hand, I suppose Japan has the right to look to us to do our part — and by "our" I mean the nations of the Western world, including Canada — to show that her choice of friendly association with us is wise from the point of view of enlightened self-interest.

Southeast Asia

May I say a word now about another part of Asia which has great strategic and political significance at the present time. I refer to Southeast Asia, where the situation in some places has taken a turn for the better during the past year. Burma, for instance, has made considerable strides towards the restoration of internal order, and in Malaya the tide of Communist terrorism has receded. But in Indo-China which, in some ways, is the most important part of this Southeast Asian area, bitter fighting is still going on to keep this territory under nationalist but out of Communist control.

In a resolution adopted December 17, 1952, the North Atlantic Council expressed its wholehearted admiration for these efforts and acknowledged that the resistance of the free nations of Southeast Asia was in fullest harmony with the aims and ideals of the Atlantic community, and agreed that the campaign waged by French Union forces in Indo-China merited support from NATO members. Indeed there is a close strategic relationship not only between events in Korea and Indo-China, but also between events in Indo-China and in Western Europe, because events in Indo-China have a very important bearing on France's contribution to the defence of Western Europe. . . .

NATO

In this tour I have reached Southeast Asia, and it is interesting to note that there is now only a relatively small geographical gap between Southeast Asia and the area covered by the North Atlantic Treaty, which goes to the Eastern boundaries of Turkey. And so in a debate of this kind, it is possibly not as inappropriate as it might seem to jump from Southeast Asia to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

. . . All members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and all members of the Commonwealth, I think except Asian members, have recognized Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

So far as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is concerned, the feeling has recently developed that the high hopes which we placed in NATO not so long ago are not being realized. The claim is being put forward on the one hand that NATO defence plans are inadequate and are being implemented too slowly to meet the threat which Soviet military strength still poses in Europe. On the other hand, some people feel that the effort

to achieve the military targets agreed to at Lisbon is resulting in economic weakness and social and political division, and that economic and political co-operation is being subordinated to excessive military planning.

Well, I think myself that both these criticisms are somewhat exaggerated. If NATO has lost some of the momentum of its earliest days and some of the appeal of those days — and I am not denying that that might be the case — it is due, I suggest, to a certain recent tendency, which is a natural one in the circumstances to mark time during the longish period while the leader of the coalition was changing the guard, and the period between the changing and the mounting of that guard. There was a certain hesitation in NATO activity which extended over some months.

It might also be due to a feeling of lessening tension as the years go by without attack, and with growing strength on our side which, of course, means heavy defence burdens. That feeling can be dangerous by lulling us into a sense of false security and, indeed, complacency. On the other hand I suggest that it should not be permitted to obscure the fact that the founding and building up of this NATO coalition of 14 nations is itself, one of the greatest achievements of history in our time. People already tend to take for granted this really revolutionary development which has taken place in less than four years. And so it should be a source of sober satisfaction, though certainly not of complacency, that by the end of 1952 in Western Europe, largely because of NATO, the temptation to easy and victorious aggression has been removed, that temptation which is the greatest threat to peace when totalitarian governments are around.

Canadian Contribution

Canada's contribution to NATO forces remains in accordance with the commitments which we accepted at Lisbon. They include 24 warships being made available by the Royal Canadian Navy for anti-submarine and coastal service as part of the Atlantic force, the 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade, which is stationed in Germany as part of General Ridgway's forces, and the two F-86 jet-fighter wings already overseas, which will be part of the R.C.A.F. division to be stationed in France and Germany when airfields become available. Canada has also provided, during the past year, considerable help to other member countries by means of our Mutual Aid Programme, under which substantial quantities of arms and ancillary equipment have been supplied.

Paris Meeting

A ministerial meeting of the Council was held in Paris in December, not to make momentous decisions but rather to review the progress made since Lisbon on both the civilian and military sides. And there will be another meeting of the North Atlantic Coun-

cil, under present plans, toward the end of April. At that meeting we will consider the 1952 annual review, which was not completed in December. We will also consider steps to be recommended for the rest of 1953.

On the civilian side, the Secretary-General's report last December described the work, constructive but still in its initial stages, which has been done in the non-military fields of co-operation, although it has not proceeded as far as some of us had hoped when we signed the North Atlantic Pact. Work has proceeded in the field of political consultation through the Council, which is now in permanent session, work dealing with population problems, civil defence in war-time, food plans and ship production and supply.

In this connection I think it possibly appropriate for me to refer to the problem posed by the floods which have devastated three of the member states of NATO. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is the formal expression of the North Atlantic community. A community is a group of people who act together in a crisis, and it is in moments of emergency and crisis that each of us is made aware of the reality of the community which links the peoples which compose it.

Flood Disasters

The flood disasters which have recently struck at Britain, the Netherlands and Belgium aroused throughout Canada and the whole community instant sympathy and concern, coupled with a desire to speed aid to the victims. I think this disaster might well be a matter for consideration by our North Atlantic Treaty Organization. . . .

It has been brought to the attention of the Council by several members. I should like to say a word on the military side before I sit down. The progress report of the Military Committee in December showed that great advances had been made in training and increasing the effectiveness of the various national forces assigned to the supreme commander, and in the co-operation between national units and staffs. Substantial advances have also been made in the standardization of international military procedures, notably in signals and in the provision of airfields. At their December meeting the ministers were able to complete the European Command structure by approving the Military Committee's proposal for the establishment of a Mediterranean Command. So on the whole there has been a steady advance.

It seems to me rather unfortunate therefore that the tone of the publicity which came out of the Ministerial meeting in Paris in December seemed to reinforce this talk of loss of momentum and indeed defeatism. The picture painted in some of the press dispatches emanating from Paris was that of reluctant member countries falling short of the minimum effort required to guard against aggression in spite of dire warnings from various quarters of the consequences of such aggression. If NATO has not done everything

that everyone expects of it we should remember that, as in national affairs, an international undertaking of this sort has constantly to fit its plans not only to the capabilities but to the policies and wills of its member states.

Emphasis in Quality

It has also to deal first with the most urgent tasks. It was in recognition of this that the Ministerial meeting in December directed that more emphasis should be given to increasing the quality of the strength and effectiveness of the NATO forces and the units necessary for their support rather than to the provision of greater numbers of troops at this time.

It has also been recognized that the impact of a collective undertaking of this kind and of this magnitude is bound to have important and sometimes unforeseen results on the economies of member countries, and that political and economic stability must co-exist with defensive strength or else the strongest military force would be but an illusion of security, weakening the very substance which society itself intended to protect.

This does not mean that the governments of NATO countries should forget for a moment that the danger posed by Soviet imperialism to their common heritage of freedom still remains. As I have said, if the threatening cloud of aggression seems now to be less dark in certain parts of the sky over Europe, it is due to the efforts which its members have made to increase their collective strength and unity since the inception of this NATO alliance. The maintenance of the unity and strength of its members and the extension of their joint action into other fields depends, as I see it, in large part on the preservation of our peace and security . . .

. . . I think it is clear that there is one important area of the world where collective security arrangements are most conspicuous by their absence. I am referring to the Middle East. That is a gap, and an important one in our efforts to defend ourselves and the free world collectively.

U.K.-Egypt Arrangement

It is, I think, clear that the gap is not likely to be closed by Middle East defence and security arrangements until the political relationships between some of the countries in the Middle East are happier than they are, unfortunately, at the present. That is only one reason why I think the House will have welcomed the announcement today that an arrangement has been concluded between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of Egypt covering the future of the Sudan, which should be a step forward in stabilizing that whole area. It will also have been made clear, I hope, that all these separate collective security arrangements really hang together. They are in a sense interdependent.

Yesterday I finished my discussion by dealing with the North Atlantic Treaty Organi-

zation. That Organization as we know is a limited association of fourteen states whose responsibilities under the Treaty extend only to a clearly defined area. Meanwhile it is becoming increasingly clear that it is Communist world strategy to attempt to drain away the strength of the Western democracies by military and quasi-military action in the Far East and other places and by fomenting disturbances in the Middle East and in Africa. The Communist threat then is on a global scale, and no exclusively regional approach to that threat will be sufficient. The policies required to meet it must be world-wide too. Asian problems are linked with European problems, as has been so clearly demonstrated in the case of Indo-China.

Therefore, while each of the NATO partners has its own particular and necessarily limited commitments, it is essential, I think, that in the formulation of their plans — and this is becoming increasingly recognized in NATO — they should take account of their implications in the global setting. Before that can be done by NATO I think it is fair to say that the strength and the progress of the NATO effort will have to be linked in some satisfactory fashion with the move towards greater European unity.

EDC

Last June when I reviewed the European scene I spoke in some detail of the treaty constituting a European Defence Community which had been signed at Paris on May 27 by representatives of the Governments of France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries. At that time there were reasonable grounds for hoping that the treaty would be ratified and in force by the end of 1952. Unfortunately that hope has not been fulfilled. In both France and Germany hesitations and doubts have emerged and persisted, arising perhaps out of the conflict between hopes for the future and memories of the past. These have resulted in disappointments and delays which have possibly caused more surprise and impatience in some quarters than they should have. After all, the decisions to be made in this matter are not easy ones and they involve renunciations of sovereignty that would have been unthinkable even fifteen or twenty years ago.

Those of us who criticize Europeans for being so slow to come together, and who sometimes are tempted to draw what may be misleading historical analogies in urging them to do so, should ask themselves how readily we would welcome similar renunciations of sovereignty on our own part. Yet while we should understand the hesitations and the difficulties, we should also, I think, clearly realize the desirability, indeed possibly the necessity, for the right decisions to be made soon so that Europe can combine its strength with ours for security and progress. In the darkly menacing picture of our world today, the ancient quarrels of Europe are not important enough to occupy the foreground.

The picture must be looked at, I suggest, from a new perspective.

It is unwise to underestimate the depth and sincerity of the national feelings involved, but what alternative is there to European unity of some kind for defence and, indeed, for Europe's very existence? The question that Europeans and ourselves will have to answer is: Is there any solution more acceptable to the parties concerned than the European Defence Community which is now before them for consideration?

The concept of a European army is a bold and original one which will not be easy of quick realization. But I think it is the best and safest proposal yet made to bring Germany into the Western defence system, without which there cannot really be an effective collective defence of Western Europe. That it involves risks I would be the last to deny. Recent evidence of pro-Nazi activities in West Germany points up one aspect of this risk. But there is no course in this matter without risk. We live in times which are not calculated to bring comfort to the timid, and a new world cannot be built in Europe on a foundation of ancient wrongs.

Between now and the eventual ratification of the treaties, I am confident that the statesmen of the free world will find solutions to the difficulties which the European Defence Community faces, particularly in relation to such problems as the Saar and Indo-China.

Indo-China

The latter problem of Indo-China, which we touched on yesterday and which is so important to the free world, was publicly recognized as such at the December meeting of the North Atlantic Council; and I think it is at the root of French fears and hesitations in Europe at the present time . . . We may not . . . be aware that French casualties during operations in Indo-China have been approximately 90,000 wounded, killed and missing — and of that figure 40,000 have been killed. It is understandable, then, that in the plans for closer European defence unity, in which Germany will participate, the French still have very much in mind the diversion of their defence effort necessitated by the situation in Indo-China.

The additional protocols which the present French Government has said it intends to negotiate before it accepts the European Defence Treaty are meant, in part, to take into account France's overseas commitments and to allay the fears of the French people arising out of these overseas commitments and their relationship in turn to the new commitments that they are being asked to assume in Europe. The strong and expressed desire of the French Government to see the United Kingdom associate itself more closely with the European Defence Community is also, I think, to some extent a reflection of France's feeling that she cannot safely put her whole endeavour into the European army so long as she is committed in Indo-China.

It will be recalled here that the United

Kingdom, which is already making such a big contribution to European defence and, indeed, to the defence of freedom generally, has already taken a number of steps in the direction of closer association with the European Defence Community. I am sure that we hope that she may find it possible to take even further steps to that end which will not prejudice, of course, her Commonwealth and overseas interests and responsibilities.

Defence of Europe

We, in Canada, have given evidence of our strong concern, I think, with the defence of Europe, — which is our own defence — both by the pledge and by the presence of our forces in Europe and by our Programme of Mutual Aid. Moreover, . . . by signing, giving Parliamentary approval to the NATO-EDC protocol, we have recognized the direct importance to us of the European Defence Community arrangements themselves. By that protocol, we in Canada assume, as members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, reciprocal obligations for defence along with the European Defence Community. When we talk about the Community and express our opinions on it we are talking about something with which we are already connected by our actions here. There is provision in this protocol for mutual consultations between the councils of the two organizations; provision for joint sessions whenever one or the other deems that desirable; and arrangements for the closest co-ordination on the technical level. In that sense, if European defence arrangements become operative they will bring Germany not merely into association with the European Defence Army but into association with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Defence of Freedom

So, the unity and the defence of Europe are not matters to which we give an Olympian blessing from a distant shore. In whatever final form the European Army becomes a reality, its officers and men will have Canadians as comrades-in-arms since we share a common air, which is the defence of freedom. We shall all be united, I hope, behind the shield of NATO.

Although the European Army, then, has not come into being, European integration is making encouraging progress in other respects. In fact, the day before yesterday an event of very real symbolic and practical importance in the development of European integration took place; and I am referring to the proclamation establishing the common market in Western Europe for coal under the terms of the Schuman Plan, to be followed in April by the common market for steel. By these arrangements a start has been made in eliminating customs barriers and price discrimination in these vital materials over a vast area inhabited by millions of people. Today the European coal and steel community begins what should develop into close and fruitful European collaboration in the economic field.

In the conception and in the working out of this new supranational body, because that is what it is, Europe owes a great deal to the brilliance and energy of M. Jean Monnet, the first head of the high authority of the Schuman Plan, and also to the courage and initiative of M. Robert Schuman himself. M. Schuman has shown a remarkable capacity for reaching out to new concepts and bold designs. There are still many obstacles to overcome in the development of European integration, but the very fact that we can speak of the possibility of such integration at all is due in large part to M. Schuman's unsparing efforts to reach an understanding with the neighbours of France beyond the Rhine. I have every confidence that his distinguished successor as Foreign Minister of France M. Bidault, will continue this task with equal success.

Such . . . is the picture very roughly and inadequately sketched, and with many omissions, some of which I have no doubt will be pointed out in the course of this debate.

World Picture

The picture continues to give cause for concern, but in some respects it is, I think, a shade brighter than when I spoke last June. Uncertainty and anxiety still darken the general design. We still live in a world which is groping for unity and peace. It is true, and we have been reminded of it with increasing vehemence recently, that the leaders of Soviet Communism are prepared to offer the world "unity" and "peace", but what unity what peace and at what price? If it is simply the acceptance of Soviet domination, and the relinquishing of our liberty, that price is too high and there can be no bargaining on that basis. For us, and for all people who value freedom at its true worth, that is a price which we shall not pay. But there is no reason for despair. We must, and I am sure we can, with patience and perseverance and the right use of our growing strength, discover another and a better way of finding a durable peace within the framework of freedom.



NORTH SEA FLOODS

(Continued from p. 81)

about the actual need, will prove to be the most helpful to them in their great distress.

On February 3, the Prime Minister made the following additional statement on this topic:

. . . The Canadian Red Cross Society has been in communication with the Red Cross Society of the United Kingdom, with that of Belgium and with that of the Netherlands. It would seem that the situation in the United Kingdom and Belgium is that there is no shortage of any of the supplies required immediately to meet the emergency, but that in the Netherlands there is a shortage of clothing and bedding. Fortunately the Canadian Red Cross Society had 250 cases of such supplies in Geneva which are already on their way to the Dutch Red Cross Society. They also had forty cases of such supplies in Toronto and these are being moved immediately to be delivered to the Dutch Red Cross Society through K.L.M. air lines which had a plane just about ready to leave for the Netherlands. They feel that they will have perhaps forty cases more in the provincial commands of the Canadian Red Cross Society that can be made available almost

immediately.

I also understand that the officers of our Canadian 27th Brigade have been in touch with the authorities in the Netherlands and are making immediately available such engineering services as they can render which are urgently needed and are inquiring as to what other services might be made immediately available suggesting that they have mechanical transport material that could be used. . . .

It occurred to me that perhaps the most effective and expeditious instrument that we Canadians could use to make our aid available and effective would be our own Canadian Red Cross because of its experience in handling such situations and its intimate connections with the Red Cross Societies of the United Kingdom, Belgium and the Netherlands. . . .

I think I should add that the Premier of Ontario was in communication with me this morning, and from our conversation I know he would be glad if that kind of arrangement could be set up, and that his government would be glad to do its part in what our people look upon as desirable. I have no doubt that his good example would also be followed in our other Canadian provinces. . . .

CANADIAN GOODWILL TRADE MISSION TO LATIN AMERICA

Statement by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, made in the House of Commons, February 26, 1953.

The year just past has seen another remarkable record of achievement in our foreign trade. Our exports have continued to advance and reached a total value of \$4.4 billion in 1952, an increase of \$400 million over 1951, the previous highest year. It is worth noting that the total volume of our exports in 1952 increased by even more than their value.

At the same time, many leading import commodities experienced a sharp fall in price during 1952. In spite of this, the total value of Canadian imports remained at approximately the same level as in 1951 — at just over \$4 billion.

Almost all of the \$400 million increase in our exports in 1952 went to overseas countries. Thus, while our exports to the U.S. rose to \$2.3 billion last year and continued to be the most important single factor in our foreign trade, the proportion of our trade going to that great market has declined steadily in recent years and fell last year to 54 per cent of our total exports.

It is gratifying to note that our exports to the United Kingdom and Commonwealth countries increased in value, in volume and in proportion, rising to over \$1 billion. Similarly, our exports to Europe, to Latin America and to other countries — notably Japan — increased substantially last year and totalled about \$1 billion.

Sound commercial and economic policies have enabled Canada not only to maintain high levels of foreign trade, but also to diversify that trade. Canada's policy is to build up a sound exchange of commodities with every country in the world. In this we are succeeding to a remarkable degree.

I wish to report on our trade with Latin America and particularly on the results of the Canadian Goodwill and Trade Mission which has recently returned from a visit to Latin America.

Trade With Latin America

Our trade with the twenty Latin American countries continued to be one of the brightest spots in the world trade picture. This trade has experienced a rapid expansion in recent years. In 1938 our total trade with this area was valued at \$33 million. Last year the total amounted to about \$560 million. As a percentage of our trade with all countries, trade with Latin America has tripled since prewar. Over 6 per cent of our exports go to those countries and about 7 per cent of our imports come from them.

The reasons for the growing importance of this area in Canada's trade pattern are obvious. Latin America has a population of over 150 million and vast natural resources complementary to our own. As in Canada, the whole area is in the process of economic expansion, with high production, rising living

standards and increasing import requirements. We are natural trading partners, each in need of what the other can supply.

Since the war, our traditional exports to Latin America have been supplemented by a wide range of other products. The area has become one of our best customers for manufactured goods, many of which are currently denied access to other markets. Many countries in Latin America, including Cuba, Venezuela and Mexico, are open dollar markets where trade is unrestricted by import and exchange controls, just as Canada is an open market for their products.

Our relations with Latin America have been strengthened substantially in recent years. Since the end of the war we have concluded new trade agreements with many of these countries and we now maintain most-favoured-nation trade relations with all of Latin America with the exception of Honduras.

In recent months we have further strengthened our diplomatic representation by establishing Embassies in Venezuela, Colombia and Uruguay.

Goodwill and Trade Mission

It is against this encouraging background and as a positive contribution to the expansion of Canada's trade that the Government decided to organize a Goodwill and Trade Mission to visit many of the countries of Latin America early this year. I was privileged to lead this Mission on a 5-week tour of nine countries, leaving Ottawa on January 5, and returning on February 10. We visited the following countries:

Brazil	Venezuela	Haiti
Argentina	Colombia	Cuba
Uruguay	Dominican Republic	Mexico

The Mission also made unofficial visits to Puerto Rico and to Trinidad, where we were privileged to meet a number of businessmen. In Trinidad, we were able to discuss matters of mutual interest with the Governor, Sir Hubert Rance, and with the Hon. Mr. Gomes, Minister of Labour and Industry, and other members of the Government, and to see something of the development of that British colony.

The Mission was composed of a small group of government officials and seven Canadian businessmen, drawn from widely representative branches of the Canadian economy. Three of the latter group speak Spanish fluently and spoke for the Mission on a number of occasions. These businessmen called on those concerned with the interests they each represented and thus, by dividing the Mission, we were able to cover a wide cross-section of interests in the countries we visited. Special thanks are due to these businessmen who helped materially in making our trade mission a success.

Their names and affiliations are as follows:
D. W. Ambridge, President and General Manager, Abitibi Power & Paper Co., Ltd., Toronto, and representing the Canadian Chamber of Commerce.

J. M. Bonin, Managing Director, La Co-operative Agricole de Granby, Granby, P.Q., and representing La Chambre de Commerce de la Province de Québec.

J. S. Duncan, Chairman and President, Massey-Harris Co., Ltd., Toronto, and representing Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

Alex Gray, President, Gray-Bonney Tool Co., Ltd., Toronto, and representing Canadian Exporters Association.

F. L. Marshall, Vice-President in charge of Export for the House of Seagram, Montreal, and President, Canadian Inter-American Association.

K. F. Wadsworth, President and General Manager, Maple Leaf Milling Co. Ltd., Toronto.

Clive B. Davidson, Secretary, Canadian Wheat Board, Winnipeg.

The businessmen who accepted our invitation to join the group paid their own expenses, including cost of their transportation in an RCAF aircraft. The government officials who were attached to the Mission contributed much to its success and were most helpful in our contacts with government and business. The crew of the aircraft, drawn from RCAF personnel, made a splendid impression, particularly when the Mission was receiving military honours. The fact that the Mission travelled in an RCAF North Star added considerably to its success.

Purpose of Mission

The purpose of this Mission was to gain new first-hand knowledge about some of the countries which we have been doing such satisfactory business, to learn what more we can do to develop and strengthen our trade with them in both directions. We did not go with the object of signing or revising trade agreements or of entering into any specific negotiations. This was a visit of friendship and goodwill to strengthen the broad basis of trust and mutual interest on which alone a sound flow of trade can be developed.

I may say with confidence that the object of our Mission has been achieved in the fullest measure. In all of the countries visited we were received by the head of the state, to whom I transmitted letters of greeting from our Prime Minister. We also had the privilege of meeting high government officials, key industrialists, and leading representatives of business, banking, agriculture, and other organizations. The various business members of the Mission had every opportunity to establish direct contact with their opposite numbers in each country. Many fruitful and valuable discussions were had, and I am glad to report that, while we were not, as a Mission, concerned with making immediate business deals, many of the individual members of

our group were able to conclude satisfactory arrangements for further business on the spot.

I intend to go into some detail regarding each one of the countries on our tour. Before doing so, however, there are several comments of a general nature, which I would like to make.

Well Received

The warmth and cordiality of the reception accorded to the Canadian Goodwill and Trade Mission in each country visited was beyond anything we had expected. We know this was intended not for us as a Mission but, through us, for all the people of Canada. The publicity we were accorded by press, radio and television was quite extraordinary. There is in all of these countries a fund of goodwill and genuine friendship for Canada that augurs well for the future of our relations and for the long-term prospects of our trade. It was my privilege in each country to thank the government and the people for the magnificence of their reception and their hospitality. . . .

Wherever we went, we found the keenest desire to increase trade with Canada, and particularly to develop direct trade with Canada, as against indirect trade through third countries. While this is something that depends largely on transportation facilities, I believe that much can be done along these lines right now. I would urge Canadian exporters and importers to look into the possibilities of further developing direct connections with their customers and suppliers in Latin America. The Department of Trade and Commerce here in Ottawa and all our officers in the field will do all they can to be of assistance.

Wherever we went, also, we were asked about the possibilities of further Canadian investment in these countries. As you know, there are already many important Canadian interests established in various countries of Latin America. We were happy to meet numerous representatives of these organizations during our tour, and I may say that they contributed greatly to the success of our Mission. The Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Co., in Brazil, the International Power Co. (Montreal), in Venezuela, the Royal Bank of Canada, the Sun Life, the Confederation Life, the Aluminum Company of Canada, the Mexican Light and Power Co., the Massey-Harris Company and many other Canadian organizations have impressive records of business success in Latin America and have played a significant part in the development and expansion of the countries in which they are established. We saw and heard about many new opportunities for profitable investment in these countries, and I hope that Canadian companies interested in foreign investment will investigate fully the possibilities available to them in Latin America. . . .

Brazil

Our first official stop was in Brazil.

We spent three days in Rio de Janeiro, the capital, and another three days in Sao Paulo, the booming industrial centre to the South. We were received in Rio by President Getulio Vargas and by several of his ministers, with whom we discussed many aspects of our mutual trade. We also had important meetings with trade and business organizations and met a number of leading personalities.

Canada's trade with Brazil has become increasingly important. Our exports to Brazil in 1952 reached over \$81 million while our imports from Brazil amounted to about \$35 million. Brazil is one of our best markets for motor vehicles and electrical apparatus, for many other types of equipment and materials. We have recently been supplying a large part of Brazil's wheat requirements and, shortly after our visit, Brazil announced her intention to import a further large quantity of Canadian wheat. Canada is an important market for Brazilian coffee, for cotton, iron ore, tropical fibres, waxes, quartz and other products.

We were glad to learn, while in Brazil, of the plans being made for a solution of their current exchange difficulties. Brazil is giving priority to the liquidation of its commercial arrears. It has introduced a new exchange bill which will, it is hoped, enable it to move its cotton surplus and to sell abroad more of its cocoa and lumber.

As part of her exchange-saving measures, Brazil continues to maintain strict import restrictions against many dollar goods. These restrictions are affecting a number of traditional Canadian exports to that market, particularly codfish, wheat flour, whisky and other consumer goods. I know from my conversations with the Minister of Finance and other members of the Brazilian Government that they are as interested as we are in an early re-opening of the Brazilian market for these goods.

Brazil is a country with tremendous possibilities for expansion. We had an opportunity of visiting the Volta Redonda Steel plant, the largest in Latin America, as well as a number of modern industries in the Sao Paulo area. I was personally most impressed with the efficiency and organization of all these plants.

The growth of the city of Sao Paulo is itself the best illustration of the progress of the country. This is said to be the world's fastest-growing city, and now has over 2 million inhabitants. The 400th anniversary of the founding of the city of Sao Paulo will be celebrated in 1954 with a centennial exhibition. The Canadian Government proposes to participate in this exhibition and it is hoped that many of our Canadian manufacturers will take advantage of this exhibition to show the products they have to sell in Brazil.

Keeping pace with the tremendous industrial and population growth of this area, as

in Rio and in other parts of Brazil, the operating subsidiaries of the Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Co. are giving a tangible and impressive demonstration of what Canadian capital and skill can accomplish in co-operation with the people whom they serve.

In the neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro, we visited the Paraiba-Pirai diversion project. This large-scale power expansion project undertaken by Brazilian Traction will take several years to complete and will raise the capacity of one of the main power plants supplying the Brazilian capital from 190,000 kw to nearly 900,000 kw.

Near Sao Paulo, we visited the Cubatao power installations, also operated by Brazilian Traction subsidiaries, where important generating plants are being expanded to take care of rapidly increasing demand.

Canadians may well be proud of the engineering work being carried on by this Canadian company. This work is not only spectacular but involves features that are unknown outside Brazil. It was a privilege to meet the Canadians who are managing this vast enterprise and the engineers who are carrying out the development programme. The company has a tremendous responsibility for making possible the rapid industrial expansion of Brazil, and those in charge are fully conscious of that responsibility. These men are a great credit to Canada and are our ambassadors of goodwill in Brazil.

Argentina

From Brazil, we proceeded to Argentina for a three-day visit in Buenos Aires. President Juan Peron of Argentina received the Canadian Mission. We also had meetings with the Minister of External Relations, the Minister of Foreign Trade, and with several other cabinet ministers.

I was privileged to address a joint meeting of the British Chamber of Commerce and other business associations who joined together for the first time on this occasion. We were also received by the Buenos Aires Stock Exchange. We visited the Terminal Grain Elevator of the port of Buenos Aires, one of the largest in the world. I was indeed happy to note the great improvement in Argentina's wheat position. After the serious droughts of 1950 and 1951 Argentina's wheat crop had fallen to 75 million bushels, one-third of her ten-year average. The current crop is estimated at 275 million bushels, and this should contribute substantially to easing Argentina's trade and exchange difficulties.

Canada's trade with Argentina in 1952 totalled about \$12 million, with our exports valued at \$8 million and our imports from Argentina amounting to about \$4 million. Tractors and farm machinery are the main items in our exports at present. We also sell Argentina small quantities of aluminum, asbestos, newsprint and rubber tires. Our main imports are: canned meat, *quebracho* extract, hides and skins, and vegetable oils. When we recall that Argentina became our largest market in Latin America in the immediate

postwar years, we should be encouraged to look for a very substantial increase in trade levels in the future.

Although possibilities of trade are limited by the fact that our principal products are largely the same, we are hopeful that our trade with Argentina can be substantially enlarged. A mutual desire to that end was evident during our visit.

Uruguay

The Mission spent two days in Montevideo, Uruguay, where we had the pleasure of calling on Sr. Martinez Trueba, President of Uruguay's National Council, and on other members of the National Council. Members of the Mission had a valuable round-table conference with Uruguayan government officials. Arrangements were made enabling us to meet many of the leading representatives of Uruguay's business community.

Our trade with Uruguay is of moderate size. Last year, our exports amounted to \$5 million while we imported about \$2 million from Uruguay. Uruguay is a traditional and important market for Canadian seed potatoes, and a small but valuable outlet for newsprint, farm machinery, aluminum and other goods. Currently, many items that we are anxious to supply are restricted entry. I am glad to say that this situation is showing considerable improvement, and we hope the day will not be far distant when Uruguay will relax its import restrictions against certain Canadian goods. Our imports from Uruguay consist mainly of wool and wool tops, canned meats, and hides and skins.

I hope that, with the exchange of Embassies between Canada and Uruguay, and as a result of our visit, we may see a significant expansion of trade in both directions.

Venezuela

The Mission spent 6 days in Venezuela. We stayed in Caracas, the capital, for 5 days, and spent one day in Maracaibo, the great oil centre. Venezuela is one of our most important dollar markets in Latin America — a valuable market for wheat flour, milk, motor vehicles, copper, aluminum, newsprint, electrical apparatus and many consumer goods; it is also our largest source of supply for crude oil imports. Our exports to Venezuela totalled \$36 million in 1952, and our imports, traditionally much higher in value, amounted to about \$136 million. We are interested in reaching a closer balance in our trade with Venezuela through an expansion in our sales to that country, and we are also anxious to seek new products that we can import from them. We had most interesting meetings with cabinet ministers of the Government.

Venezuela has an ample supply of dollars, derived largely from the export of petroleum. There are no restrictions on imports to that country. It is perhaps the largest import market in Latin America and imports from Canada are far below the scale that we would desire. The market is highly competitive, but

still offers a fertile field for those Canadians who will visit that country in an effort to sell Canadian products. Members of our Mission obtained important on-the-spot orders and all expressed the opinion that Canada is doing a very poor selling job in that country. Industrial expansion is in progress at an astonishing rate and almost any product of the type made in Canada is being imported in volume, including manufactured goods, metals, pulp and paper and food.

We also had an important meeting with officials of the Flota Grancolombiana, the joint shipping line of Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador, which now extends its service to Canada on the East Coast and will shortly do the same on the West Coast. All ships owned by this company were built in Canada and are contributing greatly to the development of trade between Canada and the Latin American countries it serves. Plans are under way to expand the fleet of refrigerated ships which will help further to promote direct shipments from Canadian ports.

While in Caracas, we had an opportunity to visit the Caracas-La Guaira super-highway, now nearing completion, which will connect the city of Caracas with its seaport. This is one of the major construction projects in Latin America.

In Maracaibo the Shell Caribbean Company conducted us on a tour of part of the oil fields which have played such an important part in making Venezuela's currency one of the hardest in the world.

There is no doubt in my mind that Venezuela will continue to be one of our most important trading partners. We shall continue to need crude oil imports in large volume for our East coast and Maritime markets for many years to come and we will thus be contributing substantially to Venezuela's strength and prosperity.

Colombia

From Venezuela the Mission proceeded to Colombia, where we spent 4 days in Bogota, the capital, and also visited Barranquilla, the main Atlantic coast port.

The Mission were received by the Acting President of the Republic, Dr. Urdaneta Arbelaez, and also had interviews with several cabinet ministers. We had very interesting meetings with the directors of the Banco de la Republica, with the president and officials of the Flota Grancolombiana, with the Colombian Coffee-Producers Federation, and with other business organizations.

Among the numerous matters discussed with government officials was that of Colombia's wheat import policy. In the past, this has made it difficult for Canada to supply as much of the wheat as we would have wished. Under the new arrangements being introduced, Colombian importers will have a greater opportunity to plan ahead, and will thus be in a position to buy more wheat from Canada in those periods when local production is insufficient. I was also informed by Dr. Cabal, Minister of Agriculture, that Colombia

will be lifting its current embargo against Canadian meat and livestock when the United States does so.

We had an opportunity to visit the ancient salt mines of Zipaquira, near Bogota, and the new soda-ash plant nearby, which began operations last year. We also visited the modern pharmaceutical laboratories of Frosst and Co., of Montreal, a new Canadian enterprise in Colombia.

Colombia is a country with a highly diversified economy. It is in a strong financial position and offers an important dollar market for many Canadian goods.

Our exports in 1952 totalled nearly \$14 million, and our imports were about \$18 million. Machinery, newsprint, asbestos, wheat and flour, malt and aluminum, are among our main exports to that market. In return, we buy coffee — Colombia is our second largest supplier — and smaller quantities of bananas and other items. Our first purchase of rice from Colombia was announced recently, and I hope that a more diversified import trade with Colombia may be developed. We shall soon have a Canadian embassy established in Bogota, and can look forward to an era of even closer relations between Canada and Colombia.

Dominican Republic

We had a brief but busy stay in Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic, during which we were received by President Hector Trujillo, and members of his cabinet, and numerous other government and business representatives.

The Dominican Republic is one of the world's largest and most efficient sugar producers, and was an important supplier to the Canadian market during the difficult war years. We had an opportunity to visit the most important sugar property on the island, the Rio Haina estate. Its modern sugar mill is doubling its capacity. This project, initiated in 1949, has been financed entirely with local Dominican capital, with an investment totalling some \$40 million.

Our trade with the Dominican Republic has grown substantially. In 1952 we exported to the value of nearly \$5 million, mainly fish, wheat flour, rubber tires, newsprint. Our imports totalled about \$6 million, consisting largely of raw sugar and coffee. This is an open dollar market, and I am sure that the recent establishment in Ciudad Trujillo of a Canadian Trade Commissioner post will be of great assistance to our trade.

Haiti

Our visit to Haiti, though unfortunately all too short, was extremely useful and rewarding. Canada has traditionally close and cordial relations with the Republic of Haiti, not only in trade but also in the cultural field.

In Port-au-Prince, the Mission was received by the President of the Republic,

Colonel Magloire, and by members of his cabinet. We had a detailed discussion of our trade interests with government officials and with the Chamber of Commerce of Haiti.

Haiti has long been a market for our fish and flour, and is also buying numerous other goods in Canada. Our exports in 1952 totalled almost \$3.5 million. Our imports of \$2 million last year, consisted largely of raw sugar, tropical fibres, coffee and bananas. Haiti is particularly interested in developing sales of rum in this market and I hope that some satisfactory arrangement may be reached on this subject.

Our newly-appointed Trade Commissioner to Haiti will be paying particular attention to developing our trade with this country.

Cuba

From Haiti we proceeded to Cuba for a two-day visit.

Our official calls included meetings with the Minister of State, Dr. de LaCampa, with the Minister of Commerce, Dr. de LaTorre and with the Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Jacomino. The Mission were received by the President of the Republic, Major General Batista.

As you know, and as I already explained in this House, I took the opportunity of our visit to Cuba to have full discussions on the subject of sugar production and marketing. I have already reported in detail on this matter. I may say that I received the fullest co-operation from the directors and members of the Cuban Sugar Stabilization Institute and from other prominent representatives of the sugar industry. We had an opportunity also to visit the Hershey Sugar Mill, which is the largest single producer of refined sugar in Cuba with a daily productive capacity of 1,000 tons.

Our trade with Cuba has been rising rapidly since 1947, when Canada received substantial tariff concessions as a result of negotiations under the GATT. In 1952 we exported to Cuba \$24 million of goods, including large quantities of wheat, newsprint, wheat flour, copper, fish, malt, potatoes, milk, oats and machinery. From what I saw, there is still a wide field for a further expansion of Canadian sales in that market. Our imports from Cuba in 1952 totalled some 20 million dollars, and consisted mainly of raw sugar, synthetic yarns, pineapples, fibres and tobacco. Cuban raw sugar has been entering the Canadian market under the terms of a special arrangement entered into at Torquay in 1951. This arrangement comes to an end this year. Whether it should be renewed, and in what form, is a matter for future discussion in the light of conditions at that time.

While in Cuba, I expressed the Canadian Government's hope that the current problems in world sugar marketing may be solved to the satisfaction of both producers and importers through the medium of an international sugar agreement which will be discussed later this year. Cuba's 1951-52 crop of over

7 million metric tons of sugar is the largest in history and the Cuban Government is this year restricting the current crop to well below that figure. It is certainly in Canada's interest that the Cuban economy, so dependent on sugar production and export, should continue at a high level of prosperity and stability.

Mexico

Our four day visit to Mexico City was the last stop of our tour before returning to Canada. The Mission were received by the President of the Republic, Dr. Ruiz Cortines, and also had meetings with the ministers of the Government. The Foreign Minister of Mexico, Mr. Padilla Nervo, preceded Mr. Pearson as President of the United Nations General Assembly and is a great friend of Canada.

We had particularly valuable conferences with the Banco Nacional de Mexico, with the Confederation of National Chambers of Commerce and with the Importers-Exporters Association of Mexico. At these meetings the Mexican representatives formally proposed the creation of a joint Mexican-Canadian Chamber of Commerce or similar association of private trade interests in both our countries. I understand that this proposal, which has much to commend it, is now being given the fullest consideration.

Mexico is Canada's second largest market in Latin America. Our exports in 1952 totalled \$40 million and included a wide range of products with the main items being motor vehicles, newsprint, machinery, woodpulp, farm implements, electrical apparatus, aluminium and asbestos. It is also one of our most important suppliers of raw cotton and of many other products including peanuts, fresh vegetables and fibres. Canadian imports from Mexico in 1952 were valued at about \$24 million. Canada has become one of Mexico's main customers. Mexico is keenly interested in the further development of her tourist trade with Canada, and I hope that an increasing number of Canadians will visit that beautiful country. We are hopeful that direct air services between Canada and Mexico may soon be established and this will aid in promoting even closer relations between us.

Trade Can Be Expanded

I have given a brief review of our official visits to nine Latin American countries. We have come back from our tour with increased knowledge and with increased confidence in the future of our relations. But I am sure I speak for all members of our Mission, and particularly for the business representatives who were with us, and were able to prove this for themselves, when I say that what impressed us most was that our trade with these countries can be expanded to still much greater levels. Latin America is one of the world's major trading areas, selling over \$3½ billion yearly to the United States alone and buying almost \$300 million monthly from the U.S. — our nearest competitor. I believe Canada's share of this trade could be greatly increased and our position in these markets further improved. The opportunities are there, and it is up to us to make sure they are grasped and developed.

This is a job that must primarily be done by Canadian businessmen themselves. There is no substitute for personal, direct, on-the-spot contacts and relations. I would most strongly urge senior Canadian businessmen to go to the countries of Latin America and see for themselves what new fields are open to them. I would like to think that our own visit was but the first of many such visits in both directions by business groups and individuals. There is no better way of getting to know one's customers and suppliers and of finding new customers and new suppliers.

I took the opportunity of my stay in each country to extend to the governments and business groups of those countries an invitation to come and visit us in Canada. I know many of them are making plans to do so, and I have assured them that they will meet with the warmest and most cordial reception among us. I also invited the governments and business groups of each country visited to attend our International Trade Fair. Many of them have already done so, and more will come in future years.

Like Canada, the countries of Latin America are countries of the future. We have come closer together over the years. May I express my sincere hope that we shall continue to work together in our programmes for the expansion of our economies.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. J. McCardle was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective February 2nd, 1953.
- Mr. W. G. M. Olivier was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, on temporary duty, effective February 4, 1953.
- Mr. D. R. C. Bedson was posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Canadian Delegation to the United Nations, New York, effective February 6, 1953.
- Mr. R. M. Caza was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Home Leave, effective February 18, 1953.
- Mr. F. Charpentier was posted from Home Leave (Paris) to Ottawa, effective February 24, 1953.
- Mr. R. E. Branscombe was posted from Home Leave (Brussels) to Ottawa, effective February 26, 1953.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of international conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of February, 1953. Earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or where appropriate, by Cabinet, upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on Which Canada is Represented

(Published annually. Only new international bodies on which Canada is represented will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs, January, 1953, for the last complete list.)

Conferences Attended in February

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. 4th Session of Statistical Commission (ECOSOC). New York, February 2-13. | gress of Municipalities. Montevideo, February 20-28. |
| 2. Ad Hoc Committee on Agenda and Inter-
sessional Business of GATT. Geneva,
February 2-12. | 7. 2nd Conference on Promotion of Trade
of ECAFE (ECOSOC). Manila, February
23-March 4. |
| 3. 4th Session of Textiles Committee of
ILO. Geneva, February 2-14. | 8. Resumed 7th Session of U.N. General
Assembly. New York, February 24. |
| 4. Resumed 8th Session of the International
Wheat Council. Washington, February
2. | 9. 1st Air Navigation Conference (ICAO).
Montreal, February 24-March 31. |
| 5. 9th Session of ECAFE (ECOSOC).
Bandoeng, February 6-14. | 10. Commonwealth Advisory Committee on
Defence Science. New Delhi, February
25-March 14. |
| 6. 4th Meeting of the Inter-American Con- | 11. 3rd Technical Assistance Conference
(U.N.). New York, February 26. |

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 53/3 — *The Strength of Freedom*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at a meeting held under the auspices of B'nai B'rith, Guelph, Ontario, February 2, 1953.

No. 53/4 — *United Action for Peaceful Progress*, an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, made to the Ottawa Branch of the United Nations Association in Canada, February 4, 1953.

No. 53/5 — *Health Progress in Canada's*

Century, an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, to a joint meeting of the Kiwanis Clubs of Ottawa, February 6, 1953.

No. 53/6 — *International Economic Co-operation*, an address by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. D. Wilgress, to a meeting of the Canadian Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, Toronto, February 17, 1953.

No. 53/7 — *Review of International Developments* — statements by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the House of Commons, February 5, 11, and 12, 1953.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

**Report of the Secretary-General on personnel policy*; 30 January 1953; document A/2364; Pp. 39.

Demographic Yearbook 1952 (bilingual); Fourth Issue; Pp. 518 (Department of Economic Affairs).

**Handbook of International Measures for protection of Migrants and General Conditions to be observed in their settlement*; January 15, 1953; document ST/SOA/15. Pp. 278. \$3.00. Sales No.: 1953.IV.5 (Department of Social Affairs).

**Revenue Administration and Policy in Israel* (United Nations Technical Assistance Programme); 21 January 1953; document ST/TAA/K/Israel/1. Pp. 107.

**Yearbook of the United Nations 1951*. Pp. 1030. \$12.50. Sales No.: 1952.1.30.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

**List of Inter-Governmental Organizations in the economic and social fields*, 1953 Edition; 4 February 1953; document E/2361. Pp. 53, Annexes A, B, and Addendum (Pp. 19).

Population Commission — Summary of results of studies and research activities on International Migration undertaken by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies since 1946; 4 December 1952; document E/CN.9/109. Pp. 89.

**Report of the International Scientific Commission for the investigation of the facts concerning bacterial warfare in Korea and China*; 8 October 1952; document S/2802. Pp. 62.

**Report of the WHO/UNKRA Health Planning Mission in Korea*; London, November 1952. (MH/D/63.52). Pp. 105.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, p. 36.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

The Colombo Plan*

What is the Colombo Plan? Why is it needed? What are its aims and objectives? What is Canada's interest in it? How is the Plan progressing? These are questions which are currently being asked and which this article will attempt to answer.

THE full title of the Colombo Plan is "The Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia". It emerged from a meeting of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers held at Colombo in February 1950, the first occasion when the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers met in Asia and the first such meeting at which Foreign Ministers of the new Commonwealth countries in Asia were present. The use of the name "Colombo" in the title of the Colombo Plan has no other significance than that the idea took shape at a meeting held in that city. In fact, the Colombo Plan, though established on the initiative of Commonwealth Governments, is not even restricted to Commonwealth countries but was always intended to encompass the general area of South and Southeast Asia. The original members were Commonwealth countries, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, (as well as the British Territories in the area, Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, etc.), the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Since then, membership has been extended by the addition of Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Nepal and Viet Nam, and by the United States which, in the implementation of its own Point Four Programme of economic aid in the area, is co-operating fully with other Colombo Plan countries. All these countries are full members of the Consultative Committee, an intergovernmental body which exercises a general supervision over the execution of the Colombo Plan. The Consultative Committee meets annually, normally in the Colombo Plan area, to exchange views on policy matters and to review progress. The remaining countries in the region, namely, Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand, have been

represented at Consultative Committee meetings by official observers and Indonesia has indicated its intention, subject to the approval of its Parliament, to become a full member. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is naturally interested in the Colombo Plan and also sends an observer to Consultative Committee meetings.

Need for Help

Even a most cursory examination of the economic and social situation in South and Southeast Asia makes clear the urgent need for something to be done to help the peoples in that region towards a better life. The total population exceeds 570,000,000, roughly a quarter of the world's people. For the great majority, food is scarce and lacking in variety. Health conditions are deplorable. Eight out of ten are unable to read or write. Housing conditions are desperately poor, a one or two-roomed hut of mud or bamboo commonly serving the needs of a whole family. Living standards were low before the war, but the war has made conditions worse. Countries under Japanese occupation were despoiled and neglected and economic assets, such as rubber and tea plantations, power stations and transportation facilities, which had been painfully built up over long periods, were destroyed or fell into disrepair. In the Indian sub-continent, the very heavy strain on transportation and factories, the diversion of productive capacity to defence needs, and the inability to keep pace with the requirements of maintenance, repair and replacement, took their toll of economic assets.

Political and social disturbances have added to the difficulties in South and Southeast Asia. The transfer of power to the new Governments of India and Pakistan was carried out smoothly. But the

* Published in two parts, of which this is the first. The second portion will appear in the May issue of *External Affairs*.

partition of the country itself caused serious economic dislocation. In Malaya, Burma, Indo-China and Indonesia, political disturbances and terrorist activities hindered normal recovery.

Much has been done in the past six or seven years towards restoring the shattered economies of South and Southeast Asia to their pre-war levels but much more must be done. The peoples of these countries are no longer satisfied to eke out a bare existence for themselves and their children in the conditions of poverty and misery which were the lot of their fathers and forefathers. Most of these countries have gained their independence since the war and governments and people alike are determined to match their political progress with economic and social improvement.

The region is rich in natural resources and the main source of supply for several key products in international trade. Before the war it provided almost all the world's exports of jute and rubber, more than three-quarters of the tea, two-thirds of the tin and one-third of the oils and fats.

Tremendous Effort Required

It is clear that if the great wealth of the countries of South and Southeast Asia is to be developed for their benefit and for that of the whole world, a tremendous and sustained effort is required. The task must, in the main, be carried out by the countries themselves under the leadership of their own governments. This challenge has indeed already been accepted. Most of the governments concerned have worked out national development plans to be implemented in stages over a five or six-year period. With or without external assistance these development programmes will be carried forward but to the extent that the richer and more economically developed countries provide help, especially at the beginning, progress will be that much more rapid.

This is where the Colombo Plan comes in. It is not in itself adequate to provide for the scale of development which is desirable and indeed essential. It can, however, make a significant contribution

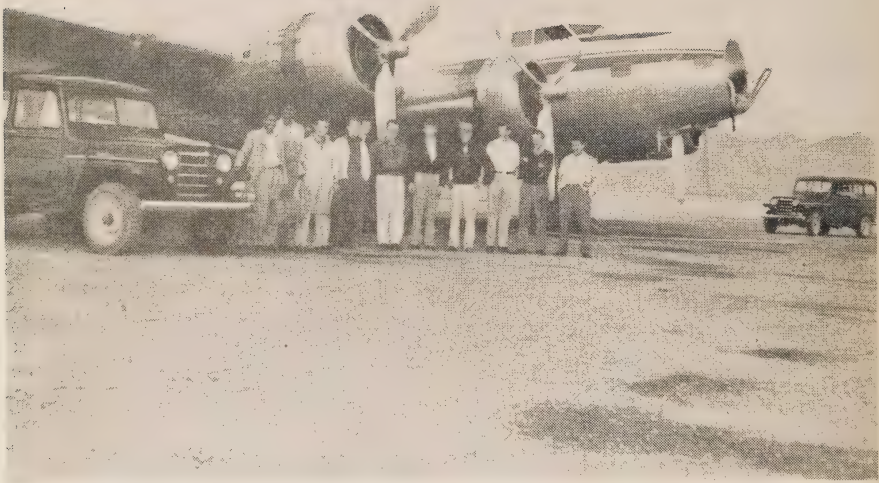
and is doing so by supplying urgently needed capital aid and technical assistance to fit in with the programmes which the receiving countries themselves are carrying out. It should also be of indirect benefit in encouraging financial assistance from other sources, for as the development plans become realities the economy of the area will be to that extent strengthened, production increased and living standards raised. The process is bound to be gradual but as conditions improve and stability is maintained, it would be natural to expect that private capital will move in greater amounts towards the area.

Two Part Plan

The Colombo Plan can be divided into two separate but closely related parts. These are technical assistance and capital aid. Technical assistance, as is clear from its name, is the sharing with the underdeveloped countries of the advanced knowledge and skills of the industrialized and more developed countries of the world. The idea of international technical assistance on a large scale is relatively new. It began with the United States Point Four Programme, so called because it constituted point four of President Truman's inaugural address to Congress in 1949. It was quickly taken up by the United Nations which organized an expanded programme of technical assistance in the middle of 1950. Colombo Plan technical assistance is supplementary to the United Nations programme in South and Southeast Asia, where the needs are particularly urgent.

Basic Aim

The basic aim of technical assistance is to provide the essential bridge to economic development. It is obvious that the countries of South and Southeast Asia, for example, will never be able to develop their resources if they lack skilled technicians. For limited periods and on a small scale, technical experts might be lent but this would do little if anything to solve the permanent problem caused by a shortage of trained personnel. The solid foundation of economic develop-



A Canadian photographic survey team, with Pakistani assistants, at Samungli Airport, Quetta, Pakistan, carrying out a resources survey of West Pakistan.

ment is technical skill and those who have it must share it with those who have not, if sound and lasting development is to be realized.

While technical assistance programmes present many difficulties in their execution, which will be discussed in more detail later on in this article, it is capital assistance — that is, the financing of economic development— which calls for the heavy outlay of funds. The growth of productive power is a slow and gradual process which must be spread over generations as has, indeed, been the experience in the advanced countries of the West. But it is the early stages of this development which are the most costly and the most difficult to initiate. Basic services, such as railways, roads, ports and harbours, electricity and irrigation, require a vast capital investment. In democratic countries, moreover, a certain minimum of social services must go hand in hand with programmes of economic development, if these are to command popular support. Countries in South and Southeast Asia are at different levels of

development but they all require heavy expenditure on basic services. Once the process of development gets well under way, its effects are cumulative, and financial and other difficulties become less.

Estimated Expenditure

The Colombo Plan as drawn up in September-October 1950, envisaged a total expenditure of some \$5 billion for capital development during a six-year period in the Commonwealth countries of South and Southeast Asia. The figure is based on the requirements of the Commonwealth countries or territories because only they had worked out national development plans at that stage. It was estimated at the time the Colombo Plan was established that about \$3 billion of the total sum required would have to come from outside the area itself. More recent assessments indicate that the requirements in external finance are likely to be even higher because of the deterioration in the terms of trade of the Asian countries as a result of the reduced world

prices of jute, cotton, rubber and other key exports. In any event these countries, despite their best efforts, will need a substantial amount of foreign capital if they are to reach the modest goals set in their national development plans. Private capital is, of course, one source of financial support and another, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, is already financing some of the larger projects. Up to date, the contributing countries in the Colombo Plan have pledged themselves to support the programme as follows: Australia has undertaken to provide aid over the six-year period to a total value of 31.25 million Australian pounds, or approximately \$70 million; New Zealand is contributing the equivalent of 3 million New Zealand pounds, or \$8.3 million for the first three years at the rate of £1 million a year; the United Kingdom over the six-year period is prepared to assist to a total of approximately \$900 million chiefly by releasing war-time sterling balances held in London by the receiving countries. Canada provides its contribution to economic development under the Colombo Plan on an annual basis by means of a parliamentary vote. For each of the first two years of operations under the Colombo Plan, Parliament approved a sum of \$25 million for capital assistance. Again this year parliamentary approval is being sought for a third contribution in the same amount. If approved, this vote will therefore bring the total Canadian contribution for the first three years of the Colombo Plan to \$75 million. The United States, through its own programmes of economic aid in the general area of the Colombo Plan, has contributed or pledged a total of approximately \$200 million in the first two years. Like Canada, the United States operates on the basis of annual appropriations approved by the Legislature and the extent of United States aid to South and South-east Asia during the coming fiscal year will be determined by Congress.

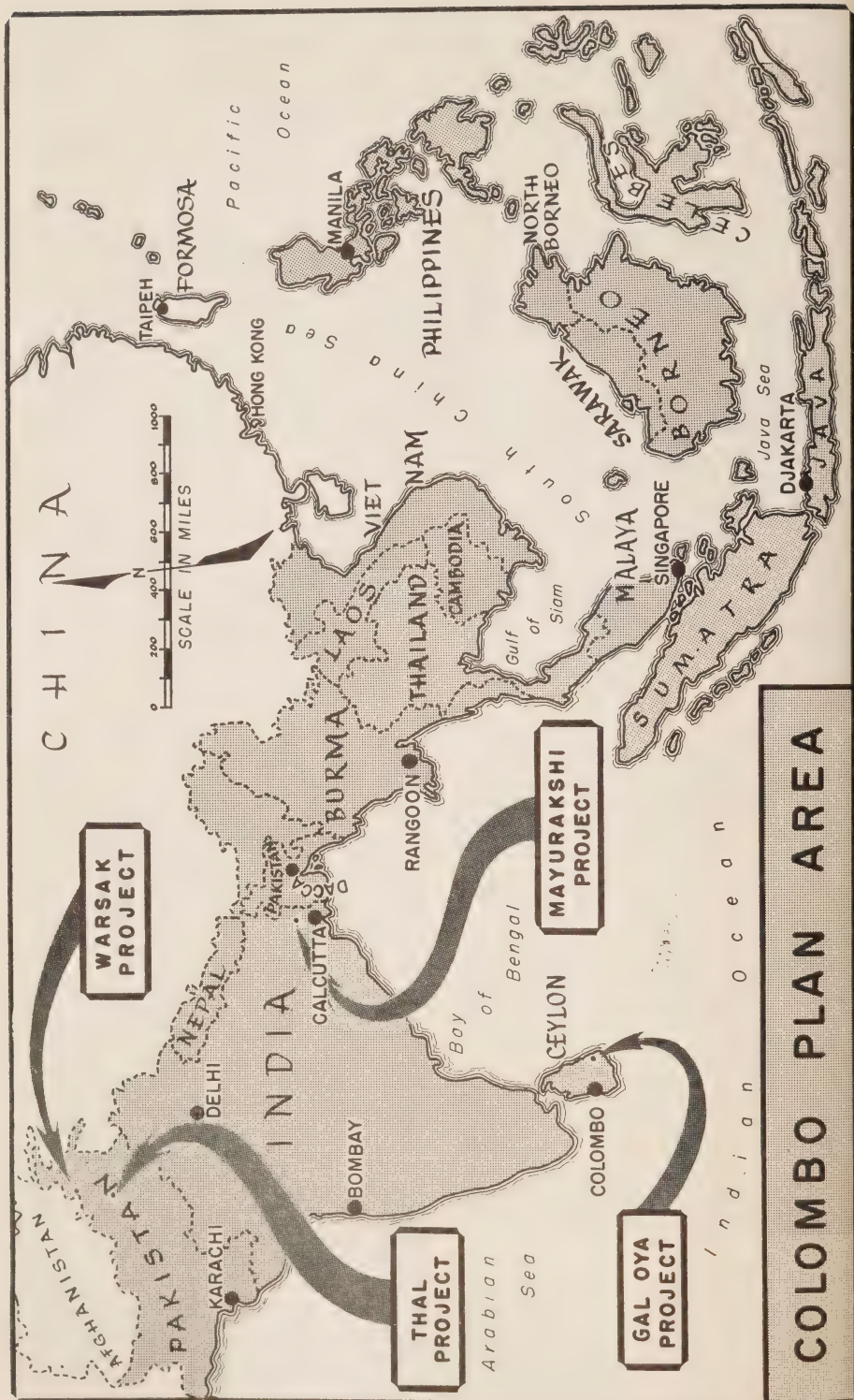
Bilateral Basis

The actual carrying out of Colombo Plan aid, both capital and technical, is arranged on a bilateral basis between the receiving and the giving countries. Every

effort is made to co-ordinate such bilateral programmes not only with other members of the Colombo Plan but also with other organizations engaged in economic development programmes in the region, particularly the International Bank, the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies. If the limited resources available are to produce the greatest benefits for the under-developed countries, it is essential not only to avoid overlapping and wasteful duplication but also, where feasible, to complement each other's programmes and thus help towards the completion of well-integrated projects which fit into the national development programme of the countries concerned.

Canada and the Colombo Plan

On September 10, 1951, an Exchange of Notes was signed in New Delhi formally recording the mutual acceptance of the Canadian and Indian Governments of a Statement of Principles to govern the provision of economic aid from Canada to India under the Colombo Plan. Identical Notes were exchanged on the same day in Karachi between representatives of the Canadian and Pakistan Governments and on July 11, 1952, in Colombo between representatives of the Canadian and Ceylon Governments. The Statement of Principles provides that all economic aid supplied by the Government of Canada to the Government of India or Pakistan or Ceylon shall consist of goods and services in accordance with specific programmes agreed upon from time to time between the Canadian Government and the government of the receiving country concerned. Provision is made for Canadian financial assistance to be given either on a grant or a loan basis, depending on the nature of the particular project and the uses to which the goods and services are put. The particular terms of each specific programme are a matter for agreement between the Canadian and the other government concerned, subject to the following general provisions covering grant aid and loan aid. If goods financed by grants from the Canadian Government should be sold or otherwise distributed to the public by the receiving government, "counterpart funds" are nor-



mally to be set aside. The receiving government is to set up a special account for these funds and to pay into it the rupee equivalent of the Canadian expenditures on goods and services supplied in connection with the project concerned. These funds are to be used to finance the local costs of economic development projects agreed upon by the Canadian Government and the government of the receiving country. For specific projects which are agreed to be appropriate for financing by loans, the terms of the loans are to be determined by the two governments, taking into account the commercial character of the project in question, its anticipated earnings and its anticipated effects on the foreign exchange position of the receiving country. In fact, all Canadian Colombo Plan aid given to date has been on a grant basis.

In carrying out its Colombo Plan activities, Canada is guided by a few general policies. It is recognized that the governments of receiving countries are in the best position to know their own needs and it is, therefore, left to their initiative to propose projects for Canadian aid. In selecting the most suitable projects from among those submitted for consideration, Canadian authorities take into account both the contribution which the particular project is likely to make to basic economic development and Canada's own ability to provide the goods and services required. The general preference is for projects in the fields of agriculture, transportation and public utilities, but the most careful consideration is given to any project which the receiving government regards as important to its national development plan and for which it requests Canadian assistance.

Capital Assistance

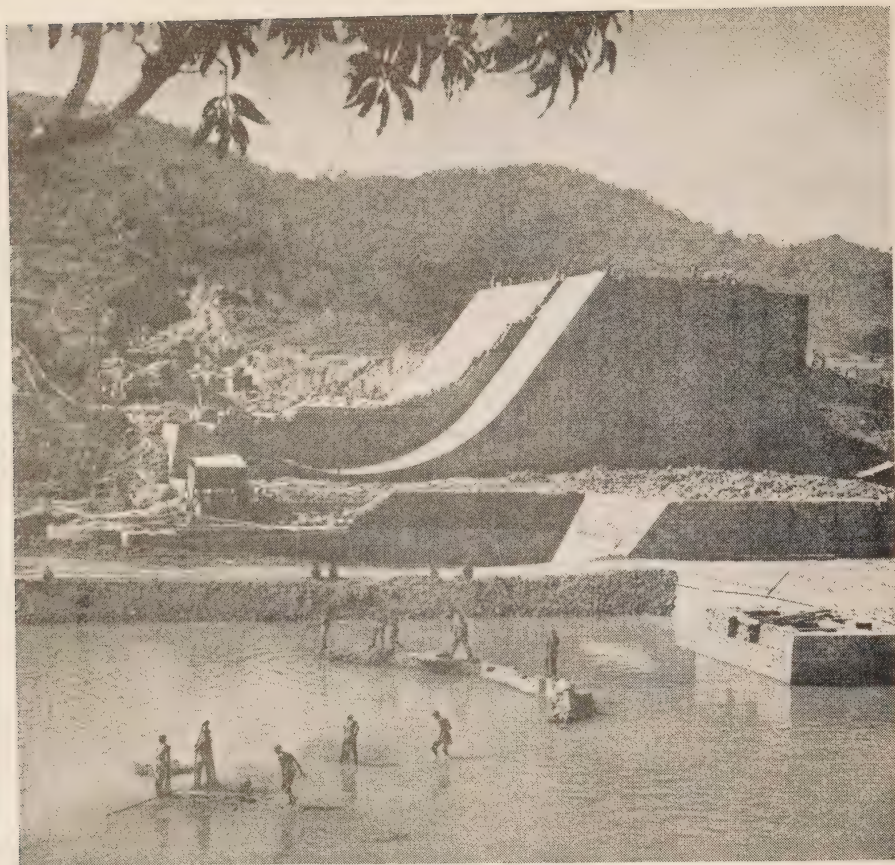
In the first year of the Colombo Plan, the Canadian contribution of \$25 million was divided between India and Pakistan, with \$15 million in aid being granted to India and \$10 million to Pakistan. In the second year, that is the fiscal year 1952-53, it was decided that Ceylon should be included in the Canadian programme of aid, that about \$2 million might be allocated to Ceylon and that the remaining funds should be made available to India

and Pakistan in the light of the programmes to be submitted by their governments. To date, a final decision on the exact division of funds has not been made nor is any automatic allocation contemplated in respect to the third \$25 million contribution which Parliament is being asked to vote for 1953-54. Certainly India, Pakistan and Ceylon will continue as recipients of Canadian aid, though the possibility of providing some assistance to other countries in the area for projects specifically submitted by them is not ruled out.

India

India's food problem is tremendous. There is never enough food produced in India to feed the population even at the minimum standards to which they are accustomed, and the Government is therefore obliged to import large quantities of food every year. The essential food requirements are roughly 50 million tons; even in a good year India rarely produces more than 45 million tons. The need to import something in the neighbourhood of five million tons of food a year represents a serious drain on India's limited foreign exchange and a serious strain on her international balance of payments position. The Government of India is fully aware of the desperate need to close this gap and its five year development plan concentrates on increased agricultural production. Under the Plan 17.5 per cent of investment capital is to be devoted to the improvement and expansion of agriculture and 21 per cent to irrigation which, of course, is closely related to better agricultural returns.

The success of the agricultural programme in India's Five Year Plan will mean that the country will grow enough food for its own population at the present level of consumption, and may make it possible to raise that level. Meanwhile, however, while the programme is getting under way and is developing, the gap continues to exist and food must be imported. The immediate basic needs must be met while development goes on. It was to help relieve this situation that the Indian Government requested Canada to use Colombo Plan funds for the provision of wheat to India.



—Government of West Bengal

The Mayurakshi Project — dam under construction.

Purpose of Plan

The Colombo Plan was never intended to be anything in the nature of a relief agency. It was meant not to provide food for the famine-stricken, nor any other emergency supplies, but to help strengthen and develop the economies of the under-developed countries on a permanent basis. Nonetheless, it was recognized from the beginning that in certain circumstances, and India's position was specifically noted, the provision of food-stuffs could contribute to the long-term economic development which is the objective of the Plan. The Canadian Government agreed to allocate \$10 million of the Colombo Plan funds available for India in 1951-52 and \$5 million in 1952-53 for the provision of wheat subject to arrangements which would ensure bene-

ficial results to basic economic development. This objective is attained through the establishment of counterpart funds as provided for in the Statement of Principles described above. The Indian Government agreed to set up a special account and to credit to it the proceeds of the sale of the Canadian wheat in India. This counterpart fund, equivalent in rupees to the \$15 million Canadian expenditure for wheat, must be used to finance the local costs of some economic development project, or projects, mutually acceptable to both Governments. Agreement was in fact reached some months ago on the use of the rupee counterpart fund generated by the first \$10 million wheat grant. This money is all to be allocated to pay part of the costs of local labour and materials for the construction of a large irrigation pro-

ject at Mayurakshi. This project, which will also include a small hydro-electric plant, is in the State of West Bengal. A good deal of work has already been done in damming up the Mayurakshi river, building a barrage, etc., and it is expected that the project will be completed in 1955. Mayurakshi, which is one of the high priority projects in India's five-year economic development plan, will irrigate 600,000 acres of land with a resultant increased yield of approximately 400,000 tons of food annually. It will be seen, therefore, that the provision of wheat by Canada to India under the Colombo Plan has accomplished three ends. It provided food at a time when the need for food was great and urgent; it represented a saving for India of its limited foreign exchange; and it generated rupee capital for the development of a project which will be of permanent value to India in its programme for increased food production. It has not yet been decided how the counterpart funds arising out of the \$5 million grant of wheat given to India this year shall be used. To the extent that these funds are needed to complete Mayurakshi they will probably be used for that purpose. The balance, if any, will help to finance the local costs of some other equally sound long-term project.

Cottage Industries

As explained above, there is to be built at Mayurakshi a small hydro-electric plant which will generate about 4000 kw. of electric power. One of the primary purposes of the power is to develop cottage industries in the district, which will supplement the means of livelihood of the peasants by providing them with useful and productive work during the monsoon season when they are unable to farm. It will also provide power for small local industries and for the social improvements which accompany rural electrification. Most of the items of capital equipment required for the construction of the hydro-electric plant must be obtained abroad and negotiations are now under way for the provision of this equipment from Canada. If satisfactory arrangements can be made, Canada will undertake to provide the necessary generating equip-

ment for the power plant itself and the transmission equipment needed to distribute the electricity throughout the district. This part of the project would cost about \$3 million.

Transport Project

One of the basic elements in any programme of economic development is transportation and in this field also Canadian Colombo Plan aid has been given to India. The State of Bombay, with its very large population and its very poor transportation facilities, recently decided to improve its road transport system. On its behalf, the Central Government of India requested Canada to render assistance to this worthwhile project through the provision of motor vehicles. The request appealed to Canadian authorities not only because of their recognition of the need for improved transport but because in large part the Canadian aid requested would contribute to the solution of the food problem. It is obvious that food production must be matched by food distribution facilities, if people are to have the food they need. The larger part of the Canadian contribution to Bombay consists of trucks, which are to be used to transport food from the area of production to the area of consumption. In all, Canada is contributing 835 trucks, 450 buses and 70 tractors and trailers. Some of these vehicles have already arrived and shipments will be completed within the next month or two. The total cost of the project, including spare parts, amounts to \$4½ million.

The Bombay State Transport Project, like all Canadian Colombo Plan operations in India, was negotiated between the Canadian Government and the Central Government of India. While the vehicles were provided as an outright gift to the Indian Government, it was agreed that that Government in turn should supply them to the State of Bombay on a loan basis on the principle that a transport system is, or should be, a self-supporting enterprise. The Bombay State Transport Corporation benefits from the arrangement because the terms of repayment are much easier than could have been obtained commercially. As the loan is repaid to the Central Government, the

instalments will be credited to a counterpart fund for use in rupee financing of economic development projects. This is another Colombo Plan project which serves a three-way purpose. It helps to meet a real and urgent need in transportation and food distribution in an exceptionally populous area; it saves India's dollar exchange to the extent of \$4.5 million; and it creates rupee capital for long-term development purposes.

Summary

Summarizing the aid given so far to India under the Colombo Plan, we see that \$15 million in wheat have been granted with the corresponding rupee counterpart funds being devoted to the construction of an irrigation hydro-electric project at Mayurakshi; \$3 million in

generating and electrical equipment will probably be provided for the hydro-electric plant at Mayurakshi; \$4.5 million in trucks and buses have been furnished for the improvement and expansion of the Bombay State Transport System with resultant counterpart funds for national economic development projects. Other projects have been proposed and are being seriously studied. If as a result of inquiries in the field and at home, some of these projects prove suitable for Canadian aid both from the viewpoint of the contribution they will make to the economic development of India and from the viewpoint of availability in Canada of the capital equipment needed, they will no doubt be included in Canada's programme of aid, to the extent to which funds are available.



—Government of West Bengal
The Mayurakshi Project — close up of the Barrage.

NATO After Four Years

NATO has frequently been described as an organization with a double purpose — a short-term military purpose and a long-term “community” purpose. While this description makes an important point about NATO (it differs from the pre-war type of military alliance), the tendency to employ it haphazardly to correct the initial emphasis on military plans can be misleading. One is constantly on the lookout for a transformation that may not, in fact, take place in the way imagined. Since NATO observed its fourth anniversary on April 4, this might be an appropriate time to take a closer look at its “double purpose”.

Two Objectives

No one will deny that NATO was born of collective insecurity. When universal collective security could not be achieved through the United Nations, it became necessary to organize collective security on a selective basis. This selection naturally embraced the North Atlantic area as of first strategic importance in the defence of the free world. The primary purpose of the Treaty is to deter aggression, first by the acceptance of definite commitments in case of attack and second by the agreement of the parties to “maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack”. There was, however, a secondary purpose in the signing of the Treaty. This purpose, championed by Canada and inscribed as Article 2 of the Treaty, was that the member nations should not only agree to associate for security reasons but should resolve as well to promote “conditions of stability and well-being” and to “encourage economic collaboration”. This resolution was inspired, it may be suggested, by an awareness of continuing disturbance and crisis in the twentieth century. Military co-operation alone appeared to be inadequate in the face of the peculiar menace presented by international Communism. In a sense, NATO was formed to rebut both the military threat posed

by Soviet expansion and the ideological threat posed by Communist propaganda.

Four years of experiment and progress have led to the conclusion that these two objectives of NATO are indivisible. It has been found that the primary objective of adequate defence involves, as an integral part, the secondary objective, non-military co-operation. In other words, adequate defence against aggression depends upon adequate economic co-operation. It is not, therefore, strictly accurate to think of military and non-military phases of NATO. The need for military preparedness should be thought of rather as a long-term need, and the non-military or “community” objective as fusing with it. Article 2 is not a phantom on the horizon; it is part of a developing process. Two excerpts from Council declarations illustrate the development of NATO thinking along these lines. The first was made after the Lisbon meeting in February, 1952; the second after last December’s Ministerial meeting:

- (1) Members of the Council look forward to the time when the main energies of their association can be less centered on defence and more fully devoted to co-operation in other fields for the well-being of their peoples and for the advancement of human progress.
- (2) By combining their resources and their knowledge, by sharing the material burden of defence, by the constant practice of mutual consultation and mutual association, member states have already increased their common strength, understanding and unity.

Both statements were made with Article 2 in mind. The second, without invalidating the first, suggests that co-operation for defence and “co-operation in other fields” are not mutually exclusive.

Recent Activities

A brief description of some recent NATO activities may help to explain the development of this mutual association. NATO’s main task so far has been the establishment of collective forces in the NATO area under integrated commands. To create these forces and maintain them

has required the mobilization of immense resources by the member countries for the purpose of defence. To organize such national efforts and to co-ordinate them has required the development of a special technique of collective planning, which, since the Lisbon meeting of the Council (in February 1952), has been called the Annual Review. The Annual Review for 1952 began last July with the sending out of a questionnaire designed to obtain from member governments a picture of the progress of their defence build-up and of their future defence plans. An interim report was submitted to Ministers when they attended the Council in Paris last December, and a final report will be made to the Ministerial meeting of the Council in April. This first Review is very much of an experiment. It is probably the first time that any group of nations has voluntarily agreed to submit the defence plans of each member for scrutiny by the others assisted by an international staff of experts. The process has revealed the great complexity and practical difficulty entailed in the Lisbon conception of creating "balanced collective forces", forces that, in quantity and quality, must meet modern military requirements. One problem to which it is difficult to find a satisfactory answer is the equitable distribution of the defence burden among countries of unequal size and resources. Clearly, some countries in NATO can do more than others. But it is more difficult to say exactly what each is best equipped to do and what limits each must set. It has been the purpose of this first Annual Review to compile the data which, if agreed interpretations can be reached, will provide some preliminary answers to such questions. Other problems, however, introduce themselves. What kind of data are needed? How are they to be acquired?

Are they in all respects susceptible to legitimate comparison between one country and another? It is such practical problems that have concerned the Council and the Secretariat in carrying out the Annual Review in recent months. Consideration of them has led to stress on the effectiveness of forces rather than on their numbers. For the job has been first to estimate as nearly as possible what is available and second to consider ways of improving

and strengthening these existing forces, and, after this, to consider what further steps can be taken, in the form of "force goals" for the future, toward the objective of adequate defensive strength. The setting of force goals thus becomes both a beginning and an end. It is a beginning because it provides a firm military objective for future planning. It is an end because the proper decision can only be made after the circumstances surrounding each nation's effort have been thoroughly assessed.

Different Approach

This approach is different in emphasis from the one adopted at Lisbon. If it is true that the Lisbon force goals for 1952 were substantially reached, it is perhaps also true that they had been loosely defined. It has been found that a precise idea of what is meant by a division prepared and equipped to fight must be agreed before any counting of heads becomes significant. What does the idea of "fifty divisions" mean in fighting power? The answer may vary from one defence ministry to another. It is, therefore, General Ridgway's job, and Admiral McCormick's too, not only to suggest how many troops are needed but to recommend what standards of training and equipment they should meet. The latter task has become preliminary to the former, in the sense that, in the present stage of Western defence, a sufficient deterrent to aggression must emphasize quality rather than quantity. At Lisbon the urgent task was to provide forces, however loosely defined. The fact that such initial provision has been made now enables a re-assessment to be made of national capacities and policies.

Annual Review

The 1952 Annual Review, now nearing completion, therefore follows in logical sequence the programme begun at Lisbon, and is neither a tailing-off nor a slowing-down. The procedures and methods of consultation evolved during its course will form the basis for that closer unity and community of purpose that NATO is building. The Annual Review process is becoming a focus of NATO activities.

Though the result must be a balanced appraisal of military forces and a plan for reaching military goals, the process itself involves far-reaching political, economic and strategic considerations. Some of these have been mentioned. It might be noted as well that the strategic considerations governing NATO planning are themselves subject to modification. They may be modified by political re-assessment of the international situation. The development of new weapons may invalidate previous calculations. The whole fabric of strategic and military planning must be kept continually under review; this, too, forms part of the Annual Review. The process as a whole consists of a balancing and assessment of many considerations, some verifiable, others unpredictable and open to disagreement.

Infrastructure

Many NATO activities can be related to the focal point of the Annual Review. One aspect widely publicized, particularly during and since the last Ministerial meeting, has been "infrastructure". These fixed military installations, consisting mostly of airfields and communications used in common by the NATO forces, represent but a very small proportion of the total NATO defence effort. Yet they have received publicity because the provision of them involves complicated negotiations for common financing, which in turn affect national, political and economic policies. How much can each country provide? What degree of priority should be attached to infrastructure financing in relation to other parts of the defence effort? Such questions cannot be answered except by reference to the same

considerations that relate to the Annual Review. It is the same problem of reconciling national capacities with the necessities of collective defence.

Other Activities

Other NATO activities also bear some relation to the Annual Review. Exchanges of views on political matters of common concern such as, for example, the EDC Treaty and Indochina, will be taken into account when political and economic factors are reconciled with military estimates of adequate defensive strength. A Council working group has been considering the implications for defence of such problems as unemployment, the need for skilled labour and national emigration and immigration policies. There is the problem of civil defence; how can it be co-ordinated and what priority should be given to it? Finally, as expressed in Article 2, there is the desire of NATO nations to "further the development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions" and "by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded". It is true that measures to this end involve more than a defensive joining of hands. Yet, for the present at least, the effort to provide sufficient military strength to deter aggression, with all its ramifications, involves as well the deeper understanding envisaged by Article 2. By voluntarily undertaking the common efforts and sacrifices involved in collective defence, the sovereign states that are members of NATO are, in fact, laying the groundwork for the fuller development of the North Atlantic community.

Formosa

In view of the current interest in the island of Formosa, the following article was prepared to give simply a description of the island together with a chronicle of the chief events in its political and diplomatic history. The article does not attempt to interpret or comment upon recent developments relating to Formosa.

THE island of Formosa might be termed the "Emerald Isle of the China Sea". Although, like Ireland, it is possessed of a luxuriant physical beauty, its history has been marred by jurisdictional disputes and turbulent rebellions. In the 17th century, there was a Chinese saying which summed up the situation in Formosa: "Every three years a disorder and every five years a rebellion". Its history over the past century illustrates the continued pertinence of this saying.

Physical Geography, Products of and Ethnic Groups in Formosa

Formosa, or Taiwan, as it is called by the Chinese, is about four hundred miles south of the mouth of the Yangtze and a hundred from the mainland of China. It lies off the Chinese province of Fukien, from which it is separated by a strait from ninety to two hundred and twenty miles wide. The island is almost exactly bisected by the Tropic of Cancer and lies between 25°20' and 21°50' north latitude. It has a maximum length of 235 miles while its breadth varies from 60 to 80 miles. Altogether it covers an area of 13,836 square miles. It is about one-fourth the size of the State of Illinois, but with an equal population of about eight millions. Formosa constitutes the eastern escarpment of what was once the great Malayo-Chinese continent, and is connected by a submarine plateau with the Chinese mainland. The strategic importance of Formosa is obvious and it has been described as a stationary aircraft carrier poised between Japan and the Philippines, from which position it controls the sea lanes from North Asia through the southeast to Malaya, Burma and India.

Physical Geography

The backbone of the island, extending north and south, is formed by a range of densely wooded mountains, called by the Chinese Chu-Shan, which rise to upward of 14,000 ft.; the height of the highest peak, Mount Morrison, is given as 14,720 ft. Eastward of this range lies a narrow strip of mountainous country, presenting to the Pacific Ocean a precipitous cliff-wall, with in many places a sheer descent of from 1,500 to 2,500 ft. The western side of the range consists of a single broad alluvial plain, stretching from north to south of the island, seamed by innumerable water channels and terminating at the coastline in mud flats and sand banks.

Apart from heavy rainfall in the northern, central and eastern portions of the island, the climate is not exceptional, since the insular position ensures modification of the heat by sea breezes. Malarial fever is, however, prevalent in the north, and violent typhoons are common at certain seasons.

Products

The island is famous for the luxuriance of its vegetation and many hot-house plants, such as orchids and azaleas, grow wild on the mountain slopes and in the valleys. Ferns, tree ferns, camphor- and teak-trees, pines, firs, wild fig trees, bananas, bamboos, palms, indigo and other dye plants, tobacco, coffee and tapioca, all grow in profusion on the island. Forty-three species of birds are indigenous. Fish is plentiful near the coast, but insects and wild animals are scarce. The main crops are rice (two crops of which are grown per year), sugar cane, tea, jute, sweet potato, beans and ground nuts. The chief minerals are coal — of which

there is a large supply — gold, salt, petroleum, natural gas and sulphur. The principal exports, besides camphor, of which Formosa controls the world market, are tea, coal, sugar, jute, hemp and dye-woods. Taihoku (or Taipeh), in the north of the island, is the capital of Formosa, and Tansui and Keelung are its principal ports. Tainan, on the southwest coast, is another important port.

Ethnic Groups

In 1590, Portuguese navigators sailing along the eastern coast were so taken by the precipitous but wooded mountains and wild beauty of the shoreline that they marked the island in their log-book as “Ihla Formosa”, meaning “beautiful island”. From the other side, the Chinese, who can quite easily reach the western coast in their junks, were struck with the peaceful beauty of the inhabited and cultivated hill-sides of Western Formosa, and they called it “Taiwan”, i.e. the “Terraced Bay”, which is still the official designation of the island. Before the 16th century, peoples of Malayan or Polynesian origin, related to the peoples of Mindanao and Borneo, inhabited Formosa. The descendants of these head-hunting aborigines, who show both Malayan and negro characteristics, still live in Formosa. These aborigines, of whom there are about 146,000 living at the present time, reside mainly in the mountainous slopes and even during the Japanese regime controlled about half of the physical surface of the island. They constituted a serious problem for the Japanese, and were enclosed by the Aiyu-Sen or guard-line, which extended for over 360 miles, of which over 230 miles were electrified. The aborigines are divided into two groups: (a) the Jukuban, or “Subdued Savages”, comprising over 500 tribes, who are civilized and have vowed allegiance to the government and who number about 116,000; (b) the Seiban, or “Wild Savages”, who total about 30,000, comprising 146 tribes, of which by far the most intractable is the head-hunting Taiyal group in the northeast. The camphor gatherers often had to be provided with police escort when venturing into the aborigine-inhabited camphor forests.

In 1938, the population figures for Formosa were:

Chinese ¹	. . .	5,392,800	93.88%
Japanese	. . .	308,800	5.37%
Foreigners ²	. . .	43,400	.75%

Early History

The island was known to the Chinese before the Christian era, but does not seem to have attracted any serious attention until the year 605 or 606 A.D. In the 14th century, several Chinese colonies were established in Formosa, but were subsequently withdrawn in the middle of the 17th century. From the 17th century on, Formosa has been under the jurisdiction at various periods of the Dutch, the Spaniards, the Chinese, the French and the Japanese. At times, too, the island has been under the *de facto* jurisdiction of Chinese and Japanese pirates, a Hungarian nobleman, and a group of American merchants from Canton.

In 1624, the Dutch established a base on the southeast shore, called Zeelandia, and maintained a settlement there for 37 years. From this centre, they extended their control over the hinterland, sent in missionaries and encouraged the people to plant sugar and develop camphor cultivation. The Dutch had, in 1619, established the key post of Batavia in Java, and extended their operations from there into the rest of the East Indies, and on to Formosa. In 1644, China was invaded by the Manchus, and the Manchu Ch'ing dynasty supplanted the Chinese Ming dynasty. More than 100,000 Chinese escaped to Formosa, then used as a base of operations by pirates, both Japanese and Chinese. Thousands of other Chinese followed annually, mainly from the densely-populated coastal provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung. Even today the predominant dialect of Formosa is Fukienese. In 1661 Cheng Ch'engkung (known in the west as Koxinga), one of the Ming leaders, escaped from the Manchus and landed at Zeelandia, with a fleet and an army of 25,000 men. The discontented Chinese on the island, combined with the

¹ These “Chinese” include the 146,000 aborigines and Chinese Hakkas related to the tribes of Kwangtung Province in China.

² Almost entirely Chinese who are citizens of the Republic of China.

Japanese and Chinese pirates, at once supported him and, within a year, the Dutch gave up their control of the island. All evidence of Dutch influence soon disappeared. Koxinga managed to retain possession of the island for 22 years.

Part of Manchu Empire

For a period of 200 years after 1683, Formosa was part of the Manchu empire. It was administered by a resident Commissioner of the Governor of Fukien Province, of which it was recognized as a prefecture. Although the Manchu officials maintained a garrison in Formosa of 10,000 to 15,000 soldiers, they were unable to suppress the practically continual rebellions.

By the treaty of Tientsin in 1858, Formosa was opened to trade with the West, particularly with Jardine Matheson and Company and Dent and Company, two British firms of Hong Kong. By the terms of this treaty, Anping (Zeelandia), Tainan, Takao and Tamsui were opened to foreign trade as treaty ports. In 1868, the British compelled the Chinese officials to abolish the camphor monopoly, to recognize the right of foreigners to travel and buy freely, the right of missionaries to reside and work on the island, etc.

During the 19th century, Formosa became notorious for the piracy of its inhabitants and the ill-treatment they inflicted upon navigators who chanced to be wrecked on their coasts. In 1869 marines from the German ship "Elbe" touched on the Formosan coast. After the inhabitants fired upon them, the commander landed marines, destroyed the nearest village and killed those who did not escape. In order to obtain redress for the murder of a Japanese shipwrecked crew by aborigines, the Japanese Government, in 1874, invaded the southern part of Formosa, asserting that it did not belong to China because she either would not or could not govern its savage inhabitants. Through the intervention of the British Minister in Peking, Sir Thomas Wade, war was prevented, the Japanese withdrew and the Chinese retained control. Ten years later, during the Franco-Chinese war over Tonkin, a French naval squadron under Admiral Courbet blockaded the island, and for a period of eight

months in 1884 the French-tricolour was planted on the northern portion of the island of Formosa in the coal district of Keelung. As a result of these violent protests against piracy, and because of the obvious strategic value of the island to foreign navies, in 1887 the island of Formosa was raised by Imperial decree from a prefecture of Fukien Province to the full rank of an independent province.

Ceded to Japan

In 1895, China was defeated in the Sino-Japanese war, and by the Treaty of Shimonoseki, Formosa was ceded to Japan on April 18. The Chinese in Formosa were determined to prevent the island from becoming a part of Japan and offered it to the British or to the French. The British, however, declined the offer. During the treaty negotiations, Li Hung-chang, the Chinese plenipotentiary, commiserated with the Japanese on their misfortune in securing sovereignty over the island, and pointed out that Formosa was not amenable to good government for the following reasons:

1. Banditry could never be exterminated;
2. The practice of smoking opium was too deep-rooted and wide-spread among the people to eradicate;
3. The climate was unhealthy;
4. The presence of head-hunters was a constant menace to economic development.

Despite this pretended alacrity of the Chinese Government in Peking to rid themselves of the island, the Formosan people took affairs into their own hands and, on May 23, 1895, they proclaimed a Formosan Republic. It lasted only three weeks in the north, but in the south guerilla warfare successfully defeated the Japanese troops until November 18. It took from four to six more years to subdue the guerilla fighters, whom the Japanese contemptuously called "brigands". These "brigands", however, were powerful enough to mount an assault on the capital of Formosa, Taihoku (Taipei) in 1900. The head-hunters of the mountainous interior continued to be a problem until the Japanese were able to bribe them to lay down their weapons with salt, of which there was a dearth in the moun-

tains and which is still used as currency by some of the tribes.

In March 1906, over 6000 persons were reported killed or injured in an earthquake in Formosa.

Few Japanese Immigrants

Although the Japanese Government put into force an immigration plan for Formosa to reduce over-population in the Japanese home islands, few Japanese farmers wished to emigrate to the Japanese empire in Korea, Formosa or Manchuria to compete with Korean and Chinese peasants accustomed to a still lower standard of living than themselves. In 1910, the Japanese Government gave land, houses, roads, schools, hospitals, etc. on condition that all advances were to be repaid in ten years. Under this scheme, only 3,368 people were settled in three different regions. Even as late as 1938 only 308,800 Japanese were in Formosa. Most of the Japanese population, apart from official and military personnel, were found in the mining districts of the northeast and sporadically in the plantations along the western coast plain.

Political Movements

In 1918, the first political party of a modern type, the Domeikai, was organized. It was hostile to Japanese rule in Formosa and drew its strength chiefly from Chinese students living in Tokyo; its programme was aimed at the abolition or reform of some of the harsher laws in Formosa. In 1927 the organ of this group, *The Taiwan Youth*, moved to Formosa and published, until its suppression in 1930, articles critical of Japanese administration, particularly in the field of education and culture. By 1928 political movements in Formosa were divided sharply into a moderate group centered around the Bunka Kyokai (Cultural Association) which was particularly strong in the agricultural co-operatives and a leftist or Marxist group attempting to get a foothold in the field of labour. The latter group was soon suppressed by the Japanese when, after 1928, they adopted a policy of stricter control over political and social movements in Formosa.

During the early years of the occupation after 1895, the Japanese were pre-occupied with the suppression of Chinese rebellions. For years, however, the war against the aborigines was carried on by regular detachments of the Japanese Army. In 1930 a rebellion by several thousand aborigines was suppressed.

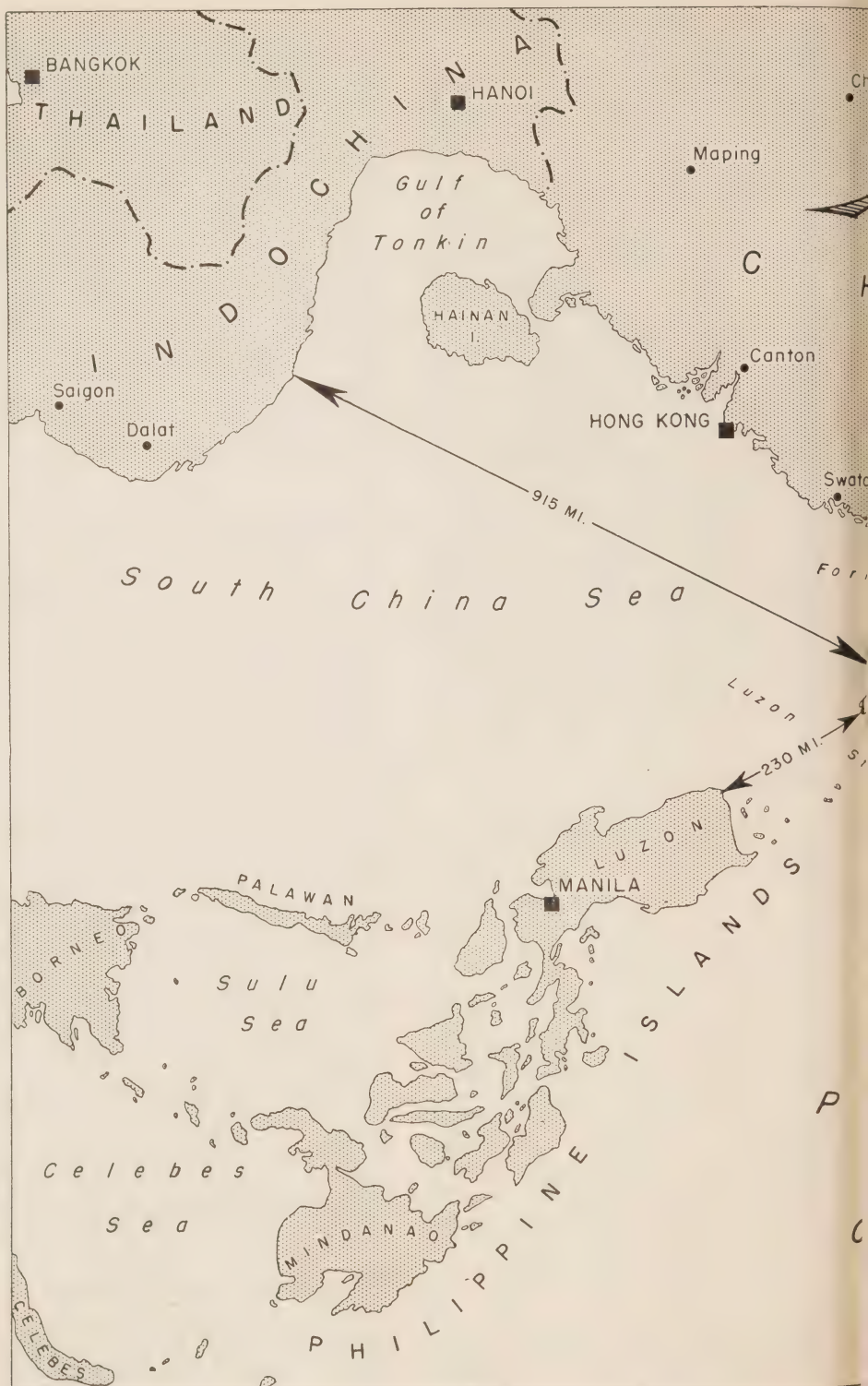
During the Second World War, the Japanese recognized the strategic value of Formosa and used it as a base of operations against Southeast Asia. The Japanese planes that bombed General MacArthur's troops in the Philippines were based on Formosa. The island was severely bombed by the Allies during the war, and this has had a deterrent effect upon the economic recovery of Formosa since 1945.

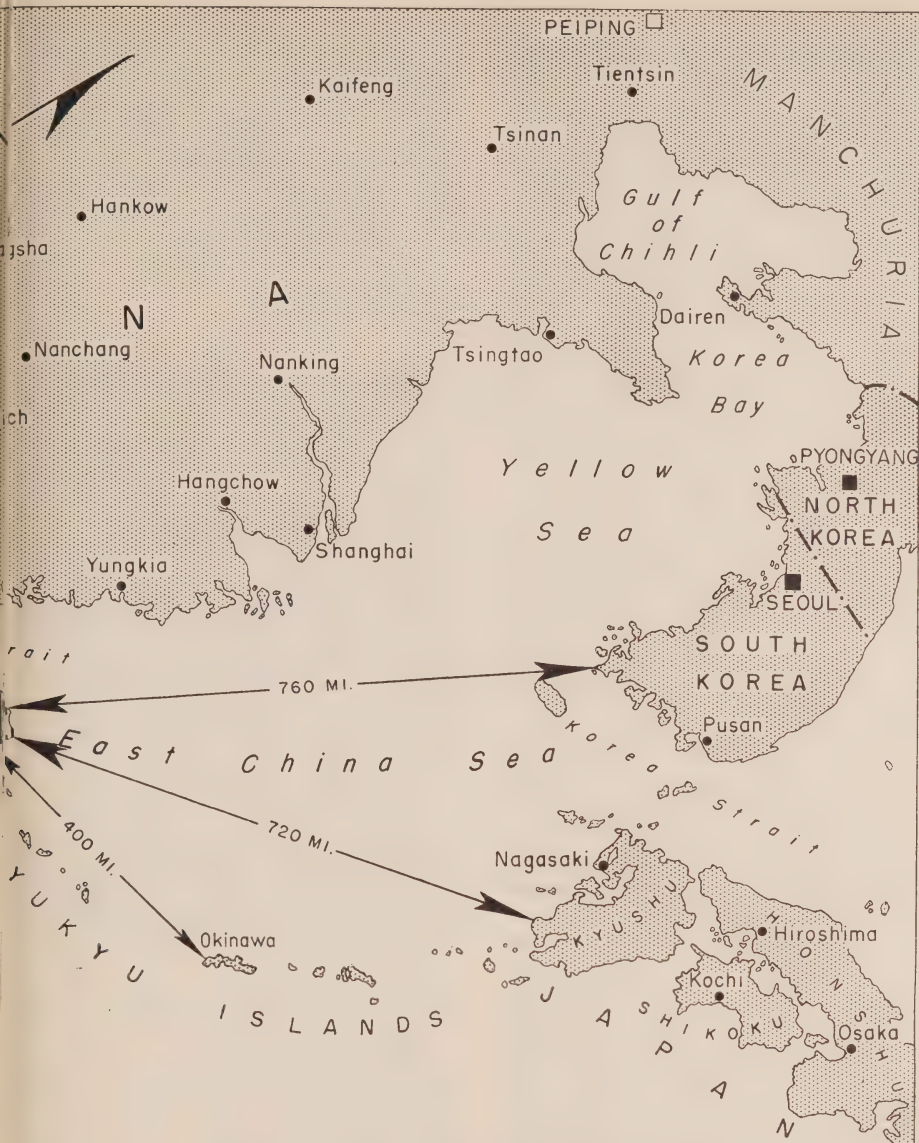
History Since the Cairo Declaration

During the Second World War, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek met in Cairo to discuss post war conditions in the Far East. The Cairo Declaration, subscribed to by the United States, the United Kingdom and China on December 1, 1943, stated: "It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War of 1914, and that all the territories that Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China". This promise was confirmed in the Potsdam Proclamation by the same three powers (the Soviet Union subsequently adhering) on July 26, 1945, in Article 8, which reads as follows: "The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine." Thus the dismemberment of the Japanese Empire became one of the conditions enumerated in the Potsdam Declaration for the "unconditional surrender" of Japan.

Chinese Sovereignty Proclaimed

On August 30, 1945, Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek proclaimed Chinese sovereignty over Formosa. The Japanese instrument of surrender, signed on Sep-



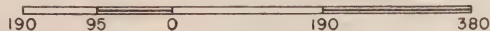


FORMOSA (Taiwan)

IN ITS FAR EASTERN SETTING

- Capitals
- Provisional Capital
- { Capital of Formosa
Provisional Capital of China
- Other Cities
- — — International Boundary
- ← MI. → Approximate distances between Formosa and neighbouring countries

Scale in miles



Geographical Branch,
Dept. of M. & T.S. 1951

tember 2, 1945, was based on the Potsdam Proclamation and provided that the terms of the proclamation should be carried out. Immediately after V-J Day, the Chinese took over Formosa as one of their provinces. On October 24, as a result of an order issued on the basis of consultation and agreement among the Allied Powers concerned, the Japanese forces in Formosa surrendered to the National Government of China, and on October 25, the Chinese Governor-General was installed in Taihoku (now called Taipeh). The Chinese troops who landed on the island of Formosa were greeted initially with great enthusiasm by the native Formosans. Unfortunately, however, relations between the Taiwanese and the mainlanders became worse.

Although the reparations payments actually made by Japan were small, all the Japanese assets located in allied countries or liberated areas became the property of the country in which they were found. Thus, the Koreans and Chinese inherited vast capital investments built up over the decades by the Japanese Government and private investors in Korea, Formosa, Manchuria and China proper. The Japanese assets in Formosa were quickly appropriated by Chinese mainland officials.

The tension which mounted between the Taiwanese and the administration from the mainland culminated in an incident on February 28, 1947, involving the mainland police with a native woman who was peddling cigarettes without the license demanded by the Government's "Monopoly Bureau". This led to a series of clashes which resulted in most of the island coming under the control of Formosan leaders headed by a "Settlement Committee". Meanwhile, on March 8, reinforcements arrived from the mainland, as requested by Chen Yi, the Chinese Governor. Armed trucks patrolled the streets and Formosan leaders were executed. Altogether by the end of March 1947, at least 5000 people were killed and thousands more were imprisoned. Kuomintang leaders on the mainland demanded Chen Yi's resignation, and on April 22, 1947, Nanking announced the appointment of Wei Tao-ming as the new Governor. The situation quietened down but the underlying tension remained.

In December 1948, the Executive Yuan of the Nationalist Government evacuated to Formosa. By the end of 1948 most of the Chinese Navy and Air Force had been moved to Formosa. Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek himself went to Formosa from Chungking in West China, after the defeat of the Nationalist Armies on the mainland, in 1949.

Status of Formosa

Dealing with the status of Formosa, President Truman issued this statement on June 27, 1950:

The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that Communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war. It has defied the orders of the Security Council of the United Nations issued to preserve international peace and security. In these circumstances the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to the United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area.

Accordingly, I have ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa. As a corollary of this action, I am calling upon the Chinese Government of Formosa to cease all air and sea operations against the mainland. The Seventh Fleet will see that this is done. The determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan, or consideration by the United Nations.

The neutralization of Formosa was a unilateral action by the United States Government and did not commit any other member countries of the United Nations.

On August 5, General MacArthur's Deputy Chief of Staff, Major General A. P. Fox, headed a group of 22 officers and men who arrived in Formosa to set up a permanent liaison office between Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek and Supreme Commander's Headquarters in Tokyo. General MacArthur had laid great stress on the military importance of Formosa. If it were held by an enemy, he said, it "could be compared to an unsink-

able aircraft carrier and submarine tender ideally located". On August 24, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of the Communist Chinese Government cabled to the Security Council demanding that it take action against "United States aggression in Formosa." In a press conference on August 31, President Truman said that it would not be necessary to keep the United States Seventh Fleet in the Formosan Straits after the end of the conflict in Korea.

Joint Communiqué Issued

On December 8, 1950, following a conference in the United States, a joint communiqué by President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee was published saying:

On the question of Formosa, we have noted that both Chinese claimants have insisted upon the validity of the Cairo Declaration and have expressed reluctance to have the matter considered by the United Nations. We agreed that the issues should be settled by peaceful means and in such a way as to safeguard the interest of the people of Formosa and the maintenance of peace and security in the Pacific, and that consideration of this question by the United Nations will contribute to these ends.

Although armistice negotiations were inaugurated in July 1951 at Kaesong and subsequently at Panmunjom, the armistice negotiations did not deal specifically with the future status of Formosa.

Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek's Regime on Formosa and United States Aid to the Chinese Nationalists

Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek's administration on Formosa has been the subject of much controversy. It must be recognized, however, that the super-imposition of nearly two million mainland Chinese upon the six million native Formosans was bound to cause problems. Six hundred thousand of the mainlanders are soldiers, two hundred thousand are civil servants and the rest are business men, professional men and intellectuals. This provides an obvious contrast to the native Formosans, of whom ninety-five per cent are peasant farmers. When K. C. Wu, the former Mayor of Shanghai, be-

came Governor of the Province, he enlarged the Provincial Commission to include seventeen Formosans out of a total of twenty-three.

The exact strength of Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek's armed forces in Taiwan in May 1951 was estimated by Fred W. Riggs, in his book *Formosa under Chinese Nationalist Rule* (N.Y., 1952), to include the following:

Army (Ground Forces) . . .	345,000
Navy	45,000
Airforce	70,000
Combined Service Forces . .	20,000
Political Officers and Garrison	120,000

Total 600,000

On May 1, 1951, the United States Military Assistance Advisory Group was officially established on Formosa. M.A.A.G. now has about 600 United States officers and men assigned to reorganize, train and equip Nationalist forces for the "defence of Formosa and maintenance of internal security". This group has now spent about \$300,000,000, primarily for the purchase and shipment of arms, ammunition, vehicles, medical supplies, rations, uniforms and other specialized equipment. This United States group has made progress in providing Formosa with proper airfields, an improved air-warning system, modern harbour equipment and many of the other facilities needed for a military establishment. Recently, too, of course, United States military aid to Formosa has been speeded up.

Economic Assistance

Before the Korean war, Formosa received assistance to the amount of \$40,000,000 in the form of cotton, fertilizer, wheat, petroleum, medical supplies and other commodities from the United States. Since June 1950, an additional \$250,000,000 has been appropriated for economic assistance to the Nationalist Government. Most of these funds have been used to cover the cost of essential imports, including cotton, petroleum, soya beans and chemical fertilizer necessary to maintain Formosa's agricultural production. Proceeds from their sale are used

to meet the Chinese Government's budget deficit, to finance construction of military facilities such as barracks and to meet local currency costs on other phases of the aid programme. The Mutual Security Agency finances the employment by the Chinese Government of the services of such technical experts as the J. G. White Engineering Corporation. On V-J Day electrical power production on Formosa had been reduced to about 50,000 kilowatts. By the end of 1952 it was six times that. Domestic production of chemical fertilizer, which reached 104,000 tons in 1951, was expected to increase by 50 per cent in 1952.

JCRR

However, the major "success story" of the United States in Formosa is the work of the United States and Chinese Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction. This body was established under the provisions of the China Aid Act of 1948 and began its operations on the mainland. The JCRR faced the agricultural problem of Formosa on four fronts: land reform, agricultural productivity, farmers' associations and rural health. Already land rent has been reduced from approximately 60 per cent to a maximum of 37.5 per cent of the main crop, tenure has been guaranteed for a minimum of three years, and public land has been made available on terms the small farmer can afford. The output of rice has reached 1.5 million dollars annually — the highest in the island's history. The pig population has been raised from 1.3 million two and a half years ago to 1.9 million. This is important news for the Chinese, who often calculate their standard of living by the number of days a month they can afford to eat pork. The JCRR, with its 250 different projects in Formosa, is creating a peaceful social and economic revolution in Formosa's rural life.

Canada's Attitude Towards Formosa

The Japanese Instrument of Surrender, which was based on the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations, was signed by Canada on September 2, 1945. The Canadian Government was notified of the *de facto* administration of Formosa by China

through a note from the Nationalist Government in 1946, stating that Formosa was restored to Chinese sovereignty and that the Formosans had regained their Chinese citizenship, and that, through an agreement, signed with China, the commercial *modus vivendi* with that nation covered all Chinese territories, including Formosa. The Canadian Government's attitude to Formosa was defined in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, on April 1, 1952. He said:

... At the moment we in the United Nations are pledged at least to try to make peace with Communist China over Korea; and negotiations for the first stage of making peace, the armistice stage, are now under way. That is what we are trying to do. Then if we are successful in the first stage we are pledged to discuss other Far Eastern questions. We have taken that pledge in the United Nations. Should we now say that we will never allow Formosa to go back to Peking, if they do not throw out their present government in China? Should we say that, especially when we have subscribed to international agreements recognizing Formosa as part of China, and when we recognize that now sovereignty legally resides in China? I suggest that that would be rigid, dead-end diplomacy, and not very wise diplomacy to follow at this time in this matter . . .

... Ultimately, of course, Formosa must be a question of international discussion and decision, preferably through the United Nations, as the Secretary of State for the United States has already intimated.

In such a discussion, which I suppose must come ultimately, there are certain factors which should be taken into consideration by those responsible. The first — and possibly the most important factor of all, though it is very often overlooked — in our discussion of this matter is that the views of the Formosan people themselves should be taken into consideration. They are a people who have not known national freedom, who are in many ways quite separate from the Japanese and Chinese who have ruled over them. Second, consideration should be given to the character and policies of the government or governments of China which may be in power at that time. Fourth, of course, we cannot overlook the fact I have just mentioned, that legally Formosa is part

of China. Both Chinese governments insist on that. It is about the only matter on which they are united. The dispute is over which government shall control Formosa.

Mr. Pearson has expressed himself on this question on several other occasions. Following President Eisenhower's State-

of-the-Union message on February 2, 1953, which modified the Presidential directive to the Seventh Fleet, Mr. Pearson made a statement to the House of Commons on February 5, 1953 on Canadian policy regarding Formosa, the text of which will be found on page 82 of the March issue of *External Affairs*.



—United Nations

FORMER KOREAN COMMANDER VISITS UN HEADQUARTERS

General James A. van Fleet, formerly Commander of the United States Eighth Army in Korea, is greeted by the President of the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, during a recent visit to the United Nations Headquarters. On the left is Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, United States Representative to the United Nations.

Canada and the United Nations

Economic and Social Council: Work of the Functional Commissions

The following article describes briefly the current work of the so-called functional commissions of the Economic and Social Council. This work is of special interest at the present time (during the fifteenth session of the Economic and Social Council), since it forms a large part of the basic material with which the Council regularly deals.

Plan of Work

There are now eight functional commissions as distinct from the regional economic commissions: the Statistical, Fiscal, Narcotic Drugs, Social, Population, Transport and Communications, Human Rights and Status of Women Commissions. At present a Canadian member sits on the four first-mentioned. There is a rotating membership (except that by an established tradition the five great powers are always represented); and, at its summer session each year, the Economic and Social Council elects the states that are to be entitled to nominate individuals to the vacant seats. Within the framework of the Economic and Social Council, the commissions were intended to be bodies of experts, working in their individual capacities, who would supervise studies and draw up recommendations based on more informed and intensive examination than the Economic and Social Council could expect to devote to each individual problem. The original conception of a body of independent experts has not been entirely realized in the work of the commissions, which, particularly in the less technical fields, have often tended to repeat the patterns of debate familiar in the principal organs of the United Nations. In accordance, however, with a decision taken at the eleventh session of the Economic and Social Council, a review of the commissions' work was undertaken, which, though its results stopped much short of proposals made by the Canadian Govern-

ment and some others, should help to eliminate overlapping and repetitious efforts and to achieve co-ordinated planning. There is to be a further review after a two-year trial period.

Under the revised plan, the commissions, with the exception of the Narcotic Drugs Commission, the Human Rights Commission and the Commission on the Status of Women, are normally to meet every other year instead of annually and are to undertake a thorough review of their individual programmes in order to eliminate overlapping and establish suitable priorities.

Commission Meetings

The meetings so far held or scheduled for this year are the Population Commission (January 19-30), Transport and Communications (February 2-11), Statistical (February 2-13), Status of Women (begun March 16), Narcotic Drugs (begun March 30), Fiscal (beginning April 27) and Human Rights (beginning on April 7 in Geneva). Since the Social Commission, in accordance with a resolution adopted by the fourteenth session of the Economic and Social Council, is requested to report to the Council during 1953 on two special items, it will also be meeting this year.

Three commission reports are due to be considered at the present (fifteenth) session of the Economic and Social Council: those of the Trade and Communications, Statistical and Population Commissions. The attempt to achieve full international comparability of statistics, which has been the chief preoccupation of the Population and Statistical Commissions, may not at first glance seem to be of interest or importance to any but a few specialists in a particularly dry and unrewarding field. Actually, however, it is the starting point of rational and co-ordinated effort to maintain and to raise the living standards of mankind. Just as in medicine accurate diagnosis of disease is the prerequisite of its successful treatment, so in the economic and social field

the exact and uniform phrasing of a question to be included in an industrial census or of a form for the registration of births and other vital statistics makes it possible to infer from the completed returns that such and such is more or less, better or worse, in one area than in another. The problem has two aspects, the development of universally valid standards of statistical practice and assistance to governments and international and national organizations in putting them into effect. With so much ground to cover, it is also necessary to decide the order in which the outstanding tasks must be attacked.

Population Commission

The Population Commission has been concerned with vital statistics and those related immediately to people themselves rather than to their activities. The report of its seventh session, held January 19-30 at United Nations headquarters in New York, speaks of the generally satisfactory results which have been obtained in the task of increasing the availability of demographic statistics and improving their accuracy and comparability. During the years 1950-52 eighty-one national censuses have been taken, the majority of which conform to the minimum standards suggested by the Commission. The series of draft Recommendations on Migration Statistics prepared in 1949 has been submitted to governments and interested international organizations for comment and in many cases administrative steps have been taken to achieve the comparability and accessibility of this group of statistics. Much remains to be done in the field, but work will be concentrated in the near future on the principal task immediately ahead, which is the World Population Conference authorized by the fourteenth session of the Economic and Social Council and now scheduled for September 1954. This is to be a gathering of about 400 experts in demographic statistics who will meet to discuss eight principal topics of importance in their field. The Commission, after examining the provisional agenda already drawn up by a Preparatory Committee, recorded its view that care

should be taken not to include too many topics only loosely related to demography and not to extend the proposed studies too far into speculative and possibly unprofitable fields. It also recommended to the Economic and Social Council that governments which have recently taken censuses should be asked to prepare, in time for the Conference if possible, analytical studies based on either complete or sample counts which would be devoted to the topics of most importance to their programmes of economic and social development. Regional seminars, which are one of the principal means of assisting and encouraging the understanding and use of modern statistical methods, have been planned for Latin America in 1953 and Southeast Asia in 1954, though one of these may have to be postponed owing to the heavy demands made on the responsible branches of the United Nations Secretariat by the plans for the World Population Conference.

Population Trend

Finally, the Commission devoted much of its time to what is regarded as the second stage of its work, to be undertaken when the comparability and accuracy of statistics makes it possible; that is the initiation of studies of the interplay between demographic and economic and social factors and hence of the probable effects of policies designed to influence the size and structure of populations. The basic document before the Commission was a study prepared by the United Nations Secretariat entitled "Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends". It is expected that this study, when it is finished, will help in determining what actual changes may be expected in the social and economic structure of underdeveloped countries as a result of various development programmes which may be contemplated. The Government of India has co-operated with the Secretary-General, and will continue to do so, in making possible field studies of the actual effects of specified economic and social developments upon population growth. Economic development may be defined as an increase in the rate of growth of

production which exceeds the increase of population growth and therefore results in an increase in the levels of consumption. Experts are by no means agreed as to the action and reaction between population growth and increased economic efficiency. The Secretariat study surveys the principal schools of thought and draws the conclusion that there is probably no formula applicable to all situations. From this it follows that the population changes which may be the result of any given programme of economic and social development should be taken into account in the actual framing of the programme, as otherwise they may prejudice the outcome. The Commission recommended to the Economic and Social Council a resolution which would draw the attention of governments to these conclusions.

Statistical Commission

The Statistical Commission, meeting February 2-13, reviewed a number of studies and memoranda aimed at improving the accuracy and assuring the comparability of various categories of statistics. In general, these documents are prepared by the Secretariat, or by groups of experts convened for the purpose, are then submitted to governments and to the interested international organizations for comment, and in their final form transmitted by the Commission to the Economic and Social Council; if they are approved, they may be commended to the attention of member governments and the international agencies concerned. The principal subjects so discussed at the seventh session were as follows: concepts and definitions of capital formation; definitions in basic industrial statistics; standard procedures in compiling external trade statistics; wholesale price statistics and a standard system of index numbers for wholesale price indexes; a system of national accounts and supporting tables; uniformity in air transport statistics; classification of industrial activities of households; distribution statistics; balance of payment statistics and money and banking statistics; cost of living indexes; principles for a vital statistics system (also discussed by the Population Commis-

sion). Resolutions were recommended for adoption by the Economic and Social Council commending to member governments agreed principles relating to definitions in basic industrial statistics, migration statistics, and a vital statistics system. The Secretary-General was asked to bring to the attention of member governments for their comments memoranda on concepts and definitions of capital formation, a system of national accounts, and the classification of the industrial activities of households. The Secretary-General was asked to devote further attention to wholesale price statistics and the development of a standard system of index numbers for wholesale price indexes, and to distribution statistics (i.e. figures on current retail trade, etc.), and also to promote the uniformity of air transport statistics. After examining memoranda from the International Monetary Fund referring to the new manuals it proposes to issue on the compilation of balance of payments statistics and statistics on money and banking, the Commission asked to be kept informed of further progress in the field of balance of payment statistics and recommended that governments and interested national organizations be invited to submit to the Fund their views and recommendations on the organization and presentation of money and banking statistics. The Commission itself had a number of comments on a memorandum from the International Labour Organization regarding its plans for discussing cost of living index numbers at its Eighth General Conference. The Secretary-General was asked to bring these comments to the attention of the International Labour Organization. The Commission concurred in the conclusion reached by the United Nations Technical Seminar on Statistical Organization that countries should examine their basic requirements for statistics so that a realistic schedule of priorities could be established. The Secretary-General was asked to draw this proposal to the attention of governments and to compile a guide or check list which they might use in making surveys of their statistical services. Finally, in a survey of general statistical progress, the Commission noted that the 1950-52 series of

censuses of population and agriculture had been very successful from the statistical point of view and that in the last four years more than thirty areas had produced statistical bulletins for the first time.

Transport and Communications

The Transport and Communications Commission has now drafted and sent to the Economic and Social Council, with the recommendation that it be opened for signature by all parties to the Convention on Road Traffic 1949, a Protocol on a Uniform System of Road Signs and Signals. To the great majority of Canadians, who probably drive only in Canada and the United States, road signs and signals may never have appeared as a serious problem. But a uniform system of picture signals, dispensing as far as possible with the written word, is a matter of some importance in areas with a more polyglot inheritance than that of the North American continent. The Commission made six recommendations to the Economic and Social Council. First, it asked that the Secretary-General be instructed to appoint an expert commission of nine members drawn from the countries most concerned to draft uniform regulations, which would be internationally acceptable, governing the transport of dangerous goods. The task would include the definition of the categories of dangerous goods and the development of a universally recognizable system of markings. As international traffic in dangerous goods has increased, the need of such a standardization has become more urgent. Second, the Commission forwarded for the Economic and Social Council's approval recommendations establishing uniform minimum requirements for licensing the drivers of vehicles, which would be sent to all members of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies and all signatories to the 1949 Convention on Road Traffic asking that they consider them in framing their own regulations. Third, the Commission examined a Secretariat study on discriminatory practices in the placing of transport insurance and recommended that the Economic and Social Council propose to governments that commercial treaties

concluded by them include clauses for preventing discrimination between different insurance markets in the placing of transport insurance. Fourth, the Economic and Social Council was asked to instruct the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to secure the entry into force of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization Convention of 1948. Twenty-one ratifications or acceptances are required and so far only thirteen, including those of Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States, have been received. Fifth, it was recommended that the Economic and Social Council authorize the Secretary-General to ask experts to study the problem of sea-pollution, their findings to be made available to IMCO when founded. Sixth, the Commission recommended that a conference of government representatives be called in Geneva next year to conclude two international customs conventions to facilitate the movements of tourists by enabling them temporarily to import their private cars and personal effects across frontiers.

Status of Women

The Commission on the Status of Women at its last session, in 1952, completed its work on the Convention on the Political Rights of Women which was approved by the General Assembly and which will be open for signature on March 31. It contains three operative clauses guaranteeing to women on equal terms with men the right to vote, to hold public office and exercise public functions and to be eligible for election to public office. The seventh session, which opened on March 16, will be devoted to considering progress reports on the continuing items of the Commission's programme, which are usually grouped under the headings: political rights of women, status of women in private law, status of women in public law, economic opportunities for women, equal pay for equal work, educational opportunities for women, nationality of married women, participation of women in the work of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, and the technical assistance programme in relation to the status of women.

Social Commission

Of the three commissions which have still to meet in 1953 and which will presumably be reporting to the sixteenth session of the Economic and Social Council, mention might be made of the Social Commission. The forthcoming session is being held, in accordance with a resolution adopted at the fourteenth session of the Economic and Social Council on July 28, 1952, to enable the Commission to prepare recommendations on a programme of concerted action in the social field. This programme was originally, in accordance with the resolution taken at the sixth session of the General Assembly in 1951, to have been submitted to the seventh session of the General Assembly. The Commission, did not, however, have time at its 1952 session to examine the "Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation" prepared by the Secretariat, and an extra session has accordingly been scheduled for 1953. In the meantime, the Secretariat report has been circulated to member governments asking for their suggestions and recommendations for the drawing up of a programme of practical action. Nine governments, including Canada, have so far submitted substantive replies. The Secretariat study itself was confined to a survey of existing conditions and made no suggestions for action. After descriptive chapters under subject headings (e.g. health, education, food and nutrition, conditions of work and employment and so on) it concludes with three regional surveys of social conditions in Latin America, the Middle East, and South and Southeast Asia. The Canadian Government, in its reply to the Secretary-General's enquiry, stated that it considered the Secretariat report a valuable document and that Canada had already supported the proposal that a similar report should be produced at periodic intervals, its chief value lying in the fact "that it

presents not a specific programme of action, but rather a background and an appraisal of current social conditions throughout the world." The Canadian Government's reply also states:

The programme of action to be submitted to the General Assembly in compliance with General Assembly Resolution 535 (VI) should, in the view of the Canadian Government, be prepared by the Economic and Social Council on the basis of the individual examinations of existing programmes which will have been undertaken by the Specialized Agencies, the Social Commission and other bodies concerned, and should in essence consist of an overall review of the existing programmes with recommendations as to the priorities which might be accorded special projects as being most urgent, practical and capable of early solution, together with suggestions for any modifications to ensure that the programmes as a whole are fully practical and that co-ordination between the various agencies in respect of their activities in the social field is ensured. The Social Commission, in addition to a review of its existing programme, will in accordance with the Economic and Social Council resolution of 28 July 1952 have recommendations to make as to this general programme of action. It is considered, however, that it would not be useful for the recommendations which the Social Commission will make to the Council in relation to the programme of action to include proposals for any extensive additions to the existing programmes of the Specialized Agencies and other bodies which have not been considered in these agencies and that the recommendations to the Council would best be related to the overall review of existing programmes which the Council will undertake.

The sixteenth session of the Economic and Social Council this year, will therefore in all probability have before it a report from the Social Commission which will cover a wide range of subjects and will require careful review together with the programmes of the Specialized Agencies and other interested bodies to ensure that the most practical and efficient recommendations in the social field are submitted to the General Assembly.

Technical Assistance Conference

A new period of progress in the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance was initiated by a Conference in New York in late February. Under the formal title of the "Third United Nations Technical Assistance Con-

ference", this gathering provided the opportunity for sixty-nine nations to strengthen and increase the exchange of technical skills and knowledge amongst many countries.

This Expanded Programme of Techni-

cal Assistance has been operated as a joint venture by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies since July 1950. Contributions, which are outside the regular budget of the United Nations, are made on a voluntary basis by member governments and by other countries as well. In addition to the Expanded Programme, the United Nations has been conducting a "regular" programme since before July 1950, with funds included in the normal United Nations budget. This programme, for which the current appropriation is \$1,716,000, is concerned chiefly with providing expert advice in the economic, administrative, industrial, and other fields, arranging fellowships and scholarships, organizing seminars, and establishing demonstration projects.

Nations Contributing

At the end of the two-day session of the Technical Assistance Conference, which was held on February 25 and 26, sixty-four governments had pledged approximately \$21,000,000 (raised to \$22,000,000 since then) as voluntary contributions to be used in the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme. This amount was the largest in the three-year history of the undertaking, although it was short of the \$25,000,000 previously set as the goal. Canada pledged a minimum of \$750,000 for the 1953 budget, providing the total amount pledged reached \$20,000,000, and a maximum of \$850,000 if the objective of \$25,000,000 was met. (See page 131 for text of Canadian statement).

Of the sixty-nine countries participating in the Conference, fifty-two were members of the United Nations. (The five countries of the Soviet bloc have boycotted the Programme from the beginning, and Guatemala, Jordan and Peru were absent from this Conference). In addition, seventeen countries not United Nations members accepted invitations to participate.

Operations Under Way

In reporting on the progress of the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, Mr. David Owen,

Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board, informed the Conference that 650 projects were under way in 72 countries. These projects involved the services of 1,091 technical experts. In addition, 1,106 nationals of under-developed countries were studying abroad under fellowships and scholarships. It was pointed out that, through the help of experts, peoples in many lands had been enabled to improve agriculture, health and education, transportation and communications, industrial development and vocational training. It was also stressed that the Expanded Programme was not charity but rather a great co-operative venture in which the developed countries were assisting those technically less advanced and in which there was a joint pooling rather than a one-way flow of skills. Its aim was to enable the under-developed countries to help not only themselves but each other, as well as to receive outside co-operation. Thus, for example, Indonesia, which had obtained the aid of outside experts in various fields, had itself arranged for specialists from other countries to study Indonesian techniques of fish culture. Chile, Egypt, India and Mexico provided further examples of countries which had received one form of assistance under the Programme while, at the same time, sending experts to assist other countries in the process of industrial and economic development.

In the first period of the Expanded Programme's operation the requests for co-operation were considerably less in dollar value than the total funds available and a surplus amount was carried over to the following period. In the second stage requests for aid exceeded money pledged by \$5,000,000. At present there are projects in hand or waiting for all funds available and, in fact, some three hundred additional projects could be usefully undertaken if money were available.

Administrative Organization

The operation of the Programme is carefully co-ordinated through the Technical Assistance Board, which consists of the executive heads of the participating organizations under a full-time Executive Chairman. The Specialized Agencies par-

ticipating are: ILO, FAO, UNESCO, ICAO, WHO, ITU and WMO. In addition, two other Specialized Agencies — the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund — co-operate in the operation of the Programme by providing technical assistance; but they do not share in the funds contributed. Co-ordination is also maintained with other sources of technical assistance; the Colombo Plan, the United Nations Point-Four Programme and the Organization of American States. Under-developed countries are given assistance only after the respective governments have defined the kind of help they need and submitted a formal request.

Under the arrangements for financing the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, an amount of \$10,000,000 out of the \$21,000,000 to become available will automatically be allocated to Specialized Agencies taking part in the Programme. This is in accordance with a previously established formula. The remainder will be allocated by the Technical Assistance Board according to its judgment of priority and need.

Another recent event of interest in relation to the Expanded Programme has been the four-week tour of the Middle East made by the Director-General of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration. Dr. H. L. Keenleyside, who, prior to his appointment, was for many years with the Department of External Affairs, served as Ambassador to Mexico and subsequently as Deputy Minister of the former Department of Mines and Resources, has travelled extensively to familiarize himself at first hand with the problems involved in the Technical Assistance Programme. In his recent tour he discussed technical assistance questions with the governments of a number of countries and examined methods by which the Programme could best contribute to plans for economic and social development. He signed two agreements for Technical Assistance — a basic agreement with the Government of Iraq and a supplementary agreement with the Government of Egypt — and he observed progress in the comprehensive technical assistance projects which have for some time been operating in Iran and Jordan.

Canada Gives \$100,000 to Refugee Fund

A Canadian contribution of \$100,000 to the United Nations Refugee Emergency Fund has been authorized by Parliament as a means of assisting with the care of those in need among refugee groups. This amount given by Canada, together with a recent contribution of \$70,000 from Norway brings the total of contributions promised and received to slightly over \$1,000,000, which is a third of the objective.

The Fund is administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees who has, under authority of the General Assembly, concerned himself since late 1950 with protection of the rights of refugees and with the development of permanent solutions of their plight. His main concern has been to repatriate them or to arrange for their assimilation within new national communities, but because of the serious unsolved problems facing refugees who had not been resettled by the end of

the operations of the International Refugee Organization, he has also sought emergency aid for the most needy groups amongst them. An appeal for support of an emergency fund devoted to this purpose was made by the General Assembly a year ago and renewed at the seventh session.

Relief programmes financed from UNREF are at present being carried out in Austria, the Middle East and Greece, and material assistance is being provided by the Fund to a number of European refugees on the mainland of China. The Fund has received support from the following countries: Austria, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. The United States, which is contributing very generously towards helping refugees, is doing so through its own programmes.

UNITED NATIONS EXPANDED PROGRAMME OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Statement by Mr. D. M. Johnson, Representative of Canada at the Third United Nations Technical Assistance Conference, New York, February 26, 1953.

Mr. President,

I welcome the opportunity which is offered me to express once again the wholehearted support of the Canadian Government to the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. The emergence of the idea of technical assistance to less-economically advanced countries constitutes one of the most significant developments in international affairs, since 1945, and has probably brought about some of the most tangible achievements of the United Nations during these difficult years. The Canadian Government has placed great faith in the potentialities of Technical Assistance, and past Canadian contributions to the programmes constitute, I think, ample evidence to this effect.

Since the beginning of the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme, the Canadian Government has contributed over a million and a half dollars. I should add that this total would have been higher if the response of other governments had been higher. As you know, Mr. President, it is the belief of the Canadian authorities that the real success of the Technical Assistance Programmes can only be assured through universal participation, with all governments contributing to the extent of their respective ability. In order to encourage this universal participation, we have had recourse, like some other governments, to the matching principle.

Matching Formula

It is the intention of the Canadian Government to use again this year a matching formula. I have been authorized to state at this Conference that the Canadian Government is prepared, subject to the usual constitutional processes, to contribute to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for the year 1953 the equivalent of \$750,000, United States dollars, provided the total amount of contributions pledged reaches the \$20 million mark. I have also been authorized to state that the Canadian Government will, subject to the conditions mentioned below, be prepared to increase this contribution, up to a maximum amount of \$850,000 (United States dollars.). As in past years, the decision to increase the Canadian contribution will depend on the response of all other governments to this appeal, before the Final Act of the Conference is closed. The Canadian Government regretted last year that it was not possible, as a result of the response of other governments, to take up the full amount of the Canadian offer for 1952. It is the sincere hope of the Canadian Government that this will not be

the case this year and that the total contributions pledged for the fiscal year 1953 will amount to \$25,000,000 in order that the Canadian contribution may be increased to the maximum amount of \$850,000.

Willing to Co-operate

By its past contributions to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and through its membership on the Negotiating Committee for Extra Budgetary Funds, the Canadian Government has shown its willingness to co-operate fully with the United Nations and with other governments in securing the funds necessary to carry out this essential task of dispensing Technical Assistance to those countries which are seriously in need of it. By this new pledge for the year 1953, the Canadian Government is giving notice of its desire to continue this co-operation and to do everything possible to encourage increasingly wider and more enthusiastic participation on the part of all governments in Technical Assistance Programmes.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to express on behalf of my Government my appreciation to the officials of the United Nations and of the Specialized Agencies who have continued throughout 1952 to do so much to assure the success of the Technical Assistance programmes. The Canadian Government is fully aware of the administrative and operational difficulties which these officials face in implementing a programme of this nature, and we are grateful to them for their devotion and energy in fulfilling the task assigned to them. The Canadian Government is also grateful to the officials of the Technical Assistance Board for their efforts in insuring an always greater co-ordination between the various activities of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies in the field of Technical Assistance. The Canadian Government has always attached much importance to the necessity of avoiding overlapping and duplication of efforts. Mainly as a result of the re-organization of the Technical Assistance Board, considerable progress has already been made in this direction; nonetheless, we all know that perfect co-ordination is not a goal which can be achieved once and then forgotten, but is an objective which is never really reached but towards which one must constantly strive. We feel confident that the Technical Assistance Board with the assistance and full co-operation of the Technical Assistance Administration and the Specialized Agencies will continue to strive for this objective and thus keep in the field of Technical Assistance the highest possible degree of co-ordination and effectiveness.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

This is a list of international conferences at which Canada has been represented during the month of March 1953. Earlier conferences will be found in previous issues of "External Affairs".

The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, by Cabinet, upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.

Standing International Bodies on Which Canada is Represented

Published annually. Only new standing international bodies on which Canada is represented will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1953, for the last complete list.

Conferences Attended in March

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| 1. ILO 121st Session of the Governing Body and its Committees, Geneva, March 3. | mittee of UNICEF, New York, March 19 - 25. |
| 2. 8th Session of the Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva, March 3 - 14. | 8. Technical Assistance Committee of the United Nations, New York, March 23-26. |
| 3. North Atlantic Industrial Raw Materials Planning Committee, Paris, March 4. | 9. American Congress on Surveying and Mapping, Washington, D.C., March 23 - 25. |
| 4. North American Wildlife Conference, Washington, D.C., March 9 - 11. | 10. International Tin Study Group, 7th Meeting, London, March 23. |
| 5. WMO Commission for Climatology, Washington, March 12. | 11. NATO Food and Agriculture Planning Committee, Paris, March 24. |
| 6. 7th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (ECOSOC) New York, March 16. | 12. 8th Session, Narcotic Drugs Commission, New York, March 30 - April 24. |
| 7. Executive Board and Programme Com- | 13. 15th Regular Session of ECOSOC, New York, March 31. |

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

Treaty Series 1952, No. 9:—Exchange of Letters between Canada and the Netherlands constituting an agreement to safeguard the rights of bona fide holders of bonds of Canada that were looted from their Netherlands owners during world war II. Signed at Ottawa, April 10, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents)

Treaty Series 1952, No. 16:—Agreement for the settlement of disputes arising under Article 15(a) of the treaty of peace with Japan. Signed by Canada at Washington June 13, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents)

Treaty Series 1952, No. 17:—Final act of the Second United Nations Technical Assistance Conference. Signed at Paris, France, February 7, 1952. English and French texts (Price: 25 cents)

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Treaty Series 1951, No. 21:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Pakistan constituting an agreement regarding the entry to Canada for permanent residence of citizens of Pakistan. Signed at Karachi October 23, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents)

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A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

Resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its Seventh Session during the period from 14 October to 21 December 1952; New York 1952; document A/2361. Pp. 72. 80 cents. General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 20.

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a) *Proposed Programme and Budget Estimates for the financial year 1 January-31 December 1954*; Geneva, December 1952; Pp. 536. \$3.00. Official Records of WHO, No. 44.

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(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Slavery, The Slave Trade, and other forms of Servitude; 27 January 1953; document E/2357. Pp. 83.

**Report of the International Children's Centre on the work of its Services for the year 1952*; 30 January 1953; document E/ICEF/216. Pp. 73.

**Rebuilding education in the Republic of Korea* — The final report of the UNESCO-UNKRA Education Planning Mission to Korea; Paris, February 1953; document UNKRA/AG/23. Pp. 134.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, p. 36.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.)

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

No. 53/8 — *Some Aspects of a National Transportation Policy*, an address by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, to the 37th Annual General Meeting of the Canadian Traffic League, Toronto, February 18, 1953.

No. 53/9 — *Canadian Goodwill Trade Mission to Latin America*, a statement by the Minister of Trade and Commerce,

Mr. C. D. Howe, made in the House of Commons, February 26, 1953.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 53/10 — *The United Nations and What it Stands For*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and President of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at Founders Week Convocation, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, February 23, 1953.

No. 53/11 — Canada's International Situation and Point of View, the Text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, opening the Town Hall Forum "Canada — Nation on the March", on March 3, 1953, in New York City.

No. 53/12 — The Korean Question, a statement by the Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the First Committee, March 5, 1953.



—Farhat

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA IN PAKISTAN

The High Commissioner for Canada in Pakistan, Mr. K. P. Kirkwood, in conversation with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Khwaja Nazimuddin.

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".....	Commercial Secretary.....	Melbourne (83 William St.)
".....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
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“ “	Secretary.....	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.



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Ottawa, Canada

The Colombo Plan*

Pakistan

IN normal times Pakistan produces sufficient food for its own needs and has usually been able to count on a small surplus for export. It was natural, therefore, that Pakistan's six-year development plan, while making provision for increased food production, did not give the same emphasis to that aspect of economic development as did India, nor is it surprising that the projects put forward by Pakistan for consideration by Canada should have been for the most part in fields other than agriculture. Pakistan's economy is seriously lacking in basic industries and electric power and like all other countries in the area, is weak in its transportation facilities.

Results of Partition

Partition resulted not only in a grave economic dislocation in both countries but also in a large-scale movement of refugees in both directions, a migration which caused serious economic and social problems and which was potentially a political danger. The total exchange of refugees amounted to something in the neighbourhood of 14 million people, equal to the entire population of Canada. The Pakistan Government, as part of its effort to provide for refugees, is organizing a large-scale colonization scheme in the Punjab in a region called Thal. The Thal Development Authority was set up to administer the project and some progress has already been made. The region, lacking in water was nothing but a desert waste. Irrigation will transform it into fertile land, as is proven by the results of the small amount of irrigation already carried out. The whole colonization scheme envisages irrigated farm lands, water supply for other uses, small industries and the power plants to run them, and, of course, the housing, the schools, hospitals and other facilities which will make of the area a reasonably

prosperous and comfortable community. Here large numbers of refugees will not only enjoy better living conditions themselves but will also contribute to the increased productive capacity of the country as a whole.

Thal Projects

The Thal colonization scheme is important in the national development plan of Pakistan but it is described here in some detail because Canada, through its Colombo Plan activities, is itself contributing to the development of this area. One of the basic requirements for getting on with the Thal scheme is substantial quantities of cement. Its most important use is for lining the irrigation canals to prevent the water seeping through the porous sand. The irrigation project on which the entire colonization scheme depends, could not be carried through without the use of cement. Cement is also needed for buildings, for small industries, and for the usual uses to which it is put in any permanent community. There is, however, no cement within anything like reasonable distance of the Thal area and very little manufactured in the whole of Pakistan. The provision of cement, therefore, posed a serious problem to the Pakistan authorities in relation to the practical development of their colonization scheme. The obvious and sensible solution to this problem was the construction of a cement plant in the Thal region, where the essential raw materials are, fortunately, to be found in abundance. The plant could be a source of supply for the colonization project and for later needs in and around the area. The Pakistan Government proposed that Canada should construct such a cement plant under its Colombo Plan Programme. The proposal was accepted by the Canadian Government and \$5 million set aside to cover the cost. The plant and machinery will be manufactured in Canada and will be erected at Thal by the Canadian contractor. The Pakistan Government will be responsible for pro-

* Published in two parts of which this is the second. The first part of this article was published in the April issue of *External Affairs*.

viding local labour and materials for the construction of the building which will house the plant. The entire project will be completed in two years and its capacity will be 100,000 metric tons of cement annually.

Canadian assistance is being given to another project in the Thal area, less important and far less expensive, but one which could make a significant contribution to long-term agricultural developments in the region. This is a model livestock farm which is jointly sponsored by Australia, Canada and New Zealand. These three contributing members of the Colombo Plan have agreed to establish the livestock farm and to maintain it in the initial stages. Livestock, equipment and technical experts are being provided according to the varying abilities of the three sponsoring countries. The Canadian share is primarily the provision of agricultural machinery and related equipment. For this purpose \$200,000 has been earmarked, about half of which has already been spent.

Transportation System

The Pakistan Government is very anxious to improve its transportation system and has been able to secure a loan of \$27.2 million from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the rehabilitation and development of its railway system. With the loan, Pakistan is purchasing locomotives and other mechanical equipment but the full requirements for this first stage in the railway development plan cannot be entirely met from the Bank loan. The Pakistan Government asked Canada to consider using Colombo Plan funds to provide Pakistan with a substantial quantity of wooden railway ties which would fit in with the over-all railway project. The Canadian Government has accepted this proposal and over the next year railway ties to the value of \$2.8 million will be shipped from the Canadian West Coast to Pakistan.

An interesting Canadian project which should be of unusual long-term value to Pakistan's economic development is a resources survey of most of West Pakistan. A Canadian photographic survey company is carrying out this project which

includes aerial photography, a geological survey, mosaicing and mapping. Canadian personnel with Canadian planes and equipment have been in Pakistan for some months and have made good progress. In order that the results of the survey can be put to the best use by the Pakistan Government and that a permanent survey unit in Pakistan can be set up, arrangements have been made for the training of Pakistan technicians during the course of the survey operation.

The Pakistan projects described above all formed part of the Canadian programme of aid for the first year of the Colombo Plan, that is, 1951-52. This year Pakistan, like India, asked that Colombo plan funds be used to provide wheat to help meet a grave and unusual food deficit. While Pakistan has normally produced more than enough food for its own needs, several factors combined to bring about a critical food shortage in the fall of 1952 and the Pakistan Government was forced to import millions of dollars worth of wheat in order to provide for the basic necessities of the country. In these circumstances, the Canadian Government agreed to assist Pakistan's food import programme by allocating \$5 million of Colombo Plan funds for the provision of wheat to Pakistan on the same kind of counterpart fund basis as was done in the case of India. That is to say, the Pakistan Government will set up a special account to which will be credited the proceeds of the sale of the Canadian wheat in Pakistan and the resultant counterpart funds, to equal in rupees the \$5 million Canadian grant, will be used for local costs in connection with some economic development project to be mutually agreed upon by the two Governments.

Warsak Project

Another project which has been approved for assistance under the Canadian programme of aid to Pakistan for the second year of the Colombo Plan is the construction of a hydro-electric project at Warsak in the North West Frontier Province. The preliminary engineering on this project has been done by the Pakistan authorities and the results indicate, to the satisfaction of engineering ex-



Cattle being watered on a farm in the Thal area of Pakistan.

perts including International Bank staff and Canadian consulting engineers who surveyed it, that the project is technically feasible and economically sound. When completed it would generate 150,000 kws. of electric power, a large proportion of which would be distributed to the neighbouring province of the Punjab where the need for power for industrial uses is great and growing. The availability of electric power in this general district can be expected to make a substantial and permanent contribution to the basic economic development of Pakistan. The project will also contribute to increased food production through the irrigation of 93,000 acres of land.

Five or six years would be required to construct the Warsak project and a preliminary and rough estimate places the external costs for equipment which must be obtained from abroad, at about \$14 million. In addition there would, of course, be heavy costs incurred in rupee capital by the Pakistan authorities for all the labour and materials required for the preparatory work involved in building the dams, barrages and earthen works for the project. The sum of \$3.4 million has been allocated out of Canadian Colombo Plan funds for the purchase of the ma-

chinery and equipment required in the initial stages. Continued Canadian aid for Warsak will, of course, be subject to appropriations by Parliament in the remaining years of the Colombo Plan.

Ceylon

In June of 1952, arrangements were made for a visit to Ottawa by an official of the Ceylonese Government to place before Canadian authorities, on behalf of the Ceylon Government, certain specific proposals for Canadian Colombo Plan capital aid. As a result of these conversations, the Canadian Government agreed in principle to the extension of Colombo Plan aid to Ceylon and the Statement of Principles, referred to earlier in this article, was mutually accepted by an Exchange of Notes on July 11, 1952.

The Ceylonese Government had put forward three specific projects whose estimated total cost somewhat exceeded \$2 million. One of these projects, a fisheries research and development scheme, was accepted promptly and \$1 million earmarked as the Canadian contribution. The other two suggested projects were a rural development scheme and a rural electrification project. While Canada was

interested, in principle, in helping rural development in Ceylon and was anxious to obtain the necessary general information about the project Ceylon had in mind and specific requirements in the way of farm tools and other items, unexpected difficulties have delayed the Ceylonese authorities in organizing the project and submitting it in detail for Canadian consideration.

Gal Oya Project

More progress has been made on the rural electrification scheme. A large hydro-electric plant has already been constructed at Gal Oya by an American engineering firm, the costs of the project having been met by the Ceylonese Government. The plant forms part of a general development plan for this whole region which includes the resettlement of farmers from other less desirable and less productive parts of Ceylon; the establishment of small industries like rice mills, sawmills, etc.; the improvement of the water supply by the installation of pumps; the development of cottage industries and other benefits which normally accompany the establishment of electric power. The specific request made of Canada was to provide transmission lines and ancillary equipment to distribute the power from the plant to the adjacent communities. Canadian engineers have recently returned from a first-hand examination of the project and will provide the Canadian Government with a report on the technical and economic aspects of the project and detailed specifications of the distributive equipment which would be supplied by Canada if it were decided to take on the project.

Fisheries Project

On the fisheries research and development project, it was possible to take immediate action because the scheme as presented by Ceylon was based on careful investigation and detailed recommendations made by a Canadian fisheries consultant who had been in Ceylon for a year under the technical assistance part of the Colombo Plan, acting in an advisory capacity to the Ceylon Ministry of Fisheries. Despite the island status of

Ceylon, its annual production of fish meets only about 25 per cent of the national requirements. Methods of catching, handling and marketing fish are inefficient and obsolete and the present sphere of fishing operations is confined to the shore and to shallow water. Moreover the extremely low yield per fisherman results in such a high cost to the consumer that many people are unable to purchase this protein food.

Purpose of Fisheries Project

The purpose of the fisheries project to be carried out by Canada is to determine fish population potentials in the coastal waters of Ceylon and the most efficient method of harvesting these tropical seas, to demonstrate the effectiveness of a moderate degree of mechanization in fishing and to assist in the modernization of the fish handling and distribution methods in Ceylon. It is hoped that the results of this experimental project will be such as to promote the development of a fishing industry which will serve the needs of the Ceylonese people.

The actual contributions being made by Canada in connection with the fisheries project consist of two fishing vessels complete with fishing gear, one steam trawler, a fish refrigeration plant, miscellaneous related equipment and the expert personnel necessary to instruct Ceylonese fishermen and technicians in the operation of the ships and of the plant.

Technical Co-operation

The Colombo programme for technical co-operation has a two-fold objective, to supplement the technical assistance activities of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies in South and Southeast Asia and to help increase the technological know-how which is essential to the success of the Colombo Plan for the economic and social development of that area. The activities of the programme of technical co-operation are co-ordinated through a small permanent Bureau established in Colombo, through which requests for technical assistance, offers of training facilities and experts, nominations of individuals, etc., are channeled. The programme is operated on a bilateral



—Charles Wishart

Canadian fishing vessels on trial run off British Columbia coast before being sent as Colombo Plan gift to Ceylon.

basis but the services of the Bureau facilitate arrangements between the governments concerned. In addition, an inter-governmental body, known as the Council for Technical Co-operation, meets from time to time, generally in Colombo, to supervise the conduct of the programme, review progress and agree on general policies.

Term of Programme Extended

It was originally intended that the Colombo programme for technical co-operation should continue for a three-year period beginning July 1, 1950. However, the many difficulties which are now seen to be inevitable in getting a new programme of this kind into action, resulted in slow progress in the initial stages and by the end of 1951 it had become clear that the goals set at the beginning would not be reached within three years. Canada, therefore, agreed with other participating governments that the programme for technical co-operation should remain

in operation for the same period as the economic development part of the Colombo Plan, that is, until June 30, 1957. During the past few months as administrative difficulties and organizational problems have been resolved and the participating countries have become more familiar with the available facilities, the programme has gained momentum.

In the light of the experience gained to date, member governments have concluded that while the programme for the training of Asians abroad has in the main been successful and will undoubtedly contribute to the economic development of the region, greater emphasis should be placed on increasing training facilities in the Colombo Plan area for foremen, skilled labour and other middle and lower grade workers. Co-operating countries have also agreed that the provision of equipment for training purposes in the area should be a recognized feature of the programme. This would allow not only for the supply of essential training equipment along with an expert appoint-

ed under the Colombo Plan but would also present a positive opportunity for integrating activities under the Colombo programme for technical co-operation with the technical assistance activities of the United Nations. Thus a project sponsored by the United Nations or one of its Specialized Agencies in South or Southeast Asia might be assisted by the provision of a "missing component" by Canada as part of its Colombo Plan programme.

Canadian Experts Recruited

During the earlier phase of its participation in the programme for technical co-operation, the Canadian contribution was restricted for the most part to making available in Canada training facilities for persons nominated by the Asian governments. More recently efforts to recruit Canadian technical experts for service in the under-developed countries have met with greater success. The difficulties in locating suitable, highly-qualified experts who are prepared to devote a year or more to service in the Colombo Plan area are considerable. Canada is, itself, engaged in a colossal programme of economic development and the need and the opportunities for technically trained Canadians are great. Disruption in normal personal life is often a deterrent to prospective candidates, particularly to the man with a family. Balancing these factors, however, is the interest and satisfaction to be gained from participating in a co-operative effort to help the Asians toward a better life, the opportunity for demonstrating Canadian techniques to people unskilled in technology but enthusiastic in their determination to learn, and the practical experience which may prove extremely useful to the expert on his return to take his place in the Canadian economy. Certainly the recruitment of experts and teachers will continue to be difficult. But the search goes on, and more and more Canadians are being found to fill technical and educational positions in the Asian countries. It is of interest to note that the services required of Canadian experts are not limited to advisory functions: the greatest demand is for the type of expert who combines the giving of technical advice to the

recipient government with the training of people in that country who can carry on with the development project or with the local training programme long after the Canadian expert has returned home.

Relationship Between Capital and Technical Assistance

Frequently the provision of technical assistance is connected with, or leads to, or results from a capital aid project. A good example of this is to be found in Canadian assistance to the fishing industry in Ceylon. It was on the basis of the advice and recommendations of a Canadian fisheries expert that the Ceylon Government proposed, and Canada accepted, the fisheries project which was described in some detail earlier in this article. Canadian technical assistance for this particular project did not end, however, with the assignment of the expert who worked out the details of the project. He himself will be remaining in Colombo beyond the period of his original term of duty in order to see the project through its initial phase. Moreover, four Canadian fishermen will accompany the two fishing vessels and will instruct Ceylonese fishermen in the operation of the craft and in mechanized fishing methods. The trawler also will be officered by experts who will remain in Ceylonese waters until a Ceylonese crew and Ceylonese officers have been sufficiently well instructed to carry on on their own. Similarly, the cold storage plant will remain under the supervision of Canadian technicians until the Ceylonese are thoroughly familiar with its operation. As a matter of fact, a Canadian expert in refrigeration has been in Ceylon for over a year and is already associated with the plans for the cold storage plant.

The construction of a cement plant in Pakistan, which forms part of Canada's capital aid programme, provides another illustration of the inter-relationship between capital and technical assistance. As the project goes forward, selected Pakistani workers and engineers will be trained in the maintenance of the plant and in actual cement-making methods. The photographic and geological survey of Pakistan, another capital aid project, also includes the training of Pakistani personnel both in the field and in the Canadian



Canadian experts inspect the finishing operations of a water supply tank on the new experimental area at the University of Ceylon.

laboratories of the company carrying out the survey.

Agricultural Assistance

In the field of agriculture, two Canadian experts have recently accepted assignments in Ceylon under the Colombo programme for technical co-operation. One of these, formerly Professor of Agriculture at the Ontario Agricultural College, is serving in Ceylon for a period of three years as Head of the Department of Agriculture of the University of Ceylon. He will, in effect, be reorganizing the University's Department of Agriculture. It may well be that as a result of his work further assistance will be given by Canada to the University, including the provision of staff members and of training facilities in Canada for Ceylonese agriculturists who will replace experts lent by Canada. The other Canadian agricultural expert, who is on loan from the Soils Department of the University of Alberta, is serving in Ceylon for one year as Director of a Soils Division of the Government of Ceylon.

Last year a Canadian biological expert, who is an officer of the Commonwealth Biological Control Institute, undertook a three-month mission to India and Pakistan to investigate the possibility of setting up Commonwealth biological control institutes in those countries. As a result of his survey, the Governments of both India and Pakistan have made applications for Canadian assistance under the Colombo Plan in the establishment of biological control stations. These stations will provide instruction and demonstration in pest and weed control for those not skilled in use of insecticides. Action is now being taken on the Indian and Pakistan requests and it is expected that this same Canadian expert will be returning to the subcontinent to serve as director for the stations in both countries.

Assistance in Co-operative Field

At the time of writing, a Canadian agricultural and co-operative team is in the subcontinent to investigate what further technical assistance Canada can give in the agricultural and co-operative fields.

The team, consisting of two officials from the Department of Agriculture, the Director of Extension of St. Francis Xavier University and the Chief Inspector of the Fédération des Caisses Populaires of Quebec, will be spending three months in all visiting India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

While more emphasis is being placed upon recruiting of Canadian experts and instructors to give technical assistance in the under-developed countries, the training in Canada of persons sent here from these countries continues as an important feature of the Colombo Plan programme of technical co-operation. In large part the success of this part of Canada's technical assistance programme has been made possible by the co-operation of universities, provincial government and private agencies and individuals across the country who have received these persons for training.

Course for Administrative Officers*

Among the more interesting and successful of the training programmes arranged in Canada under the Colombo Plan was the comprehensive five-months' course given to 12 junior administrative officers from the Civil Service in Pakistan. Their programme, which included instruction at all levels of public service, was made possible by the collaboration of different agencies of the federal government, the Provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario and Quebec, Laval and St. Francis Xavier Universities, and many other institutions and industrial firms. During their stay in Canada these young Pakistanis lived in private homes and were thus able to get a picture of normal life in Canada as well as the opportunity to study and observe administrative methods in this country.

Health Mission

Another interesting programme was arranged during the past year for six senior health officers from India and Pakistan who came to Canada to study the organization of federal and provincial health services and Canadian medical facilities in general. While in Canada they participated in the annual meetings of the Canadian Public Health Association and the

Canadian Tuberculosis Association in addition to the particular study they made of the organization of health services in certain Canadian provinces. The mission was particularly interested in the progress made in lowering tuberculosis death rates and in the development of health services for Canadians living in rural communities.

For the most part, technical assistance is requested on an individual basis and courses are arranged for individual trainees in their own particular fields. Since the inception of the Colombo programme, approximately 100 Asians have received or are receiving training in Canada. They have come from India, Pakistan and Ceylon and courses of training have been offered them in such fields as agriculture, engineering, medicine, public administration, fisheries, forestry, railways, education, co-operatives and industrial management and development.

The technical assistance given by Canada under the Colombo programme as outlined above is, of course, additional to the similar contribution which Canada has given in providing experts and offering training facilities in Canada in connection with the programmes of technical assistance carried on by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies. Many of the services furnished by Canada in co-operation with the U.N. programmes have been directed towards the countries of South and Southeast Asia. Thus Canadian technical assistance to the countries in the Colombo Plan area is provided through the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies as well as through the Colombo programme itself.

Administration

The execution of Canada's Colombo Plan programme, both capital and technical, entails a considerable volume of administrative work which is handled by a special unit established for the purpose in the Government service, the International Economic and Technical Co-operation Division of the Department of Trade and Commerce, under the direction of Mr. R. G. Nik Cavell. This Division is responsible for locating experts to serve abroad, arranging training programmes in Canada for fellows and schol-

* See page 160.



—Fisheries Research Station

Canadian fishing vessels being unloaded in Colombo Harbour.

ars from under-developed countries and for all other administrative duties in connection with both the Colombo and U.N. programmes of technical assistance, and for investigating the supply situation in Canada in regard to capital equipment requirements. Moreover, Mr. Cavell, in his capacity as Administrator, visits the Colombo Plan area annually to discuss with Government officials and Canadian diplomatic representatives in the region particular projects which Canada might assist and to examine at first hand those projects which seem most suitable for inclusion in the Canadian programme of Colombo Plan aid. As a result of these discussions with officials directly responsible for economic development in the receiving countries and of the on-the-spot survey of likely projects, the Canadian authorities are provided with useful advice to assist in the selection of sound and worthwhile projects suitable for Canadian assistance.

Experience has shown that in most cases it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to form a sound judgment on the practicability, from the point of view

of Canadian assistance, of an economic development project in Asia on the basis of correspondence alone. Even when a particular project appears to be most desirable in principle, it may be that engineering risks or lack of preliminary engineering tests, or the possibility of a long time-lag before capital equipment can be used, or some other circumstance or combination of circumstances, will make it inadvisable to commit Canadian Colombo Plan funds until all such doubts are cleared up. It is, therefore, becoming normal practice for Canada to send Canadian consulting engineers to the site of an economic development project in which Canada is interested in order to make a professional examination and to report on the technical feasibility and soundness of the project and to advise in respect of the capital equipment requirements, before a final decision is taken to allocate Colombo Plan funds to the project.

Thus in working out its Colombo Plan programmes, Canada is guided by the wishes of the receiving governments and is assisted in making its final selection

of projects by continuing discussions with those governments through their representatives in Ottawa and Canadian representatives in their capitals, by the information provided by Mr. Cavell as a result of his periodic trips and by the technical advice of Canadian consulting engineers.

Conclusion:

Canadian interest in the Colombo Plan is based on several considerations. In the first place, Canada, as a member of the community of free nations, is concerned in the maintenance of political stability in this vast and important region. The people of South and Southeast Asia are at the crossroads; the direction they take will depend, in part, on the degree of sympathy and understanding and practical co-operation they find in the more industrialized and economically advanced countries of the West. These countries, including Canada, can give no more convincing proof of the values of democracy than to lend a helping hand to the Asian peoples in their own tremendous efforts to improve their living standards. On

economic grounds, too, the development of South and Southeast Asia is in Canada's long-term interests for, as one of the most important trading nations of the world, Canada is bound to benefit from the expanding world trade which will result from the increased productivity and prosperity of this large and populous area.

It was political, economic and humanitarian considerations of this kind which led Canada to join with other Commonwealth countries in launching this programme of economic development for South and Southeast Asia. *The Colombo Plan* itself, as published in October 1950 by the initiating governments, contains in its final paragraph this brief but complete summary of the motives underlying the co-operation of the sponsors:

In a world racked by schism and confusion it is doubtful whether free men can long afford to leave undeveloped and imprisoned in poverty the human resources of the countries of South and Southeast Asia which could help so greatly, not only to restore the world's prosperity, but also to redress its confusion and enrich the lives of all men everywhere.

Distinguished Visitors to Canada

DURING the last week of March and the first three weeks of April, Canada welcomed a series of distinguished visitors from India, France, Cambodia, the United Kingdom, Germany and Japan. The unusual series of visits to the national capital began on March 26 with the arrival in Ottawa of Madam Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Chairman of the Indian Delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations, and sister of India's Prime Minister, and reached a climax on April 19 with the arrival in Ottawa of His Imperial Highness Prince Akihito, Crown Prince of Japan. In the interim, leaders of the Governments of France and Germany, the King of Cambodia and Field Marshal Montgomery visited Ottawa. The visits reflected the growing interest of other countries in Canada and the increasingly active role being undertaken by Canada in world affairs. From Canada's standpoint, they provided opportunities for discussing a number of international questions and contributed to international co-operation and goodwill. A brief account of these events is given to indicate the range of subjects with which the visitors were concerned.

Madam Pandit

In addition to spending two busy days in Ottawa, Madam Pandit addressed meetings in Montreal and Toronto. During the first day of her visit to Ottawa, she was the guest of honour at a dinner given by the Canadian Government. Earlier in the day she had lunch at Government House and conferred with the Prime Minister. During the following day, Madam Pandit had afternoon tea with Madame St. Laurent and dinner with the Executive of the United Nations Association before addressing the members of the Association at a public meeting. In Montreal Madam Pandit addressed the Montreal Branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and later dined with Mr. Warwick Chipman, Q.C., former High Commissioner for Canada in India. In Toronto she ad-

ressed the Canadian Club and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

Mr. Mayer

Following a visit to Washington, Mr. René Mayer, President of the Council of Ministers in France; Mr. Georges Bidault, Foreign Minister, and Mr. Maurice Bourges-Maunoury, Minister of Finance, arrived in Ottawa on March 29 for a two-day programme of conferences with officials of the Canadian Government. Mr. Mayer laid a wreath at Canada's national war memorial. He and his colleagues conferred with Mr. St. Laurent, Mr. Pearson, Mr. Abbott and Mr. Howe. The following joint communiqué was issued prior to the departure of the distinguished visitors:

The Prime Minister of Canada, accompanied by Mr. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce and of Defence Production; Mr. Claxton, Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Mr. Abbott, Minister of Finance, had a full discussion of outstanding international questions with Mr. René Mayer, Prime Minister of France, Mr. Georges Bidault, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mr. Bourges-Maunoury, Minister of Finance. During this exchange of views in which particular attention was given to the problems which will face the North Atlantic Council at its next session, there was complete agreement between the two Governments regarding the objectives of the Alliance. It was recognized that the free countries must not relax in any degree their defensive effort.

Mr. Mayer and Mr. Bidault described to the Canadian Ministers the French Government's plans with a view to putting into effect the European Defence Community Treaty.

The French Ministers also described the present situation in Indo-China and underlined the importance of this theatre of operations in the protection of the free world, with particular reference to the growing participation of the Associated States of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos in the burdens and responsibilities of the war.

The French and Canadian Ministers, after proceeding to a joint examination of the general economic and financial problems of today, agreed in estimating that the suppression of the obstacles to trade and payments was essential to the development of production, the strengthening of the



—Capital Press

CROWN PRINCE OF JAPAN TOURS CANADA

During his visit to Canada April 11-21, His Imperial Highness, Prince Akihito visited the House of Commons in Ottawa. He is shown above with the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Hon. W. Ross MacDonald, in the Speaker's Chamber.

defence of the free world and the improvement of the standard of living. They recognized that the re-establishment of the convertibility of currencies constituted a common objective calling for concerted action on the part of the two Governments as well as of all the other governments concerned. It was considered that it was necessary to strengthen existing international institutions through which the nations of the free world could co-operate in order to obtain these objectives.

Specific questions of an economic, commercial and financial character arising out of the relationship of the franc area and Canada were also discussed. It was considered that the objective was a satisfactory balance of Franco-Canadian trade at a level corresponding more fully to the productive capacity of the two countries and the traditional bonds between them. This expansion of trade calls for the working out of technical details on the part of the two countries and has been referred to a

Franco-Canadian Joint Committee. The two Governments have decided that the Committee should meet in the near future.

King of Cambodia

His Majesty, Nordom C. Sikanouk, King of Cambodia, arrived in Montreal from France April 12 for a private and non-official visit to Canada. The King was accompanied by the Prime Minister of Cambodia, Ty Kin Sour. The royal party visited Ottawa, industrial establishments in Eastern Canada and Niagara Falls before proceeding to the United States. During the visit, the King expressed appreciation to Canada for having extended recognition to Cambodia. This new country was established in 1950 as "an independent state within the French Union".

Field Marshal Montgomery

Field Marshal Montgomery visited Canada from April 15-21 in his role as Deputy Supreme Commander of North Atlantic Treaty Forces. In Ottawa, where he was the guest of the Governor General at Government House, Field Marshal Montgomery conferred with Mr. St. Laurent, Mr. Claxton and the Chiefs of Staff. Later he visited military establishments at Kingston, Hamilton, Quebec City and Montreal. Two distinguished compatriots of the Field Marshal, Lord Ismay, Secretary General of NATO, and Mr. R. A. Butler, Chancellor of the British Exchequer, visited Ottawa in February and March respectively.

Chancellor Adenauer

Dr. Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor and Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, visited Ottawa April 17 and 18 after spending several days in the United States. He was accompanied by his daughter, Dr. Lotte Adenauer, and senior diplomatic and trade officials. Although they were in Ottawa less than twenty-four hours, Dr. Adenauer and his associates were able to confer with the Prime Minister, Mr. Howe, Mr. Claxton and Mr. Pearson. A highlight of the visit was the conferring on Dr. Adenauer of an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of Ottawa. Similar degrees

had been conferred earlier by the University on two distinguished colleagues of Dr. Adenauer in the rebuilding of Europe — Premier de Gasperi of Italy, and the former Foreign Minister of France, Mr. Schuman. During the special convocation at the University of Ottawa, Dr. Adenauer announced the presentation to the University of two scholarships enabling students to spend one year of study in Germany.

The following joint communiqué was issued on the conclusion of Dr. Adenauer's visit to Ottawa:

The Prime Minister of Canada and the Ministers of Finance, National Defence, and Citizenship and Immigration, have had friendly and constructive conversations with the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany and his State Secretary of Foreign Affairs. The Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce has also had a frank and helpful exchange of views with the Chief of the Foreign Trade Office of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Dr. Adenauer and Mr. St. Laurent agreed that their two countries were now engaged in the same struggle for the defence of freedom and for peace and that renewed hope for success in this struggle lay in the growing strength and unity of the free world. Dr. Adenauer expressed his pleasure that Canadian troops were the first to be in Germany as part of the NATO defence force, and that Canada was the first country to ratify the NATO-EDC protocol. Mr. St. Laurent, for his part, was gratified by continuing efforts for closer European co-operation, in which the German Government was playing a constructive and helpful part. This European development was considered in Canada to be an important aspect of the growing Atlantic community. The Prime Minister and the Chancellor shared the view that the sincerity of recent Sino-Soviet overtures would be tested by the willingness of these Communist regimes to take practical steps to reduce international tensions both in Europe and the Far East.

Dr. Adenauer and State Secretary Hallstein expressed their appreciation of the immigration policy of the Canadian Government, under which a substantial number of Germans had settled in Canada over the last two years. At the same time they noted the enormous difficulties still facing the Federal Republic and the authorities of West Berlin, not only in the assimilation of the millions of persons driven from their homes immediately following the war, but also in providing care and shelter for the growing stream of refugees now coming from the Eastern Zone of Germany. Mr. Harris said that the Canadian Government was fully aware of the heavy load imposed upon the Government of the Federal Re-



FRENCH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS VISIT CANADA

At the invitation of the Government of Canada, Mr. Rene Mayer, President of the Council of Ministers of France, Mr. Georges Bidault, Foreign Minister, and Mr. Maurice Bourges-Maunory, Minister of Finance, visited Ottawa at the end of March. They were met on arrival by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, and the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton. Left to right: Mr. Bourges-Maunory; Mr. Mayer; Mr. St. Laurent; Mr. Bidault; Mr. Claxton.

—Newton

public and the authorities of West Berlin in this connection, and agreed that the procedures for the examination of refugees should be as expeditious as possible consistent with the requirements of Canadian immigration regulations.

Discussions on commercial and financial matters revealed an identity of view on the desirability of liberal policies leading to an extension of multilateral trade and, eventually, to the free convertibility of currencies. Questions of trade opportunities open to Canadian and German producers were also discussed, and useful ideas exchanged regarding the means by which an expansion of German-Canadian trade might be effected. Technical questions relating to sequestered German assets and other matters were also discussed. It was also felt desirable for the two Governments to consider further the question of giving effect to certain pre-war agreements between them or, alternatively, of negotiating new and broader agreements in certain instances.

Dr. Adenauer and Mr. St. Laurent expressed confidence that German-Canadian friendship within the community of peace-

ful and democratic nations would deepen and grow.

Prince Akihito

The Crown Prince of Japan visited Ottawa en route to London to attend the Ottawa en route to London to attend the Coronation. He and his suite travelled across Canada by train after arriving by ship in San Francisco on April 11. Traveling with the Crown Prince across Canada were approximately 20 representatives of Japanese newspapers, press associations, newsreel and radio organizations. These provided generous coverage of the trip across Canada for Japan. On April 20 the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition took note in the House of Commons of "the presence of a distinguished visitor in the Gallery — the Crown Prince of Japan." The Prime Minister said:



—Capital Press

GERMAN CHANCELLOR VISITS OTTAWA

Dr. Konrad Adenauer (right), Chancellor and Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, accompanied by his daughter, Dr. Lotte Adenauer, is met at Rockcliffe Airport by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, on the occasion of their visit to Ottawa.

Mr. Speaker, I think all hon. members would wish me to mention at this time that we are honoured today by the presence in the diplomatic gallery of His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince of Japan. I am sure we are all unanimous in wishing to extend to him a most warm welcome on this occasion. His Imperial Highness is visiting Canada on his way to London to attend the coronation of our own beloved sovereign Queen Elizabeth. The devoted affection we all have for our own sovereign makes it quite easy for us to understand the high regard in which his illustrious father and the imperial family are held by the people of Japan.

His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan is a symbol of his state, and of course the history of the relations between Japan and the Western world was darkened by heavy shadows during the tragic years of war. But that is now something of the past. I think that the presence here of His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince, and the

important mission on which he is engaged at this time, is a happy confirmation of the fact that those tragic years were of short duration and were, in fact, repugnant to the intimate feelings of all the people of the nations who were engaged in war during those tragic years. This mission of His Imperial Highness is a happy omen of better relations between our peoples, and of a more effective and keener desire in all our countries to work together for the welfare of the whole free human race.

We are most happy to welcome His Royal Highness and to say to him that we hope he is enjoying, and will enjoy, his visit throughout Canada, and that he will take back to his country the knowledge that there is a genuine good will towards his country in this land of ours which, like his own, borders on this great highway of the Pacific Ocean which has been, and will continue to be, a highway for the maintenance of political, economic and trade relationships that will be mutually beneficial to

our two peoples.

On conclusion of the Prime Minister's remarks, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Drew, said:

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join with the Prime Minister (Mr. St. Laurent) in extending a hearty welcome to the Crown Prince of Japan who in himself here today expresses the similarity between our own monarchical system and that which he represents. As the Prime Minister has already said, the relationship between our respective nations has had its unhappy period. It would also be well to remember that we had an earlier period of alliance in which our relationship was warm and friendly. It is part of the genius of our free system, which is now represented in the parliamentary system of Japan as well as that of Canada, that out of conflict we seek friendship in the years afterwards.

I would hope that the visit on this occasion of His Imperial Highness to this country may emphasize in the minds of the people of his own nation as well as of ours that, with the lessons of the tragic years still clearly in our minds, we are seeking to build stronger understandings of the value of freedom.

We recognize the great achievements of a nation which has reached a proud position in the world as a producer of goods of high quality. We recognize the industry of the people of Japan. We recognize their loyalty to their own traditions. In extending this welcome today to His Imperial Highness, who is part of the system of democratic monarchy which has been established in Japan, we earnestly hope that during the future these nations may come closer together in striving for great achievements along the paths of peace.



—Capital Press

INDIA'S CHIEF U.N. DELEGATE VISITS OTTAWA

Madam Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, second from left, Chairman of the Indian delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, visited Ottawa March 26-28. On her arrival at Ottawa Airport Madam Pandit was greeted by, left to right, the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton; His Excellency R. R. Saksena, High Commissioner for India in Canada, and Mrs. Saksena.

Canadian Council for Reconstruction Through UNESCO

BY DR. GARNET T. PAGE*

THE first general conference of UNESCO, held in Paris, in November 1946, called upon member states to accept a goal of \$100,000,000 for educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction in war-devastated countries throughout the world. When the request was transmitted to the Government of Canada, there was not in existence in Canada any national co-ordinating body for UNESCO. In March 1947, the Department of External Affairs suggested to the United Nations Association in Canada that it might undertake to see what Canadian response through voluntary agencies might be possible. The Association was already representing to the people of Canada the interests and the activities of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies; it received from the Government a small annual grant in aid; and it had within its structure an Advisory Committee on UNESCO matters.

This Advisory Committee met in Ottawa, July 5, 1947, agreed that the needs of reconstruction within the competence of UNESCO were pressing, and decided to recommend that a meeting of interested national agencies be convened. The United Nations Association invited some 75 organizations, about 50 of which were represented at a meeting held at Emmanuel College, Toronto, on July 29, under the chairmanship of Major Vincent Price, Q.C. then Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the United Nations Association in Canada.

The meeting elected as its provisional officers within a continuing organization, Major Price as Chairman, Senator the Honourable Thomas Vien, P.C., Q.C., as Vice-Chairman, and Mr. C. F. Fraser as Chairman of the provisional Executive Committee. Nine other members were named to this Committee.

To assist the provisional organization

in its initial operation, the Canadian United Allied Relief Fund offered a loan of \$10,000. Subsequently, this loan was generously converted into a gift to the Canadian Council for Reconstruction through UNESCO. At the instance of Senator Vien, office space and secretarial assistance were provided by C.U.A.R.F. in premises at 139½ Sparks Street, Ottawa, from which CCRU carried on the major part of its activities until December 22, 1949. The headquarters office was formally closed on April 30, 1951, under arrangements by which the General Manager of the Chemical Institute of Canada undertook to serve as a channel for any remaining items of business requiring attention.

Public Campaign for Funds

A grant of \$200,000 offered through the Department of External Affairs was placed at the Council's disposal in December 1947. The condition specified by the Department was that in due course vouchers should be delivered showing the purchase in Canada of materials for "the purposes of educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction" to a total of \$200,000. This requirement was formally discharged, to the satisfaction of the Department on March 24, 1949.

During December 1947, the National Council for the United Nations Appeal for Children in Canada was formed, with particular representation from labour unions and co-operatives. This Council represented a Canadian response to the suggestion made originally by a member of the United Nations Secretariat, that every working person in the world might contribute one day's pay towards the International Children's Emergency Fund, created as an agency under the United Nations Economic and Social Council to continue aid previously assured by UNRRA.

*Dr. Page, who was treasurer of the C.C.R.U., is general manager of the Chemical Institute of Canada.

The campaign of UNAC in Canada had been planned for April 1948. As it was obvious that two public appeals could not be undertaken within three months, and recollecting that a resolution of the UNESCO general conference in 1947 had recommended the merging of reconstruction appeals and UNAC appeals wherever possible, an agreement was entered into, under the aegis of the Department of External Affairs, by which the two organizations, CCRU and UNAC, would undertake one appeal, under the title of Canadian Appeal for Children, in February 1948.

The share of total proceeds of the Canadian Appeal for Children accruing to CCRU amounted to \$939,230.22.

School Projects: Basic School Supplies and CARE Parcels

From the first planning of CCRU projects it had been apparent that a substantial measure of assistance should go to schools and to children of school age.

A "School Box" Committee was set up, consisting of: Mr. G. G. Croskery, Chairman, Mr. Henri Masson, Rev. Father A-M Morisset, Mr. Frank G. Patten, Dr. John E. Robbins, with Mr. Neil McDonald of the CCRU staff. This committee conducted extensive investigations with manufacturers of school supplies and educational authorities to decide what should be sent for the use of school children. The approved list of contents was: 40 ink notebooks, 40 pencil notebooks, 1,000 sheets of ink foolscap, 1,000 sheets of newsprint pencil paper, 12 boxes of crayons, ink powder to make one gallon, 48 pencils, 40 pen-holders, one gross of pen points, one gross white chalk and 24 sticks colored chalk, six rulers, 36 erasers, one pound of cold water paste and 100 sheets of colored construction paper.

In addition, to provide a representative selection from Canadian literature each box included a combination of the following items: A *Pocketful of Canada*, *Morceaux Choisis d'Auteurs Canadiens*, *Canada From Sea To Sea and Canada*. A calendar bearing a reproduction of "The Jack Pine" by Tom Thomson, and the CCRU insignia, and two other reproductions in colour of Canadian paintings

were added, together with maps of Canada. To accompany the *Help Us To Go To School Chart*, a letter of greeting signed by Mr. David C. Munroe as President of the Canadian Teachers Federation was included. The allocation of school boxes to particular countries was agreed upon after extended enquiries. The distribution of the school boxes was: Austria 1,850; Belgium 1,500; Ethiopia 500; France 3,000; Greece 3,000; Germany 3,000; Italy 3,000; the Netherlands 1,500; Malta 500; and Poland 2,000.

Co-operation of Canadian Missions and Other Agencies Abroad

The problems of internal distribution within European countries received careful attention. To satisfy CCRU interests, distribution had to be equitable, carried out at a minimum cost, and in a manner which would ensure that letters from European recipients would come back to the Canadian classroom from which the school charts had been forwarded. The arrangements finally settled upon were determined specially for each country; and in those countries where Canadian missions were established, the heads of mission were invited, through the Department of External Affairs, to exercise a discretionary power and to use every opportunity for the identification of these supplies as gifts from the children of Canada. For those countries to which no Canadian Mission was accredited, other channels were made available.

Teachers, as well as students, were remembered through the sending of parcels of food, woollen suiting, and knitting wool, through the agency of Canadian CARE to a value of \$50,000. The countries aided were selected by the World Organization of the teaching profession in co-operation with CARE. Distribution, by CARE, was made to needy teachers selected by teachers' groups in the countries concerned, which included France, Germany (all Zones), Poland, Greece and the Island of Rhodes, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, Malta, Czechoslovakia and Finland. It is estimated that at least 25,000 teachers in European countries and 800,000 pupils were brought into a direct contact with Canada through this project.



CCRU CHARTER SURRENDERED

—NFB

The Charter of the Canadian Council for Reconstruction through UNESCO was surrendered on April 10 in a brief ceremony to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. D. Wilgress, by the President of the organization, Major Vincent Price. Left to right: Dr. Garnet T. Page, Treasurer of the Council; Major Price; Dr. James A. Gibson, Chairman of the Executive Committee; Mr. Wilgress; and Dr. Adrien Pouliot, Vice-chairman of the Executive Committee.

Scientific Equipment for War-Devastated Universities

The very great need of universities and of scientific institutions of war-devastated countries for scientific equipment to carry on their research was apparent from the years of war. During the summer of 1948 an extensive survey of reconstruction needs of European universities was undertaken by Dr. Adrien Pouliot, Dean of the Faculty of Sciences of Laval University, Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee. Following his report it was agreed that the provision of scientific and laboratory equipment, chemical supplies, technical reference books and journals of professional and learned societies should have priority in the programme of University and Scientific Reconstruction. A committee with this title was formed under Dr. F. J. Alcock's chairmanship with the following additional members: Dr.

O. E. Ault, Dr. James E. Gibson, Dr. Garnet T. Page, Dr. Adrien Pouliot, Dr. John E. Robbins, Mr. Marcel Roussin and Dr. H. H. Saunderson.

The Committee recommended a programme of aid by which each of the 20 selected institutions was to receive a grant of \$3,000, to be spent in the United Kingdom.

The co-operation of the Department of External Affairs was most generously afforded. The heads of missions in the countries concerned transmitted in the first instance the offers of the CCRU grant, together with information about the placing of orders in the United Kingdom. Actual requests for equipment and materials were transmitted to London and verified and approved by the Chief Scientific Liaison Officer of the National Research Council (Canada) before being passed to the suppliers. The materials were shipped wherever possible in care

of the Canadian mission in the country concerned, and on several occasions special ceremonies of presentation were undertaken by the Ambassadors or Ministers of Canada.

A special allocation of unusual interest was made to the Pasteur Institute in Paris. On the basis of a request transmitted by the Prime Minister of Canada (the late Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, O.M.) the Council granted a sum of \$15,000. A letter conveying this grant signed by Mr. Mackenzie King, was handed to the Director of the Institute at a ceremony in Paris on January 5, 1949. The Council was represented by the Chairman of the Executive Committee and the Treasurer. The Canadian Ambassador to France was among the distinguished company, and the proceedings were recorded for broadcasting throughout France.

A sum of \$25,000, allocated for food and clothing, was given to International Student Service in Canada, acting as agent for World Student Relief (Geneva) for the provision of medical supplies, food and clothing. The whole of this sum was spent in Canada, and the bulk of the purchases were consigned to South-east Asia.

Subscriptions to Professional and Learned Periodicals

To meet the great need for learned and professional publications, especially periodicals, offers of three-year subscriptions to any ten among a selected list of such periodicals in 18 separate fields, 35 in the English language and eight in French, were made to 93 universities, including 22 in France, 11 in Italy, 12 in Germany, six in the Netherlands, four in Belgium, six in Poland, five in Japan, and three each in Austria and Roumania, two each in Greece, Hungary, Norway, Czechoslovakia and the Philippines, and one each in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Ethiopia, Finland and Malta, G.C.

Assistance for International Student Service Seminar

Assistance to the International Student Service was begun in 1948 with a grant of \$16,500 towards the Seminar conducted that year at Schloos Ploen in Germany

with a Canadian staff and a student constituency recruited half from Canada and half from European countries. For many of the German students, this Seminar represented their first contact with English-speaking and French-speaking students since the end of the Second World War. The I.S.S. initiative was warmly commended both in Germany and elsewhere in Europe. Following the success of the 1948 Seminar, a 1949 Seminar was conducted along similar lines at Breda in the Netherlands. Towards this Seminar, a grant of \$16,500 was made; for the Third Seminar, held in 1950 at Pontigny in France, a grant of \$17,000 was arranged. The reports of the Seminars, published by I.S.S. in Canada, have been illuminating documents.

Canadian Committee for Friendly Relations with Students from other Countries

As an encouragement to the pioneering work of the Canadian Committee for Friendly Relations with Students from other Countries, and in view of the increasing importance of this work in Canada, the Committee was glad to be able to allocate \$2,000 as a grant-in-aid.

Supplementary Assistance in Scientific Equipment

The needs of Greece for assistance in scientific reconstruction continued almost unabated through 1949 and 1950, partly because of destruction and despoiling during the war and enemy occupation, and partly because civil conflict and political uncertainties had so gravely hindered the progress of national recovery. When it became apparent that the whole of the original budgetary provision for overseas shipping would not be required for this purpose, the Council gave consideration to additional requests from the University of Athens for specialized equipment in two particular departments, biochemistry, and seismology. Having satisfied itself that the desired equipment was unlikely to be supplied from any other source, and taking note of a resolution, in the latter field, of the competent international body (the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics) the Council determined to

provide for these departments grants of \$3,500 and \$5,500 respectively.

Assistance to Creative Artists in Austria, France, Germany and Italy

In the consideration of educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction, the role of creative artists justifiably came to the fore and the Council was desirous of affording some assistance to those who had suffered in an especially crippling sense by the ravages and the dislocations of war.

Immediately after the Council meeting in May 1948, a committee representing the arts in Canada, to administer the fund of \$46,250 which the Council had authorized for assistance in this field, was formed with the following membership: Mr. Claude E. Lewis, Chairman, Dr. Jean Bruchesi, Mr. A. J. Carson, Mr. Philip Child, Mr. Charles Comfort, Mr. Emmanuel Hahn, Mr. Fred Haines, Mr. Geza de Kresz, Mrs. Geza de Kresz, Mr. F. Grant Marriot, Mr. Mark Mountfield, Mr. Will Ogilvie, Mr. Carl Schaefer, Mr. Leonard Shore and Miss Elizabeth Wyn Wood.

The Council committee determined on a programme of aid to four countries in Europe and to Ethiopia, in the following amounts: Austria \$10,000; France \$12,000; Germany \$12,000; Italy \$10,000; Ethiopia \$2,000. These amounts to be spent in the United Kingdom on materials for the arts were made available to the UNESCO National Commission or other appropriate body having contacts with all artists in the country concerned. In Ethiopia, the money was used to assist the reconstruction of folk-art. The terms and the administration of these grants were identical with those of the University Reconstruction project.

Canada-UNESCO Fellowships Project: Study Opportunities for "Mature Persons"

From the earliest discussions of the UNESCO programme, emphasis has been placed upon the necessity for exchange of persons, and CCRU recognized the advisability of allocating some of its resources to work of this kind. A Fellowships Committee was established at the

Council meeting in May 1948 to examine a working paper prepared on this matter and to lay more detailed plans for fellowships administration.

This committee which directed the Canada-UNESCO Fellowships project consisted of: Dr. James A. Gibson, Chairman; Dr. F. J. Alcock, Dr. O. E. Ault, Mr. T. C. Daly, Mr. C. F. Fraser, Mr. W. B. Herbert, Dr. Leon Lortie, Dr. Garnet T. Page, Mr. Frank G. Patten, Dr. C. E. Phillips, Dr. Adrien Pouliot, Dr. John E. Robbins, Mr. J. K. B. Robertson, Dr. H. H. Saunderson, Rev. Father Henri St-Denis, Dr. D. L. Thompson, Miss Elizabeth Wyn Wood, Madame B. Pare and Mr. B. C. Salamis.

The committee determined that CCRU should offer its fellowships to mature individuals at a high level, such as university professors, specialists in mass media, governmental administrators, teachers, engineers and scientists, rather than to students and early post-graduate workers. The stipend for each individual fellowship was fixed at an average amount of \$2,500. This figure was designed to provide for the awarding of approximately 64 fellowships among various countries from a budget allocation of \$182,000 for this project. It was agreed that the UNESCO Exchange of Persons Service should be asked to suggest what countries might receive these grants. UNESCO's recommendation for the Canada-UNESCO Fellowships, which was reviewed and accepted by the Fellowships Committee, was as follows: Austria two, Belgium four, Denmark six, Ethiopia one, France nine, Greece seven, Italy nine, Luxembourg one, Netherlands five, Norway six, Philippines four, Poland four, and Malta-Malaya five.

Appointed for a period of six months, Canada-UNESCO Fellows received a monthly stipend of \$180, in addition to their travelling expenses from and to their country of origin. Funds were provided also for travel in Canada and for institutional and other fees. A comprehensive health insurance scheme provided for medical care and hospitalization in the event of illness. On completion of the tenure of their Fellowships, Fellows returned to their own countries, where they were expected to contribute, through

their Fellowship experience, to the needs of educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction.

Of the sixty-two Fellowships awarded, one was for study in the creative arts, 17 in education, 11 in mass media, 26 in science and technology and eight in social sciences and the humanities.

Book Centre Project and "March of Books"

One of the cruellest of all kinds of destruction during the Second World War was the damage to world-renowned libraries with precious collections of books which had been accumulated with care and practice over many years. During June 1948, a campaign for books for war-devastated libraries in Europe, conducted by the American Book Centre, aroused an interest in the possibilities of a comparable project in Canada. In the following month, under the joint auspices of CCRU and the Canadian Library Association, a Joint Book Project Committee was created with Miss Margaret S. Gill, as Chairman, and, as additional members, Dr. O. E. Ault, Dr. A. E. Chatwin, Mr. C. F. Fraser, Mr. R. M. Hamilton, Mr. F. A. Hardy, Monsignor Olivier Maurault, Rev. Father A-M Morisset, Miss E. H. Morton, Mr. Angus Mowat, Dr. Garnet T. Page and Miss Vernon Ross. The Canadian Book Centre was created at Halifax, and began operations with a full-time staff headed by Mrs. Margaret N. Reynolds, in September 1948. This centre was the base of operations for the receiving, screening, cataloguing and eventual dispatching overseas of some 250,000 books and periodicals.

The Joint Committee decided that a central organization should be created in Ottawa for an extensive campaign to collect from every part of Canada the scientific, technical and other professional books for which requests were likely to be received. The National campaign organization known as "March of Books" (*En Avant Les Livres*) had as its honorary co-chairman Msgr. Olivier Maurault, Rector of the University of Montreal, and Dr. James S. Thomson, then President of the University of Saskatchewan. The President of the National Advisory Committee was Dr. C. H. Best, C.B.E., of

Toronto, and regional committees under provincial headquarters were established from coast to coast.

The books and periodicals approved for shipment abroad in answer to specific requests were classified into 14 main subject categories. For each of these categories a list was made up and printed, and after a preliminary sampling of needs, 7,664 copies of all categories of these lists were forwarded to over 700 addresses in the nine countries designated as beneficiaries. These were Belgium, France, Germany (Western Zone), Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland and Ethiopia. With the book lists were forwarded request forms on which exact titles already catalogued and shelved in Halifax could be entered. With alacrity these lists came back to Halifax, and the available books were allocated by categories. Nearly 85,000 items were sent to the nine European countries mentioned, each individual item in answer to a specific title request. In addition, nearly 15,000 school text books were sent to Ethiopian Ministry of Education, nearly 16,000 books and periodicals not otherwise requested were sent to New Delhi at the charges of the Government of India, and nearly 15,000 items to the Director of Education at Port of Spain, Trinidad. The Book Centre also forwarded a number of enclosures marked "for onward shipment." In number and variety of requests, the Western Zone of Germany was well in the lead, followed by Poland, the Netherlands and France. Within the subject fields, medical and biological sciences were most in demand (especially in periodicals) with literature and languages next in order.

Winding-up of CCRU

In April 1953, the Council's financial commitments in connection with its various projects were all discharged, and, at the final meeting of the Executive Committee, the following disposition was made of the balance of its funds.

1. The sum of \$3,000 was paid to the United Nations Association in Canada, as a grant toward the cost of operating a Canadian clearing centre for the UNESCO Gift Coupon Plan.
2. The sum of \$3,000 was allocated for

the preparation of a critical report and appraisal of the Canada-UNESCO Fellowships Project, to convene a meeting of experts to discuss the report before it is published, and to publish the report.

3. The sum of \$10,000 was paid in trust to the Canada Foundation, to be used to pay the costs of three Canada-UNESCO (CCRU) Fellowships, for

candidates distinguished in the research or creative fields, tenable in Canada for up to six months.

4. The remaining balance of funds, estimated at about \$2,500, was paid over to the Canada Foundation to serve as a "revolving fund" to assist worthy applicants who require small financial assistance to attend international meetings and similar purposes.



Pakistani Civil Servants in Canada

Four officers of the Civil Service of Pakistan, one of whom has spent a number of years in government service and is an expert on tribal affairs, came to Canada on May 1, under provisions of the Colombo Plan for the Co-operative Development of South and Southeast Asia. During their stay in this country, these officers will study public administration in the federal, provincial and municipal fields. They will also have an opportunity of seeing something of the agricultural, industrial and social life of Canada, thereby extending the range of their experience.

Twelve junior officers of the Civil Service of Pakistan spent five months in Canada last year. The Government of Pakistan has indicated that the experiment was so successful that it might be repeated to the advantage of other officers and their fellow countrymen. Accordingly, arrangements have been made by the Technical Co-operation Service of the International Economic and Technical Co-operation Division to provide a similar course of study.

The four officers are:

Ataullah Jan Khan, 48, who was serving as Political Agent in South Waziristan until his recent transfer from the Provincial Civil Service to the Civil Service of Pakistan. He has spent a number of years in government service, and is considered one of the leading experts on tribal affairs. Mr. Khan has also served as Secretary to the Governor of the Northwest Frontier Province.

Riazuddin Ahmad, 34, who is at present Deputy Secretary to the Government of the Punjab in the Department of Finance. This officer was appointed to the Indian Civil Service in 1944 and was posted to Madras.

Following partition in 1947, he elected to return to the Punjab, his home province, where he has held a number of responsible positions, including that of Deputy Commissioner.

Husain Haider, 33, who is Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet, East Bengal, near the border of Assam. He served in the army during the Second World War and, on the conclusion of hostilities, was appointed to a position in the Indian Administrative Service. Following partition in 1947, he was absorbed into the Civil Service of Pakistan, and appointed Collector at Dacca, in East Bengal.

Hammad Raza, 32, who is Deputy Commissioner at Montgomery, in West Punjab. He served in the Indian Army during the Second World War and, after partition in 1947, was appointed to the Civil Service of Pakistan as a war service candidate. Mr. Raza was Colonization Officer before being promoted to his present rank.

These four officers arrived in Montreal by air on May 1 from Karachi, and after attending a two week series of introductory lectures on administration in Ottawa, they will then spend three days at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University. They then return to Ottawa for a month, during which they will work with the Organization and Methods Service of the Civil Service Commission. A short tour of industrial plants in Ontario will be arranged before the officers leave for Western Canada, where they will study municipal and local government procedure, and court procedure. It is expected that a week will be spent in Vancouver before they return to Ottawa, and leave Canada on July 31 for the United Kingdom, completing a stay of three months in this country.

Canada and the United Nations

A Summary Review of Work at the General Assembly February 24 - April 23

Agenda

On April 23 the seventh session of the General Assembly was adjourned, to reconvene if events in Korea should make another meeting necessary. The achievements of the first part of the session, October 14 - December 22, have already been discussed in the January issue of *External Affairs*. The following is a brief account of the work accomplished since February 24, when the session was resumed. There are short articles elsewhere in this section dealing with the debates on the Disarmament Commission's report and with the appointment of the new Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld of Sweden. The First Committee was the only one to convene after Christmas, since the ten items left on the agenda were all political. One more item was added during the course of the session, when the Assembly decided to discuss the "complaint of the Union of Burma regarding the aggression against her by the Government of the Republic of China". This question relates to the presence in Burma of Chinese troops which the Burmese Government claims are being assisted by the Chinese authorities in Formosa.

Personnel Policy in the Secretariat

During the first part of the seventh session, considerable publicity was given to certain difficulties which had arisen regarding personnel policy in the Secretariat, and in particular regarding the attitude which the Secretary-General should properly adopt towards any members of the Secretariat (who were United States citizens) suspected or accused of being subversive or disloyal towards the United States Government. On October 20, 1952, the Secretary-General appointed a Commission of Jurists, "to advise me on certain issues arising out of the hearings of the United States Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security". On December 5 he announced

that he intended to use the conclusions and recommendations of the jurists' opinion, "as the basis of my personnel policy in discharging the responsibilities entrusted to me by the Charter and staff regulations of the United Nations". Time did not permit of any discussion of the matter at the Assembly before Christmas, and at the request of the Secretary-General, an item was put on the agenda of the resumed session. On January 30, 1953, Mr. Lie issued a report on his personnel policies. Discussion at the resumed session of the Assembly was on the whole moderate in tone. The essence of the question, as expressed by the Acting Head of the Canadian Delegation, was "a reasonable and wise reconciliation of the rights and freedoms of United Nations employees and the security of the state in which they serve". On April 1 the Assembly adopted by a vote of 41 in favour (including Canada), 15 against and 4 abstentions, a resolution citing Articles 100 and 101 of the Charter, expressing confidence that the Secretary-General will conduct personnel policy with these articles in mind, and requesting him to submit a progress report to the next session of the Assembly. Article 100 of the Charter asserts the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and his staff and Article 101 states that the paramount consideration in the employment of staff and in the determination of conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity. The Secretary-General's report will be commented upon by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, and then the Secretary-General and Advisory Committee, after consultation with the heads of the Specialized Agencies, will submit their recommendations as to any further action that may be required by the Assembly.

Bacteriological Warfare

One item placed on the agenda at the request of the United States referred to the question of an impartial investigation of charges of bacteriological warfare. It will be remembered that for over a year communist propaganda has made continual and sweeping charges that the United States forces in Korea have engaged in bacteriological warfare. Several attempts on the part of the Western powers to initiate an impartial investigation of these charges have been evaded or ignored by the communists, who have carried out several so-called investigations of their own. A resolution tabled by sixteen co-sponsors, including Canada, provided for the setting up of a commission of five states to carry out an investigation, its work to begin immediately the President of the General Assembly has received an indication from all the governments and authorities concerned of their acceptance of the investigation proposed. The states named as members of the commission were Brazil, Egypt, Pakistan, Sweden and Uruguay. This resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on April 23 by a vote of 51 in favour 5 against (the Soviet bloc) and 4 abstentions. At the time of writing there has unfortunately been no indication that the necessary acceptances are likely to be forthcoming from the governments most concerned, that is, the People's Republic of China and the People's Democratic Republic of North Korea.

Czech Complaint Against the United States

The Czechoslovakian Government requested the inclusion in the agenda of an item entitled in part the "Interference of the United States of America in the internal affairs of other states". The complaint was that funds voted under the United States Mutual Security Act had been used to foster espionage and subversive activities in various countries. A draft resolution introduced by the Czech Delegation condemning this alleged interference was defeated on April 8 by a vote of 5 in favour, 40 against (including Canada) and 14 abstentions and consequently no further action was taken by the Assembly on this matter.

Polish Omnibus Item and Korea

At the beginning of the seventh session an item entitled "Measures to avert the threat of a new world war" was proposed by the Polish Government. A draft memorandum was submitted with it which referred to the desirability of ending the Korean war; bacteriological warfare and the Geneva Protocol of 1925; the treatment of prisoners-of-war and the Geneva Conventions; the "aggressive North Atlantic bloc"; the prohibition of atomic weapons and the reduction of armaments. An omnibus draft resolution attached called for the immediate cessation of hostilities in Korea; the return of all prisoners-of-war to their homelands; the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea; the unification of Korea under the supervision of a commission composed of neutral states as well as those with forces in Korea; the reduction by one-third of the armed forces of the five great powers and the calling of a conference to effect the reduction of their armed forces by all states; the unconditional and immediate prohibition of atomic weapons; the accession by all states to the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting bacteriological and chemical weapons; and the conclusion by the five great powers of a peace pact to which all other states should adhere. This Polish omnibus resolution was largely a repetition either of proposals previously advanced in the United Nations by members of the communist bloc or of long standing elements in the general communist propaganda such as bacteriological warfare and the Five-Power Peace Pact. It was expected at first that the proposed resolution would be made the excuse for long and abusive propaganda attacks, but the changed tone of communist policy and statements since the death of Premier Stalin afterwards led observers to hope that the discussions might take a more conciliatory tone. The debate which began on April 8 in committee and ended on April 18 in plenary session eventually justified this expectation, as the Polish Delegation finally announced that it would not press its resolution to a vote. Even more encouraging was the unanimous adoption of a resolution on Korea sponsored by Brazil which noted "with deep satisfaction" the agreement for the

exchange of sick and wounded prisoners, expressed the hope that further negotiations in Panmunjom would result in achieving an early armistice in Korea consistent with the United Nations principles and objectives, and requested the President of the General Assembly to reconvene the session for consideration of the Korean question either upon the conclusion of an armistice or when in the view of a majority of members other developments in Korea required it. This concession by the communist group of delegations on an important political issue is the first in many years and has undoubtedly made a deep impression on many members. It has at least brought what the United States Delegate at the Assembly described as "a solemn moment of hope".

Chinese Nationalist Troops in Burma

Upon the request of the Government of Burma, the General Committee on March 31 recommended for inclusion in the agenda an item entitled "Complaint of the Union of Burma regarding action against her by the Government of the Republic of China". During the debate on the subject which began on April 17, it was not denied that General Li Mi had allied himself with dissident and rebel elements in certain areas of Burma and had subsequently increased the size of his original force of Chinese troops by recruitment among these elements. The Burmese Government had submitted a resolution by which the General Assembly would have recommended to the Security Council that it condemn the "Kuomintang Government of Formosa" for its acts of aggression against Burma and also that the Council take all necessary steps to ensure the immediate cessation of those acts of aggression. The resolution finally adopted on April 23 by a vote of 59 in favour and one abstention (China) was submitted by the Mexican Delegation. It calls upon the foreign forces in Burma to abandon arms and to leave the country or to submit to be interned. All states are asked to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of Burma and are urged both to refrain from assisting the foreign troops

and to help the Government of Burma, upon its request, in getting rid of them. The Burmese Government is to report on the matter to the next session of the General Assembly.

Other Items

The report of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency was noted by the Assembly and a resolution was adopted by a vote of 55 in favour (including Canada) to 5 against commending and continuing the work of the Agency.

The Assembly reviewed the work of the Collective Measures Committee and instructed it to continue its task of studying methods which might be used to maintain and strengthen peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

The efforts of the International Red Cross Committee to secure the repatriation of members of the Greek armed forces still held as prisoners were commended by the Assembly, which asked the President to approach the detaining states with a view to securing the release of the prisoners, and has also asked the Secretary-General to keep the issue under constant review. At the final plenary meeting of the session, the Vice-President, in the absence of the President, reported that three governments (the U.S.S.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia) had replied that their position was known and they had nothing to add.

Assessment

Considering the high propaganda content of many of the questions to be discussed, it was at one time feared that debates at the resumed session might be both acrimonious and sterile. At the meetings continued, however, a somewhat less tense atmosphere developed and culminated in the almost unanimous adoption of the two resolutions on Korea and the Burmese question. The outcome of the Assembly's discussions thus far may therefore, in the words of the President, Mr. L. B. Pearson, be regarded as "auspicious and encouraging".

The Appointment of a New Secretary-General

On November 10, 1952, the first Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Trygve Lie, announced his resignation, to be effective as soon as a successor could be found. On April 10, 1953, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Deputy Foreign Minister of Sweden, was sworn in as the new Secretary-General. During this interval of five months no progress was made towards the solution of the problem, until the Security Council made its recommendation on March 31. At the fifth session of the General Assembly in 1950, when Mr. Lie's first five-year term was due to expire, the Security Council had been unable to make a nomination and the Assembly extended Mr. Lie's term for a further three years (until February 1, 1954). In order better to understand why these difficulties have arisen and why Mr. Lie chose to resign before his renewed term had come to an end, it may be helpful to examine briefly what the Secretary-General of the United Nations is and does.

Powers and Functions of the Secretary-General

The Secretary-General is more than the administrative head of an international secretariat; alone among the members of the Secretariat he holds a position to which a degree of political influence can be, and has been, attributed. Article 99 of the Charter empowers him to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. Articles 97 and 98, in addition to providing that he shall act as the chief administrative officer of the organization in all meetings of the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council and Trusteeship Council, specify that he shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs and shall make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the organization. He is also empowered by the Rules of Procedure to place on the provisional agenda all items which he deems necessary to put before the General Assembly. The report of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations

in 1946 noted that Article 99 endowed the Secretary-General with "a quite special right which goes beyond any power previously accorded to the head of an international organization". The concept of the Secretary-General as an international statesman, someone who "more than anyone else represents the United Nations as a whole," stands in contrast to that of the Secretaries-General of the League of Nations, who functioned vis-à-vis the Council and Assembly purely as administrative officers and whose political interventions were confined to important, but nevertheless somewhat shadowy, efforts to mediate between governments outside the actual framework of the organization.

Political Activities of the Secretary-General

It was the knowledge that the League had been unable to prevent the disaster of the Second World War which led the founding fathers to write into the Charter and procedure of the United Nations provisions which might open to the Secretary-General the possibility of participating to some extent in political discussions as the representative of the ideals of international co-operation embodied in the United Nations. In his final statement before the General Assembly, which was made on March 10, Mr. Lie himself drew attention to this fact saying "... I need only recall the Iranian case, the question of the representation of China, my Ten-Point Peace Programme, Korea, and my annual reports on the world situation as evidence of my desire to uphold and strengthen the constitutional position of the office of Secretary-General in this respect. There have also been the innumerable private discussions and negotiations on issues before the United Nations in which I have participated and frequently taken the initiative." The division of the world into two camps, a division which until very recently had steadily hardened, was bound to create exceptional difficulties for the Secretary-General in the exercise of his international responsibilities. Both as a mediator, and as the representative of goals of inter-

national behaviour which were supposed to be those of *all* members of the United Nations, he was confronted by a gulf which at times must have seemed impossible to bridge. In this connexion, it is perhaps worth remarking that the Secretary-General of the League of Nations could more easily have exercised such responsibilities, if he had possessed them, since the international scene was then filled by five or six great powers of more nearly equal strength, and the area of manoeuvre and concession was correspondingly greater.

Korean Action and its Effects

It was, of course, the Korean crisis which brought the difficulties implicit in the Secretary-General's position to a head. Then, for the first time, the Secretary-General explicitly invoked Article 99 of the Charter and brought the fact of North Korean aggression to the attention of the Security Council on June 25, 1950. The Soviet Union had been boycotting the United Nations since January of the same year on the issue of Chinese representation, and in the absence of the Soviet delegate on the Council resistance to the aggression was quickly begun in the name of the United Nations. Since that time, the five members of the communist group of states have been highly critical of Mr. Lie, claiming that the entire United Nations action in Korea, which he supported, was "illegal" and contrary to the Charter, and have refused to recognize the extension of his term of office later agreed upon by the General Assembly. This situation has not materially interfered with the administrative efficiency of the United Nations Secretariat, since the communist states recognized the Secretariat, though not its chief. Politically, however, the position was difficult and Mr. Lie appears to have become increasingly convinced that his incumbency of the post of Secretary-General militated against its full effectiveness in easing world tensions since he himself could no longer hope to have any influence in bringing the communists and the Western world together.

Because of the constitutional provisions governing the choice of the Secretary-

General, this state of affairs led to the difficulties which have only now been resolved. The Charter lays down that the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council, which, in the absence of any provision to the contrary and in the light of a General Assembly resolution adopted on January 24, 1946, requires the concurring votes of the five permanent members. In these circumstances, the Soviet Union was able later in 1950 to block the attempts of the Security Council to recommend a further five-year term for Mr. Lie and, as we have seen, the General Assembly finally decided to extend his first term to February 1, 1954. When, therefore, the Secretary-General on November 10, 1952, announced his intention of resigning in the hope that "... a new Secretary-General, who is the unanimous choice of the Five Great Powers, the Security Council and the General Assembly, may be more helpful than I can be", it was difficult to see how such a candidate could be found.

Discussions at the Seventh Session

When the Security Council held the first of its meetings on this subject on March 13, there was as yet no real indication whether any of the candidates informally suggested would be able to secure the support of all five permanent members. It eventually — but only after a surprisingly long time — became clear that the Soviet Union would blackball any candidate associated with the North Atlantic Treaty or a national of any country which had co-operated in the military opposition to North Korean aggression. This decisively ruled out Mr. L. B. Pearson of Canada, who was President of the North Atlantic Council during the year 1952 and who was voted on at the Security Council's first meeting on March 13. Though the meeting was a closed one, it is clear from statements made to the press that the Soviet Union exercised its veto against Mr. Pearson. The two other candidates, Brigadier General Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines and Mr. Stanislas Skrzesezewski of Poland, failed to secure a majority, the latter receiving

only one favourable vote. The five permanent members, at a private meeting, produced a list of nine names. On March 19 one of these, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit of India, was voted upon at the motion of the U.S.S.R. but was rejected by two in favour, one against and eight abstentions. No additional names were formally suggested and no votes taken until the representative of France advanced the name of Mr. Hammarskjöld. At a meeting of the permanent members on March 31, the Soviet representative stated that he would not oppose the recommendation of Mr. Hammarskjöld and the Security Council met the same day to adopt this nomination by a vote of ten in favour and one abstention. The nomination of Mr. Hammarskjöld came as an unexpected development at a stage when many of those who had been following the proceedings closely thought that agreement on a candidate was highly improbable and that it might be necessary to ask Mr. Lie to remain in office for some further time. On April 7 the General Assembly in plenary session adopted a Canadian resolution providing that the new Secretary-General's terms of appointment should be the same as those of his predecessor and by a secret ballot of fifty-seven in favour, one against and one abstention, accepted the recommendation of the Security Council.

The New Secretary-General

Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld is widely known in Europe for his activities as an economist and in the field of banking and public finance. He was at one time Chairman of the Board in the National Bank of Sweden, has taken an active role in the Organization for European Economic Co-operation and was Vice-Chairman of the Organization in 1948 and 1949. When this new post was offered to him, he was a Minister without portfolio in the Swedish Government with special responsibility for economic foreign relations. He was present at the session of the General Assembly in 1951 as Vice-Chairman of the Swedish Delegation and in 1952 as Chairman.

At the formal ceremony of installation on April 10, the new Secretary-General made a brief statement in which he said:

I am here to serve you all. In so doing I shall count on your understanding, on your advice and on your will to give to what I have to say the attention it may deserve. I am animated by a desire to meet all problems with an open mind. It is for you to judge how I succeed. It is for you to correct me if I fail.

With these words, Mr. Hammarskjöld has dedicated himself to a task of incalculable importance, and one which we can perhaps hope may be carried out under less difficult conditions than heretofore.

Disarmament and the United Nations*

On April 8 last the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted, by a vote of 52 (including Canada) to 5 (Soviet bloc) with 3 abstentions, a resolution on disarmament requesting the Disarmament Commission to continue its work with a view to formulating a comprehensive plan for (a) the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and armaments; (b) the elimination and prohibition of all major weapons, including bacteriological, adaptable to mass destruction; and (c) the effective international control of atomic energy to insure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only. The Commission is called upon to report to

the General Assembly and to the Security Council not later than September 1, 1953.

This decision of the Assembly constitutes the last of a series of steps taken by the United Nations on the question of disarmament which it may be useful to summarize briefly at this stage.

The first step of the United Nations was the creation of an Atomic Energy Commission by the General Assembly on January 24, 1946 at its first session in London. A Commission for Conventional Armaments was established by the Security Council on February 13, 1947. These two Commissions met separately at irregular intervals until 1952, when the present Disarmament Commission was established.

* See also p. 177.

Atomic Energy Commission

The resolution establishing the Atomic Energy Commission, consisting of the eleven members of the Security Council and Canada when not a member thereof, provided that it should submit to the Security Council specific proposals: (a) for extending between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends; (b) for control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes; (c) for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; (d) for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying States against the hazards of violations and evasions.

Commission Reports

The Commission submitted three reports to the Security Council. The first report, dated December 30, 1946, contained general findings and recommendations indicating *inter alia* that the control of atomic energy was practicable from the scientific and technical point of view and pointing out that the problems raised by the discovery of atomic energy "are not essentially matters of domestic concern of the individual nations, but rather have predominantly international implications and repercussions". The report underlined that effective control of atomic energy could only take place at the supra-national level as a result of an international agreement providing for a universal system of control and inspection applying to all states without exception, and with regard to which the right of veto of the permanent members of the Security Council would not apply.

The second report of the Commission, dated September 11, 1947, reiterated the need for an international system of inspection and contained specific proposals providing, among other things, for the ownership by an international authority of all uranium and thorium extracted from the territories of all nations and also for the ownership and control of all atomic energy activities in the world. These proposals also included a system of inspection by the international authority to prevent or detect clandestine activities.

Consideration by Security Council

When the first report of the Commission was considered by the Security Council, the Soviet Union had suggested the elimination of the Commission's recommendation that the permanent members of the Security Council should relinquish their right of veto in matters pertaining to the international control of atomic energy. It became evident during the discussion of the proposals contained in the second report of the Commission that, while advocating the immediate outlawing of atomic weapons and the destruction of all atomic bombs within a three-months period, the U.S.S.R. was not ready to accept the measures of international control and inspection which, in the eyes of the majority of members, were considered essential for the effective control of atomic energy by the international community. Thus the Soviet Union insisted that the international authority should be subject to the jurisdiction of the Security Council where permanent members could use their right of veto. There was moreover no indication that the U.S.S.R. was ready to accept a system of continuous inspection. This divergence of views led the Commission to a deadlock which was the subject of a third report submitted on May 17, 1948.

Action by the Assembly

The general findings and recommendations of the Commission's first report together with the specific proposals contained in its second report were not approved by the Security Council in spite of their receiving 9 affirmative votes as against 2 negative, in view of the fact that the U.S.S.R. exercised its right of veto. The three reports were nevertheless sent to the General Assembly which approved the recommendations and proposals of the Commission (now referred to as the United Nations Plan for the International Control of Atomic Energy) on November 4, 1948 by a vote of 40 (including Canada) to 6 with 4 abstentions. The Assembly at the same time expressed its concern at the impasse reached in the Commission and requested its six permanent members (the five permanent members of the Security Council

and Canada) to meet together in order to determine if there existed a basis for agreement on the international control of atomic energy. Although these consultations failed to produce any positive results, on November 23, 1949 the General Assembly nevertheless asked the permanent members to continue their discussions and called upon all nations to do everything in their power to make possible, by the acceptance of effective international control, the prohibition and elimination of atomic weapons.

The permanent members' consultations were resumed in December, 1949. They ended abruptly in January 1950, when the representative of the Soviet Union walked out as a result of the Commission's refusal to exclude the representative of China from its deliberations.

Commission for Conventional Armaments

When the Security Council established a Commission for Conventional Armaments as previously indicated, it acted upon the recommendations contained in the General Assembly resolution on disarmament of December 14, 1946. This resolution recommended that the Security Council take prompt action with a view to formulating practical measures for the general regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces. The resolution recognized that the establishment of an international system of control and inspection was essential to any disarmament plan in order to protect states complying with the plan against possible violations and evasions. The Assembly consequently urged the establishment of an international system of inspection. In a second resolution adopted the same day, the General Assembly called upon the Security Council to determine the information which governments should be asked to furnish in order to permit the implementation of disarmament proposals.

Principles of Work

On October 12, 1948, the Commission, composed of the eleven members of the Security Council, set out the following general principles which should govern the regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces:

- (1) A system for the regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces should embrace all States, though it may be initiated with the adherence of all States having substantial military resources;
- (2) To put such a system into effect there must be international confidence and security, but the regulation and reduction of armaments and the existence of confidence are reciprocal;
- (3) The conditions essential to international confidence and security include an adequate system of agreements under Article 43 of the Charter, an effective control of atomic energy and the conclusion of peace settlements with Germany and Japan;
- (4) To conform with Article 26 of the Charter, armaments and armed forces under such a system must be limited to those consistent with and indispensable to the maintenance of international peace and security and must not exceed those necessary for the implementation of Members' obligations and the protection of their rights under the Charter;
- (5) To ensure observance, such a system must include adequate safeguards, including an agreed system of international supervision;
- (6) Provision must be made for effective enforcement in the event of violation.

Three-Point Proposal by U.S.S.R.

During the third session of the General Assembly in the fall of 1948, the U.S.S.R. submitted a three-point proposal recommending as a first step towards disarmament, (a) the reduction by one-third during one year of the armaments and armed forces of the permanent members of the Security Council; (b) the prohibition of atomic weapons; and (c) the establishment within the framework of the Security Council of an international control body for the purpose of the supervision of the implementation of the measures for the reduction of armaments and armed forces, and for the prohibition of atomic weapons.

The arbitrary reduction of armed forces and armaments by one-third was not acceptable to the Western powers whose

armaments and armed forces had been considerably reduced after the hostilities. In spite of increases in Western military expenditures since then, it was clear in the eyes of the Western powers that the application of the arithmetical formula suggested by the Soviet Union would leave that country in a position of unwarranted advantage in relation to other powers.

With regard to the establishment of an international control body, the majority of member countries of the United Nations considered that the implementation of this measure, on which there was universal agreement, required that all states without exception accept its implications in full. There was no indication yet that the Soviet Union had accepted these implications and in particular the relinquishment of the right of veto by the permanent members of the Security Council.

The Soviet Union proposals were decisively rejected by the General Assembly, which on November 19, 1948, adopted a resolution recommending that the Security Council pursue its work. This resolution underlined that disarmament could only take place in an atmosphere of international confidence and suggested that the Commission devote its first attention to the formulation of proposals "for the receipt, checking and publication, by an international organ of control of full information to be supplied by member states with regard to their effectives and their conventional armaments". This proposal was adopted by a vote of 43 (including Canada) to 6 and 1 abstention.

Census of Arms

On August 1, 1949, the Commission approved detailed proposals for the census and verification of the armed forces and conventional armaments of member states of the United Nations. The Assembly resolution had suggested that such a census should apply to conventional armaments only. Since the original terms of reference of the Conventional Armaments Commission indicated that matters coming within the competence of the Atomic Energy Commission would be excluded from its jurisdiction, the plan did not cover information concerning

atomic weapons. As a result of this, the U.S.S.R. and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic were opposed to it.

On October 18, the Commission's plan was submitted to the Security Council for approval. The Council's vote was 8 in favour, 2 against and 1 abstention. However, the plan could not be considered as having been approved since one of its permanent members (the U.S.S.R.) had cast a negative vote. A Soviet Union proposal that the Assembly should recognize as essential the submission of information on both conventional armaments and atomic weapons was rejected by a vote of 6 in favour, 39 against and 9 abstentions. The Commission's plan for the submission of information on conventional armaments and armed forces was finally approved by the Assembly on December 5, 1949 by a vote of 45 (including Canada) in favour, 5 against and 5 abstentions. The Assembly recommended at the same time that the Security Council and the Commission for Conventional Armaments continue their work in spite of the lack of unanimity among the permanent members. When the Commission re-convened in the early part of 1950, the representative of the Soviet Union refused to participate further in its work following the Commission's refusal to exclude the Chinese representative from its deliberations.

Disarmament Commission Established

Many of the proposals put forward by the Soviet Union in the Commission for Conventional Armaments as well as in the Atomic Energy Commission dealt concurrently with atomic and conventional weapons and the suggestion was repeatedly made that atomic energy and conventional armaments were but one aspect of the general problem of disarmament and should therefore be given joint consideration. On October 24, 1950, the President of the United States expressed his agreement with this suggestion in an address to the General Assembly and on December 13 the Assembly appointed a Committee of Twelve, composed of the members of the Security Council and Canada, which would examine the problem of co-ordinating the work of the two

commissions and of merging their functions within a single commission. In its report to the sixth session of the Assembly, the Committee of Twelve recommended that a new commission be established and that the commissions already in existence be dissolved. On January 11, 1952, the Assembly established a new Disarmament Commission (the 11 members of the Security Council and Canada when not a member thereof). At the same time, it dissolved the Atomic Energy Commission and recommended that the Security Council dissolve the Conventional Armaments Commission. This the Security Council did on January 30, 1952.

Principles of Work

The Disarmament Commission was asked by the General Assembly to prepare proposals to be embodied in a universal agreement which would provide for the regulation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments including atomic weapons, for the prohibition of all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction and for effective control of atomic energy.

The Assembly decided the Commission should be guided in its work by the following principles:

- (a) In a system of guaranteed disarmament there must be progressive disclosure and verification on a continuing basis of all armed forces — including para-military, security and police forces — and all armaments including atomic;
- (b) Such verification must be based on effective international inspection to ensure the adequacy and accuracy of the information disclosed; this inspection to be carried out in accordance with the decisions of the international control organ (or organs) to be established;
- (c) The Commission shall be ready to consider any proposals or plans for control that may be put forward involving either conventional armaments or atomic energy. Unless a better or no less effective system is devised, the United Nations plan for the international control of atomic energy and the prohibition of atomic weapons should continue

to serve as the basis for the international control of atomic energy to ensure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only;

- (d) There must be an adequate system of safeguards to ensure observance of the disarmament programme, so as to provide for the prompt detection of violations while at the same time causing the minimum degree of interference in the internal life of each country.

By taking these important decisions the Assembly was implementing proposals which had been submitted jointly by the United States, the United Kingdom and France. The vote was 44 in favour (including Canada) 5 against (Soviet bloc) and 10 abstentions.

Counter-Proposals by the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet Union submitted counter-proposals recommending (a) that the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons be proclaimed and strict international control come into effect simultaneously; (b) that the five major powers should reduce their armed strength by one-third in one year; (c) that, within a month of the Assembly's decision to prohibit atomic weapons and reduce the armed strength of the major powers, all states should furnish complete information on their armed forces, including data on atomic weapons and on military bases abroad; (d) that an international control organ should be established within the framework of the Security Council to implement these decisions; and (e) that a world conference to consider these arrangements should be called not later than June 1, 1952.

On January 19, 1952, the Assembly decided that these proposals be referred to the Disarmament Commission.

The Commission held twenty-six meetings between February and October 1952.

United States and Tripartite Proposals

On April 5, the United States submitted a working paper containing "Proposals for Progressive and Continuing Disclosure and Verification of Armed Forces and Armaments".

On April 24, the United States submitted a proposal entitled "Essential Principles for a Disarmament Programme".

On May 28, France, the United Kingdom and the United States submitted a working paper setting forth "Proposals for Fixing Numerical Limitation of all Armed Forces". A supplement to this tripartite paper was submitted on August 12.

It is not practicable within the limits of this article to describe the contents of these proposals, most of which are detailed. Perhaps the most significant was the tripartite proposal for the numerical limitation of armed forces. The three powers suggested a "working formula" which set numerical ceilings of 1 million to 1.5 million for China, the United States and the U.S.S.R. and 700,000 to 800,000 for France and the United Kingdom. The ceiling suggested for other states having substantial armed forces was one per cent of the population, "except in very special circumstances".

The various proposals put forward by the Western powers were rejected by the Soviet representative, who insisted on the adoption of the Soviet proposals which, as previously indicated the Assembly had submitted to the Commission. This the Western powers were not prepared to consider pending a clarification of these proposals, which the Soviet representative failed to furnish. Moreover, the Western powers had yet to be satisfied that the Soviet Union was ready to effect the surrender of sovereignty which is a condition of effective international control of all armaments and armed forces.

The Commission submitted a progress report on May 28 and a final report on October 13. Neither of these reports contained any recommendations or conclusions, the deliberations of the Commission having so far failed to bring about a reconciliation of the views held by the Western powers and the Soviet Union on the subject of disarmament.



—United Nations

THE CANADIAN GIFT OF DOORS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The Canadian gift of seven nickel-silver doors was formally accepted on behalf of the United Nations by the Secretary-General Trygve Lie on March 27. In making the presentation, the Secretary of State for External Affairs spoke of the thousands of people who, by going through these doors, show their interest in the work of the United Nations and he expressed the hope that in future they would have a better international life, "one in which tolerance, justice and peace will prevail everywhere." Seen in the picture from left to right are Mr. Trygve Lie, Mr. L. B. Pearson, Mr. T. N. Beaupré, Assistant Deputy Minister of Defence Production and Mr. David Johnson, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations.

NATIONAL FREEDOM AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

Text of the Jonathan Peterson Lecture, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered at Town Hall, New York, April 15, 1953.

It is a privilege for me to be asked — as a Canadian — to give the Jonathan Peterson lecture at Town Hall. This lecture series, which has included, in previous years, so many distinguished speakers, commemorates a great citizen of New York who, for his success in life, drew upon a rich heritage of character and achievement which reached far into the past and linked him with a long and distinguished record in public life of his forbears.

Purpose of Lecture

The lecture each year is devoted, in the terms of its endowment, to the promotion of a better understanding among the English-speaking peoples and to the advancement of those principles upon which modern English-speaking civilization rests — namely, respect for human personality, justice for all with individual freedom under law. These are principles of which we should keep reminding ourselves these days when there are so many pressures and persons that would deny them.

These are worthy aims, close to the hearts of English-speaking and, indeed, of all free peoples. You will know, of course, that, in the neighbouring country from which I come, English is only one of our two official languages, and that in the General Assembly of the United Nations, over which I have been presiding, we have five official languages, to say nothing of the other languages spoken in the sixty countries which make up our membership. Today, therefore, I will interpret "English-speaking" in a liberal sense!

Language, after all, is only a rough guide to mutual understanding. At times a common language may even be a contributor to misunderstanding by making it too easy to read the less desirable headlines that are written or to listen to the less complimentary things that are said.

In a talk which I gave at this same Town Hall some weeks ago, I spoke of the friendly partnership which existed between Canada and the United States, and I said:

"In some parts of the world where smaller countries lie next to more powerful neighbours, the dominant keynote is fear and subordination. In North America, it is friendship and confidence, founded on a free and fruitful association. Proximity arising from the facts of politics and geography can often breed mistrust. In the case of our two peoples, it has bred deep and mutual respect. Proximity does not for us mean the imposed leadership of the master or the enforced obedience of the reluctant satellite. It means partnership, based on consultation and co-operation, and it includes the right to agree — or to disagree.

"This tradition of the good neighbour derives not merely from the fact that we are the joint occupants of a continent en-

dowed with great material resources and developed by the industry and spirit of Americans and Canadians. Nor is it due only to the fact that we know — and act on the knowledge — that our defence recognizes no national boundaries; that it lies in collective measures shared with our neighbours and our friends, and in the pledges we have made — and which we are honouring — as members of the United Nations.

"The sources of our good neighbourhood lie deeper. They are found in the faith which illuminates our search for the security and the welfare of our own peoples, and of others as well; in respect for freedom, and for the rights and dignity of individual men and women."

Unity of Free World

This problem of deepening and strengthening understanding among the English-speaking peoples, of which Jonathan Peterson was so deeply conscious, is part and parcel of the wider problem of strengthening the unity of the whole free world, which includes more than the Atlantic world, or even the Western. Hence Canadian-American relations or those between the English-speaking countries do not exist, and could not exist, in a vacuum. In addition to the general responsibility of inter-dependence, each of our countries has specific ties and obligations which extend across the earth's surface.

Canada, for instance, is a member of a world-wide and multi-racial Commonwealth of Nations. As such, she is linked to the peoples of other continents, not by constitutional instruments or legal forms, but by sentiment, long association and a common love of freedom and free institutions.

The United States, in its turn, has assumed global responsibilities matching its material and moral strength, and is the leader of a powerful defence coalition on whom the free world counts heavily now, as it will in years to come. We are both associated with other countries for many purposes, and not least for the common defence. And we are pledged by our membership in the United Nations to strengthen the fabric of international co-operation, and to fulfil our obligations as members of the world community.

This wider co-operation, however, need not prevent or prejudice a closer and more intimate association between the members of smaller groups where the natural conditions for such closer association exists. Indeed it may have the opposite effect, for it has been frequently the case in history that men confronted with a particular problem have found it to be soluble only in the context of far-reaching and imaginative solutions on a larger scale than the original problem which faced them. It may therefore be found that the strengthening of the special bonds be-

tween the English-speaking peoples — or between the NATO members — will be assisted rather than hindered by our common endeavours to face constructively the greater issue of co-operation between *all* free peoples; of every race and culture and creed.

This broader co-operation and growing unity must now rest on the unqualified acceptance of and ultimate realization of national freedom and self-government. There is no other alternative. It is because of the necessity for accepting this as a prerequisite to good international relations that I have called my lecture this morning "National Freedom and International Co-operation".

I do not know of any more important problem than that of bringing together in a constructive relationship these two political concepts, unless it be that of the reconciliation of personal liberty and national security in the modern state.

"National Freedom and International Co-operation" is a subject in which a Canadian may be expected to have a special interest and on which, because of the history and experience of his country, he may even have some special claim to speak.

Independence by Evolution

Canada is a country which has gained its national independence by evolution from colonial status, rather than revolution against it. This is, of course, not the most exciting method of nation-building; by conference, rather than by convulsion; by the signing of papers, rather than the flashing of sabres. It has, however, been completely effective with us, though its result in the Canada of today is not yet fully realized in all other countries; even in the United States, where we are still supposed, in certain quarters, to be some kind of advanced British colony.

The fact that Canada sealed its nationhood by fighting with, rather than against, British soldiers, and for the cause of human freedom, which transcends national boundaries or national rights, is one reason, I suppose, why so many people in the United States still think that we are governed by Downing Street and that great man, Mr. Winston Churchill.

It might conceivably be a good thing, if we did not have so many other more important preoccupations, to arrange a sham battle with some British Red Coats, suitably televised over every American network, to prove beyond any possibility of doubt in the Deep South or the Middle West, that Canada is indeed now a fully self-governing state, as independent as any state has the right to be in this interdependent age. But, as I have said, we have more important things to do; and furthermore, if this sham battle were to have the desired effect, the British soldiers would have to agree to be defeated and capitulate to the Canadians. Then we would be faced with the problem of the voluntary repatriation of the prisoners back to the United Kingdom. Canada is such a happy and fortunate land in which to live!

The nature of and the experience gained

from Canada's national development, and the circumstances under which it took place, have taught us two things, at least.

One, the inevitability, and the permanence, of gradualness.

Two, an awareness that national freedom is not enough; that independence and interdependence are inseparable.

As to the first—"gradualness" is not now a popular principle in political evolution or, indeed, in any other manifestation of modern life. A wave of impatient and insurgent nationalism, especially throughout the Asian and African world, has resulted in the emergence, in some cases the very sudden emergence, of new independent states. This has created unrest and confusion in some areas; and, indeed, has prompted some premature and unrealistic decisions in those international agencies, especially the United Nations, where national feeling now has a powerful platform on which to express itself. In the name of the sacred principle of independence, the United Nations, for instance, has decided that a former colony like Italian Somaliland, weak and poor and primitive, is to be given in seven years the privilege and the responsibility of governing itself as a sovereign state. It may prove to be unequal to the responsibility, in which case the ultimate result would be a set-back for national freedom itself.

This national urge cannot be stopped, nor should it be, though it might usefully be guided and its pace controlled in some cases. Perhaps, however, it is right, as it is probably inevitable, that nationalism must find its expression in political freedom before its limitations are realized, and its relationship to international co-operation fully understood.

This is, I think, more easily appreciated in a country like Canada which has developed slowly towards freedom without losing its political and sentimental contacts with the older lands which had once directed and assisted its growth and gave that growth depth and stability.

Isolation Impossible

The other lesson we have learned from our own history is that independence is not enough and that isolation from international developments is impossible. If our history has taught us this, geography and the emergence of our North American neighbour, the United States, as the greatest of the world powers has driven home this lesson. It may have been possible for the United States to be isolationist in the XIXth century. It is *not* possible for a neighbour of the United States, in the last half of the XXth.

No country in the world, in fact, through the inescapable facts of history, geopolitics and economics, has less chance of an isolated national existence than Canada. No country, therefore, has more cause to be concerned with her relations with other countries.

Today, we in Canada and you in the United States find ourselves in a world in which narrow nationalism — an insistence on the full recognition of every aspect of national

sovereignty — could spell disaster. It would certainly make international co-operation, if not impossible, at least unrewarding and sterile. The value of such co-operation, for instance, in deterring aggression or defeating it if it occurred, would be greatly reduced if insistence on the formal and legal equality between states were pushed to the point where it prevented any delegation of authority, which might be required to make collective action effective. On the other hand, co-operation which means that the weaker members of a coalition of free states must automatically accept all the decisions of the leader or of any smaller body, without adequate consultation, is not reconcilable with national freedom and is inadmissible.

Soviet Communism has its own solution to this problem, its own simple blueprint for unity. The design is found in the rigidity of Communist orthodoxy, and the strict obedience of Communist satellite states and Communist satellite individuals to the Kremlin. Within the Soviet state there is a unity superimposed from the top through party discipline; in the Soviet borderlands there is a unity through the subservience of the "people's democracies" to Moscow.

According to Lenin's interpretation of Marx — an interpretation taught as gospel to millions of young Communists — our Western civilization has reached its inexorable climax and is bound to achieve self-destruction in a succession of internal capitalist crises and wars. The only escape route is through proletarian revolution. After its violent triumph, world unity will be achieved in the form of a global union of Communist states.

The nations of the non-Communist world, however, demand other terms than these on which international co-operation and unity can be achieved. They reject this blueprint which provides only for the loss of their freedom and their absorption in a swollen and monolithic empire.

No Single Formula

In seeking their own form of unity, the nations of the free world are not, however, wedded to any single formula. Their outlook is based on the principle that there is not a simple and single answer to every question, that all human solutions are fallible, and that the right answers can often only be found through practical experience.

The United Nations action in Korea is one such experience in the field of international collaboration. It also illustrates the complexity and the difficulty of such collaboration when it expresses itself in collective military and political action, and not merely in words.

The problem as we have faced it in Korea, however, is to some extent modified by the fact that, because of the exigencies of military operations, the full consultation and participation in decisions which would be essential in an international association for non-belligerent purposes is not in all cases demanded.

The action against aggression in Korea is in theory and in principle United Nations

action. But that theory is substantially modified by fact. To begin with, the Soviet Communist group in the United Nations have from the beginning opposed this United Nations resistance to aggression and have actively assisted the aggressor. Then of those member states that have accepted the United Nations resolutions establishing the aggression, only a minority of 16 have participated in collective military action — and that participation has varied from a few hundred soldiers to the great military, naval and air effort made by the United States.

The Government of the United States — designated as the Unified Command by the Security Council and representing the country which has made by far the largest military contribution — apart from the soldiers of the Republic of Korea — has, in fact, and because of these special circumstances, directed and controlled operations in Korea. Yet it is impossible to control military operations in modern war without making decisions that are political in their result.

Truce Negotiations

Today, for instance, the truce negotiators in Panmunjon on the United Nations side are American, and their day-to-day instructions — which, at times, must have more than military implications — come from Washington. To take just one illustration, no representative from a nation of the British Commonwealth which has supplied troops, ships and aircraft, sits in on these discussions and no report of them can be made to any United Nations member participating in the Korean conflict, except through Washington.

I do not criticize these arrangements in the circumstances that exist and I think it would be unwise now to change the pattern that has been established. I also have good reason to know that a great deal of information is regularly given on Korean developments by the United States authorities to the representatives in Washington of those United Nations members who have forces in Korea. Nevertheless, from the point of view of international co-operation, this is obviously not the best way to carry on a genuinely collective operation by a group of freely associated states. If the reply is made that a greater military contribution by more of those states would have brought about more genuine collective control and supervision of the Korean by the United Nations, I can only express some doubt whether this, in fact, would have occurred; at least in a way to satisfy all the states directly concerned.

I recall, for instance, that in World War II my own country had a million men and women in the armed services, and made a significant contribution to the common victory. Yet it was not a member of the Allied Combined Chiefs of Staff who dictated the strategy of the war, nor did it participate directly in the big political discussions which laid down the basis for that strategy.

We did not complain about this, because when national survival is at stake, efficient

and centralized control of operations and policy is far more important than matters of prestige or equality.

But what is accepted in a war of survival may not be as acceptable in a United Nations collective police action or in the work of a coalition to prevent war such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In these less critical situations, such things as national autonomy and prestige, the desirability of consultation with all before a decision is taken by one, become an essential element of international co-operation. This is inevitable as long as such co-operation is between free states which are, in theory, equal, however much they may vary in power and responsibility.

Let us again use the present situation in Korea as an illustration.

The American military negotiators at Panmunjom (who have shown so much wisdom and patience in the past) will decide on instructions from their Government, and within the limits of the resolutions passed by the United Nations, what can be included in any armistice agreement to make it acceptable. They presumably will also decide whether new proposals put forward by the Communists on the prisoner-of-war question are worthy of discussion at all and whether they are in conformity with United Nations principles and resolutions. But such decisions far transcend military factors, as do the consequences of any armistice agreement which may be reached. If and when the present draft armistice agreement goes into effect, important political consequences would immediately begin to operate. For instance, the present draft provides for a political conference within 90 days of the end of fighting. For what purposes, and by whom — on the United Nations side? The draft is vague about all this, and possibly wisely so; but if and when that vagueness has to be clarified, presumably in the United Nations Assembly, we will be face to face again with difficulties of reconciling national and international considerations.

Economic Aspect

So far I have been dealing with the strictly political aspects of international co-operation between free and sovereign states. There is, however, an economic aspect of this question where the reconciliation of independence and inter-dependence provides almost equally formidable difficulties. Theoretically, every free country has control of its own economic and commercial policies. Practically, the complete exercise of that control without reference to the interests of other states is difficult, even for larger countries; and quite impossible for smaller. In Canada we have had to realize that, in this sphere also, national freedom has to be qualified by the necessities of international co-operation. Those necessities quite effectively limit in practice our theoretically unlimited sovereignty. If we tried to act without reference to the position of others, we would soon discover that the national in-

terest would be hurt rather than helped by the action we had taken.

Need for Economic and Political Co-operation

It is, I suppose, not so easy for a country like the United States, with its tremendous economic power and its varied resources, with its high standard of living, and its enormous domestic market, to make the same discovery. Yet it is essential for the United States to draw the right international conclusions from her dominating economic and creditor position in the world. If the wrong ones are drawn, the free world coalition is unlikely to survive in any really effective way. International co-operation in the political field and international conflict in the economic field are not reconcilable. NATO agreement, for instance, on collective military policies can hardly be carried out if there is disagreement on commercial and economic policies.

To take a concrete illustration: how can we expect Denmark, for instance, to accept pressure to increase its NATO defence expenditures, if pressure is also successfully exerted at the same time by groups in the United States to exclude Denmark's dairy products, on which she depends so much for that economic stability, which is the basis of her defence effort?

I could give another example nearer home. Canada is being urged, and quite rightly, by her colleagues in the North Atlantic coalition, including the United States, to develop defence industries and defence production. We are short of the electric power which is essential for this development, and yet are unable to secure a decision in Washington which would make new development of such power from the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River possible.

There is a third and final aspect of this problem of international co-operation which I can merely mention — namely, the impossibility of divorcing it from the social and political ideals of the co-operating states. Co-operation is, of course, possible between states which have different forms of government. Indeed, such differences are not particularly important. What is important is that the governments and peoples concerned accept and apply the same basic principles of social and political belief and organization; that they uphold the fundamental freedoms of speech, of worship, of opinion; practice tolerance and the rule of law; support the dignity and worth of the individual and his right to immunity from persecution for holding unpopular views and for heresy.

It is difficult for co-operation to be deep and genuine between states and peoples which have not the same approach and the same devotion to these fundamental principles. It is true that in a crisis or emergency, fear of a common foe, or of a common danger can join people in a co-operative effort for their own salvation who normally would not be able or willing to work closely together. But that is an ephemeral bond of unity.

It is also true that we have this common

danger now. As a result, fear has brought together states in a way, to an extent, and in a period of time which would not have been possible in more normal conditions. Fear, in fact, was one of the chief ingredients which brought about the formation of the North Atlantic association on its present broad basis of membership. Something more than fear will have to keep it going.

Fear and crisis, then, provide no permanent or solid foundation for international co-operation or for the development of sound international organization. We must have something stronger and more enduring than that. That is why in NATO we are trying to build up an association which is better and deeper than a military alliance; one which will survive the crisis which, in the first instance, may have brought it into existence.

This association is now being subjected to new strains which may well determine its strength and its permanence. In the first four years of its existence it has stood the test of threat, bluster and direct political assault. It is now, apparently, to be subjected to the test of peaceful blandishment and disarming gestures.

The purpose in both cases may well be the same; to weaken the strength and unity of a group of free states, whose determination to come together and pool their growing strength for collective defence is, at the present time, the strongest obstacle to aggressive Communist imperialism.

More Than a Military Association Needed

This co-operation, however, I repeat, must express itself in some more enduring form than a military association of sovereign states. If such a development is impracticable now on a broad international basis, then the way should be shown, and a good example given, by strengthening further the ties which have already drawn together the English-speaking members of the free world; ties of sentiment, history, geography and national self-interest.

However it may be done, on a broader or on a narrower basis — slowly and gradually through the evolution of events, or more speedily under the spur of fear and insecurity, the trend is towards closer co-operation and greater unity, especially between those states, such as the English-speaking ones, where the conditions already exist that make such a development natural and practicable.

The physical basis for such greater unity already exists, the political compulsion for it grows, the necessity for it on grounds of security and stability becomes more and more apparent. The facts of modern national life combine to minimize national boundaries and make unrealistic and out of date many of the ordinary manifestations of national sovereignty.

Professor Toynbee has recently shown us how the revolution in technology and communications has operated to "shrink the geography of the globe". The former English Channel, he writes, which was still an effective strategic obstacle as recently as 1940, has

now become almost as invisible as the jet plane that now streaks across it at 40,000 feet and at 600 miles per hour. The British Isles have been reduced to the former dimensions, and have been parked in the former location of what used to be called the Channel Islands. North America has now succeeded Britain as an island moored between two oceans. The Atlantic Ocean is now the Channel, and the West is now surrounded by the world.

It is as futile, and as dangerous, to ignore the effect of these changes on international political developments as it was for Canute to try to hold back the tides.

Will this inevitable development towards closer unity among the English-speaking and other free states be postponed by the removal of that fear of aggression from Soviet imperialism which, as I have said, has been one of its main incentives?

We do not know because we do not know whether anything has happened to make the danger more remote or the fear less menacing. Time alone will tell us whether any real change in Soviet policy has occurred or is likely to occur. The countries of the free world cannot, however, sit back and wait for time to bring its answers, in the hope that the answers will be happy ones. We must consider what our own policy should be, after the best analysis we can make of the circumstances we face. We must meet new situations as they develop, without being unduly elated or unduly excited by phenomena which should be interpreted as representing only a shift in tactics, designed to achieve the same old objectives in a new way; until results in action prove to us that there has been a real change in the direction of strategy and policy.

Need for Unity Still Exists

We should, I think, be unwise to alter our own policy of strengthening co-operation between countries of the free world on the likelihood that the members of the international Communist conspiracy will, in the near future, enter whole-heartedly into the peaceful and friendly family of nations. It would be folly to think that it would be safe now or in the months ahead to abandon or weaken the collective defensive arrangements which have been necessitated by the common danger we face.

It would, of course, be equally foolish not to seize any and every real chance to relax the tension that has existed since the last war, however slight and however temporary that relaxation might be. But we should never relax our vigilance. The Russians are very fond of that word "vigilance". It is a good word for us too.

We should be firm, then, and we should be vigilant. We should not be provocative and we should not be gullible. We should be ready to welcome changes for the better, and to meet genuine initiatives for peace in the future, as we have always done in the past, half way. But above all, we should not abandon our efforts to build up our defence —

military, economic and moral; or be lured away by some mirage from the policy of strengthening the co-operation and increasing the unity of the nations of the free world.

In this way we will not bring peace or security overnight; or the one co-operating

free world of which we dream. But we shall at least have helped to create a situation of political confidence and physical strength; a basis on which the settlement of issues which now so tragically divide the world may one day become possible.

DISARMAMENT

Statement by the Permanent Representative of Canada to the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. David M. Johnson, made in the First Committee, March 20, 1953.

For those of us — and I am sure they include the great majority — who still hold to the conviction that the primary role of our organization is to conciliate differences between nations, it is distressing to see how often and how easily the undertow of the cold war pulls our debates down to the propagandist level.

Under this item we are not attempting to “prove” anything. We are not attempting to score points off those delegations which disagree with us. We are simply considering the very objective and factual report of a Commission which has not been able to do what it was asked to do at the last Session of the Assembly. We naturally have drawn our own conclusions, as I shall explain later, as to why the Disarmament Commission was not able to do more. But as we wish the Disarmament Commission to continue the process of negotiation, no matter how frustrating the task and how unpropitious the climate, I see no point at this stage in asking those delegations which have not taken part in this difficult process in the Commission to approve or disapprove by means of a formal resolution the proposals which one side or the other has so far presented. That explains why the resolution my delegation is co-sponsoring is couched in rather general terms.

The very nature of the problem of disarmament gives each of the great powers a more effective veto than they possess in the Security Council. Although there is no rule specifying that the great powers possess a veto in the Disarmament Commission, it is obvious that, unless all the powers are agreed, no disarmament can take place. We have already — and to our cost — made two experiments in unilateral disarmament, and it would be flying in the face of history and experience to try it again. If there is not general disarmament including all the great powers, there will be no disarmament. There must be general agreement as to how disarmament can take place so that it will be effective without imposing greater risks on one side than on the other at any given time during the process of disarmament. That is to say, there must be no disequilibrium which might be dangerous to world peace during the process of disarmament. Disarmament must be not only general; it must be balanced.

Even to begin that process, however, seems to require a far greater degree of confidence than exists at the present time between the

powers. While the Korean fighting continues, it is difficult to see how any system of disarmament, no matter how perfect on paper, could be put into effect. The armaments race — for that is obviously what it is — therefore continues, and with fighting actually going on in Korea there is always the appalling risk that a general conflagration might begin. The peace we have today is not the peace to which we pledged ourselves in the Charter — the peace of mutual co-operation and trust — but a peace based on fear.

Canadian Objective

As the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, has said, our objective and the objective of those nations with whom we are most closely associated is “to prevent a third world war, not to win one”. We have already given our views during the debate on collective measures on the subject of collective security. The resources which the Canadian Government and people have reluctantly decided must be devoted to increasing our military strength are a sacrifice on our part to the cause of peace and freedom. Earnestly as our people desire disarmament, we realized that we should have to give up living in the illusion that we could negotiate from weakness and see what we could do in the future through negotiations from strength. Our logic may not appeal to the Soviet representative, but it seems perfectly rational to me, bearing in mind always that our goal is negotiations and a peace based on confidence rather than military strength as an end in itself.

The strength which the free world has been building during the past four years, by sacrificing more pleasant and more productive things, does not constitute a threat to the Soviet Union and the countries associated with it, despite the bogies which they are continually raising about the “aggressive designs of the North Atlantic bloc”. Whether or not we have reached that position of strength which we hoped would be sufficient to produce a change of policy on the part of the Soviet Union, we do not know. We can only continue our course steadfastly until we have some concrete evidence that serious negotiations are possible.

Unhappily, we have no such evidence from the work of the Disarmament Commission thus far. But we must not become discouraged

and give up. This door to negotiations must not be closed, however depressing the record of the past year.

It may be, of course, that negotiations which could eventually lead to disarmament might begin over some quite different subject. Apart from Korea there are many other questions, on which the Soviet Union could demonstrate its desire to achieve an easing of the tension. It could do so, to take a still simpler example, by refraining from its virulent "hate campaign" against the United States, of which the germ-warfare charges are merely the crudest example.

Commission's Task

Wherever the vicious circle of fear can be broken by any agreement no matter how tentative and small, the results may in time be felt in the Disarmament Commission. In the meanwhile it need not be wasting its time. It has before it a rather formidable technical task, which can be pursued usefully, although within limits, even in the present state of affairs. The ground can in other words be cleared of certain technical problems and the way prepared to hasten the conclusion of a disarmament agreement, perhaps by many months, as soon as the will to agree exists not merely on one side but on both. For in this field, as I have said, it takes two to make an agreement.

Although we should, I believe, temper our debate by looking more to the future than to the past, we cannot and should not in all candour ignore the Disarmament Commission's record during the past year. I should like for a moment to turn to what the Disarmament Commission has been doing and state as simply and objectively as I can, and without rancour or bitterness, the essential positions on both sides as I see them.

I think I can do this best by taking the proposals of the Soviet Union as a starting point. As reiterated yesterday, they are disarmingly simple; but that is the only disarming thing about them. I must confess . . . that I was disappointed in the Soviet representative's statement. To my mind one of the most discouraging features of the Disarmament Commission's work last year was the inability of any Western delegation — and my delegation among others tried on several occasions — to get concrete answers from the Soviet representative as to what his government meant by the slogans in which it had expressed its proposals during the Assembly's debates on disarmament in Paris when the Disarmament Commission had been set up. Yesterday he said that the Soviet position was perfectly clear and then went on to repeat word for word proposals that we have heard on every occasion when disarmament has been discussed since 1947. As far as my delegation was concerned, we would have been very glad to have devoted more time to discussing the Soviet proposals in the Disarmament Commission last year. There was ample room under the agreed plan of work for a full discussion of them. But there is a limit to the amount

of discussion that is possible when every time you try to elicit information on a point which seems unclear, the only reply you get is a repetition of the same all too carefully worded formula. It was for this reason that there was very little discussion of the Soviet proposals. From our point of view there was very little to discuss.

Need for Clarification

Without wishing to impose upon this Committee a technical review which I feel more properly belongs to the Disarmament Commission, I should like, in view of the Soviet statement yesterday, to explain some of the points on which we need further clarification from the Soviet representative, either here or in the Commission, if any further progress is to be made or indeed if there is to be any real discussion — as distinct from repetition — of the Soviet proposals. I hope I am not being unfair to the Soviet position if I summarize it in the following way, using as far as possible the language employed by Soviet spokesmen.

In the first place, they think the Assembly should proclaim the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and the establishment of strict international control over enforcement of this prohibition, it being understood that the prohibition of atomic weapons and the institution of international control should be put into effect simultaneously.

In the second place, they propose that the permanent members of the Security Council should reduce their armaments and armed forces by one-third within one year.

In the third place, they say that all states should within one month submit complete official data on their armaments and armed forces including atomic weapons and foreign military bases.

And finally, they propose that an international control organ established within the framework of the Security Council should conduct inspection on a continuing basis but should not interfere in the domestic affairs of states.

Although there are a number of difficulties in these superficially simple proposals, the most fundamental objection which we have to them concerns the Soviet concept of inspection.

Inspection, the Key of Safeguards

Now, whatever disarmament plan could ever be arrived at would inevitably require a system of safeguards which would give both sides the maximum possible warning and protection against violations and evasions of the provisions of the disarmament agreement. The key to any such system of safeguards is inspection.

At the present stage at least, inspection seems to me to be the nub of the technical problem as distinct from the more general political problem — the problem of confidence to which I have already referred. The Soviet Delegation's position in the Commission has been, in the words I have quoted, in favour of strict international control and of inspection

on a continuing basis. That sounds promising. But then this is qualified and perhaps undercut entirely by the insistence of the Soviet Delegation that inspection should not interfere in the domestic affairs of states.

Another possible escape clause in the Soviet proposals of June 1947, which the Soviet representative re-read yesterday, is the unexplained formulation that they will agree "to study production operations", as they say, "to the extent necessary for the control of the use of atomic materials and atomic energy".

We have not been able to find out what the effect of these qualifying phrases means. We simply do not know how far the Soviet Union will go on the question of inspection. As things stand at present they will not go very far. They have not, as I understand it, been able to agree to continuous inspection but only to inspection "on a continuing basis". The best we have been able to find out about the meaning of this phrase is that it does not include the right of international inspectors to be stationed all the time in atomic installations, for example. We consider this an essential component of any plan covering the inspection of atomic energy. The Soviet Delegate says that this would be interference in their domestic affairs. If I am wrong about this, I hope he will correct me and explain his position more clearly.

The fact of the matter is that any form of international inspection can be interpreted as interference in the domestic affairs of states. Certain forms of co-operation require less stringent measures of inspection, others more. Are we to take the mere say-so of the Soviet Government on matters of such vital concern to the future of the peoples for whom we speak? If they were able to do so, there would be no problem. We should not be faced with the problem of rearmament and increasing international tensions and the risk of war. The whole point is that neither side trusts the other. Both may be able to trust the United Nations. We would. Would they?

United Nations inspectors must be permitted to go anywhere at any time in any of the major countries of the world. The international control authority must be so constituted as to be impartial and the impartiality of its agents must be trusted. This is a field of policy in which no country can afford to make mistakes and no people can risk being duped, for the stakes are their survival as free men.

Soviet Version

Whether the proposal is to prohibit the atomic weapon unconditionally or to cut the armaments and armed forces of the great powers by one-third this year, the question comes back to whether it is possible to agree on effective inspection. As I understand it, the Soviet Union still go no further than saying that they will permit agents of an international control authority to inspect places they choose at times of their choosing, but they will not have United Nations inspectors stationed permanently anywhere, and they will not give them the right to go wherever

they think necessary whenever they wish. This means that their kind of inspection would amount to no more than continuing periodic visits to selected plants — in other words the international inspectors would be allowed to go where it was safe to take them and they would see what it was safe to show them. Again I ask the Soviet representative to correct me if I misrepresent his position.

We must all agree that this kind of inspection would mean a minimum of interference in the domestic affairs of states; but it would not be effective inspection. No disarmament plan can ever be based on this kind of inspection. That must be very clearly understood and appreciated by all. Atomic weapons or bacteriological weapons can be declared prohibited tomorrow and agreement reached to cut the forces of the great powers by any fraction you like, but with inspection as so far defined by the Soviet Delegation there is no guarantee whatever that these decisions would be faithfully carried out. Let us hope that either during the present discussion or at any rate during the Disarmament Commission's meetings between now and the next session of the Assembly, the Soviet representative will come forward with more detailed and more realistic proposals concerning the kind of inspection which his government would be prepared to agree to as part and parcel of a comprehensive disarmament programme. Such proposals would immediately give the Disarmament Commission's work more reality and more hope.

As the report of the Disarmament Commission shows, detailed proposals have been submitted by the Western powers covering several basic elements of such a comprehensive programme. These proposals include not only an elaboration of the principles basic to any disarmament agreement — principles elaborated from the Assembly's Resolution No. 502 (IV) establishing the Disarmament Commission — but cover disclosure and verification of armed forces and armaments, and the proposals for the limitation and reduction of all armed forces. The latter paper, dealing with the limitation and reduction of armed forces proposes in effect that the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the United States should be cut not by one-third but, according to our estimates, by *more than one half* their present strength, as part of a balanced limitation and reduction of forces on both sides. Again it is of the essence that any reduction or limitation should not be a shot in the dark but should proceed from known and verified facts. We come back again to the necessity for fully effective inspection — a necessity which the Soviet Union has continued to sidestep or ignore.

Plan Accepted

As Canadian representative on the Disarmament Commission, I announced the acceptance by the Government of Canada, as part of a general disarmament plan, of the ceiling which the tripartite proposals concerning the limitation and reduction of armed

forces would impose on Canadian armed forces, i.e. either less than 1 per cent of population or less than current levels. I then welcomed, as I do now, the initiative of the Western powers in presenting to the Commission detailed constructive and forward-looking proposals, seriously presented as component elements in the comprehensive disarmament plan which it is their intention to develop if there seems any hope of the Soviet Union being interested in such a plan.

Although the Soviet representative on the Commission said on May 14 that his government was ready and anxious to give serious consideration to any proposals for the reduction of armed forces, he made it plain almost as soon as the Western proposals on this subject had been introduced in the Commission a few weeks later that his government would not consider them seriously. Since that time the Soviet Delegation has not only confirmed that they would not even take the tripartite proposals as a basis for discussion, but has failed to provide the Commission with equally specific alternative proposals of its own.

Finally, I should like to refer briefly to what the Soviet representative said on the subject of bacteriological warfare. He tried to confuse the issue by asserting that the Disarmament Commission refused to give a hearing to Soviet proposals concerning the pro-ruling was simply — and I quote: “This is not what the Disarmament Commission did at all. I was Chairman of the Commission at that time and what I ruled out of order, as the records of the Disarmament Commission for March 28 last year show, was not any discussion of proposals for the prohibition of bacteriological or any other weapons. My ruling was simply — and I quote: “This is not the proper forum to consider or debate specific charges of bacteriological warfare”. No attempt was made at any time to prevent any member of the Commission from making proposals to prohibit bacteriological or any other weapons but charges of a specific character are of course quite out of place under the terms of reference of the Disarmament Commission as established by the General Assembly in Paris last year.

When, as Canadian representative on the Disarmament Commission, commenting on the present report, while it was being considered in the Commission, I expressed my

regret at the meagre results achieved by the Commission. A Canadian paper, the *Telegraph Journal* of Saint John, New Brunswick, commented editorially, on October 1 last, that, although “regret” is the language of diplomacy, “heartbreak” would have been a more appropriate term.

Canadian Stand

The heartbreak is that although the Soviet Union say that they stand for peace, for disarmament, for the prohibition of the atomic bomb and bacteriological warfare, and at the same time they make it perfectly plain that they have no intention of making any of these things possible. Categorically and explicitly, we are in favour of the elimination and prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, including atomic and bacteriological weapons. We are in favour of a balanced reduction of armed forces, commencing with a reduction of the forces of the great powers to approximately 3,000,000 men on each side, as part of a comprehensive disarmament plan. But when we start asking direct questions about whether the Soviet Union means anything like the same thing as we do by the kind of inspection which would be necessary in order to carry any of these things into practice our questions go unanswered. Certainly they were not answered yesterday. Even the questions are, it seems, an interference in their domestic affairs.

We must endeavour during the weeks ahead to find out whether we are entering a period in which serious negotiations with the Government of the Soviet Union are possible. The Disarmament Commission is one of a number of places in which we shall have an opportunity of finding out whether this is the case. With this in mind, as the Canadian Delegation has already suggested on several occasions, the Disarmament Commission might occasionally try meeting privately in closed session. At any rate, let us hope that by the next session of the General Assembly we shall have more evidence from the Disarmament Commission of a readiness on the part of all members to negotiate outstanding questions than we have at the present time. The record of the Commission shows that if the Soviet Union wish to negotiate, they will be met more than half way.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. P. M. Towe was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C., to Ottawa, effective March 2, 1953.
- Mr. S. H. Nutting was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bogota, Colombia, effective March 4, 1953.
- Mr. C. E. Glover was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico City, effective March 7, 1953.
- Mr. E. Turcotte, Ambassador, was posted to the Canadian Embassy, Bogota, Colombia, effective March 7, 1953.
- Mr. W. K. Wardroper was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles, California, effective March 7, 1953.
- Mr. R. M. Caza was posted from home leave (Paris) to Ottawa, effective March 9, 1953.
- Mr. F. Charpentier was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Montevideo, Uruguay, effective March 11, 1953.
- Mr. C. C. Eberts was posted to the Canadian Consulate General, San Francisco, California, effective March 14, 1953.
- Mr. K. B. Williamson was posted from the Canadian Legation, Prague, Czechoslovakia, to home leave, effective March 21, 1953.
- Mr. W. G. M. Olivier was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C., effective March 25, 1953.
- Mr. A. E. L. Cannon was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires, Argentina, effective April 3, 1953.
- Mr. A. J. Hicks was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra, Australia, effective April 7, 1953.
- Mr. R. W. A. Dunn was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C., to Ottawa, effective April 7, 1953.
- Mr. J. A. Irwin was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra, Australia, as High Commissioner, effective April 13, 1953.
- Mr. J. H. Thurrott was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, Ceylon, effective April 14, 1953.
- Mr. G. R. Heasman was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, Indonesia, as Ambassador, effective April 15, 1953.
- Mr. A. E. Blanchette was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Mexico, to Ottawa, effective April 15, 1953.
- Mr. E. H. Norman was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Wellington, New Zealand, as High Commissioner, effective April 23, 1953.
- Mr. A. D. Ross was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York City, New York, effective April 24, 1953.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of international conferences at which Canada has been represented during the month of April 1953. Earlier conferences will be found in previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, or, where appropriate, by Cabinet, upon the recommendation of the department of Government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on Which Canada is Represented

(Published annually. Only new standing bodies on which Canada is represented will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs", January 1953, for the last complete list.)

Conferences Attended in April

1. WMO Commission on Synoptic Meteorology, Washington, D.C., April 2-April 30.
2. 8th Session of the Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva, April 3-14.
3. 9th Session of Human Rights Commission, Geneva, April 6-June 1.
4. 5th Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress, Australia and New Zealand, April 12-May 23.
5. 5th Session of Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, Geneva, April 17-May 22.
6. 4th Session of Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour, Geneva, April 17-May 22.
7. Meeting of the 4th Commonwealth Conference on Clothing and General Stores, London, April 20-May 9.
8. Advisory Committee to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva, April 27-30.
9. Fiscal Commission (ECOSOC), New York, April 27-May 8.
10. Resumed 7th Session of United Nations General Assembly, New York, February 24.
11. Resumed 8th Session of International Wheat Council, Washington, February 2-April 10.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa Canada)

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

- No. 53/13—*Canada—This Century's Best Investment*, an address by the Minister of Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, made to the Hamilton Junior Chamber of Commerce, March 16, 1953.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 53/15—*Canada's Economic Future*, an address by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, delivered at the Town Hall lectures, New York, April 7, 1953.
- No. 53/16—*Renewed Efforts for World Peace*, an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, delivered to the Osgoode Hall

- No. 53/14—*Canadian Resources and Economic Development*, an address by the Minister of Resources and Development, Mr. R. H. Winters, at the Town Hall lectures, New York, March 17, 1953.

Legal and Literary Society, Toronto, April 9, 1953.

- No. 53/17—*National Freedom and International Co-operation, text of the Jonathan Peterson Lecture*, delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at Town Hall, New York, April 15, 1953.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

Review of International Commodity Problems 1952 (Interim Co-ordinating Committee for International Commodity Arrangements); February 1953; document E/2354. Pp. 51. 50 cents. Sales No.: 1953.II.D.1.

**Annual Report of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, 9 February 1952-14 February 1953*; 2 March 1953; Document E/2374, E/CN.11/372. Pp. 40. 30 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 6.

WHO—*Financial Report 1 January-31 December 1952* (Supplement to the Report of the Director-General for 1952 and Report of the External Auditor to the World Health Assembly); April 1953. Pp. 85. 50 cents. Official Records of WHO, No. 47.

International Convention to facilitate the importation of commercial samples and advertising material; Geneva, 7 November 1952. Pp. 15 (Bilingual).

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

World Economic Situation — Aspects of economic development in Africa (Report by the Secretary-General); 20 March 1953; document E/2377. Pp. 171.

**Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices to the Economic and Social Council*; 30 March 1953; document E/2380, E/AC.37/3. Pp. 17, Annex A: 9 pp.

**Programme of concerted practical action in the social field of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies* (Report by the Secretary-General); 2 March 1953; document E/CN.5/291. Pp. 321.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, p. 36.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
".....	Commercial Secretary.....	Melbourne (83 William St.)
".....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Austria.....	Minister (Absent).....	Vienna 1 (Strauchgasse 1)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
Belgian Congo.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (35, rue de la Science)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
".....	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Colombo (Galle Face Hotel)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Avenida General Bulnes 129)
Colombia.....	Ambassador.....	Bogotá (Calle 19, No. 6-39 fifth floor)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (No 16 Avenida de Menocal)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Krakowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Osterbrogade 26)
Dominican Republic.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Ciudad Trujillo (Edificio Copello 410 Calle El Conde)
Egypt.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara)
Finland.....	Minister (Absent).....	Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken 3-C. 32)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris xvi (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Ambassador.....	Bonn (Zittelmann Strasse, 22)
".....	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Lancaster House, Fehrbelliner Platz)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatemala City (28, 5a Avenida Sud)
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
".....	Commercial Secretary.....	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Com-
Japan.....	Ambassador.....	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku)
Lebanon.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Beirut (P.O. Box 2300)
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)
Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza, Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Ayala Bldg., Juan Luna St.)
Poland.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Kępa)
Portugal.....	Minister (Absent).....	Lisbon (Avenida da Praia da Vitoria)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	

Singapore.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building)
Spain.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Madrid (Avenida José Antonio 70)
Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvägen 7-C)
Switzerland.....	Ambassador.....	Berne (88 Kirchenfeldstrasse)
Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (Colonial Bldg.)
Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (Müdafaayi Milliye Caddesi, No. 19, Cankaya)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (24 Barclay's Bank Bldg.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Building)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador.....	Moscow (23 Starokonyushny
	Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.	Pereulok)
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	London (Canada House)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
“ “	Consul General.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
“ “	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
“ “	Consul and Trade Commis- sioner.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
“ “	Consul General (Vice-Consul in Charge).....	Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.)
“ “	Consul and Trade Commis- sioner.....	New Orleans (201 International Trade Mart)
“ “	Consul General.....	New York (620 Fifth Ave.)
“ “	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street)
“ “	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
Uruguay.....	Ambassador.....	Montevideo (Casilla Postal 852)
Venezuela.....	Consul General.....	Caracas (2° Piso Edificio Pan-Ameri- can, Puente Urapal, Candelaria)
Yugoslavia.....	Ambassador.....	Belgrade (Proliterskih Brigada 69)
North Atlantic Council.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (Canadian Embassy)
*OEEC.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (c/o Canadian Embassy)
United Nations.....	Permanent Representative.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
“ “	Permanent Delegate.....	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)
	Deputy Permanent Delegate	

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.



EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada



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ELIZABETH II

*By the Grace of God of the United Kingdom, Canada and Her other Realms and Territories,
Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith.*

Canada, the Commonwealth, and the Coronation

QUEEN ELIZABETH II is Queen of Canada; that made the coronation, for Canada, a domestic affair. But Elizabeth is not Queen of Canada alone; she has "other realms and territories," as her new titles state. She is Queen of six other sovereign nations: Australia, Ceylon, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom. She is Queen, too, of their dependencies. Moreover, she is the Head of a Commonwealth which includes one republican member, India. Since so many countries besides Canada were concerned with the Queen's coronation, the ceremony affected Canada's external relations as well as her domestic affairs.

Milestones of Constitutional Developments

The coronation of Queen Elizabeth on June 2, 1953, was the fourth to take place at Westminster Abbey during the present century. Although coronations are not occasions for constitutional changes, the forms used at them vary as a result of such changes. In this way they are milestones along the road of constitutional development. The nineteenth-century view was, on the whole, that Victoria was Queen of a single nation with vast overseas possessions. Now, in the middle of the twentieth century, Elizabeth II is recognized as Queen of seven nations with their dependencies, and also, as the symbol of their free association, Head of an eight-nation Commonwealth.

Already, at the coronation of Edward VII in 1902 there was a dawning realization that the United Kingdom was not the only country concerned. The Royal Style and Titles then used declared that Edward was King not only of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but of the British dominions beyond the seas. As a further gesture towards the internally self-governing dominions and colonies, the Prime Ministers of Canada,

Australia, New Zealand, Cape Colony, Natal, and Newfoundland were invited to the coronation and to a Colonial Conference held in connection with it.

Even at the coronation of King George V in 1911, however, the language used in the ceremony continued to be based on a highly centralized conception of the King's position. The "Recognition" contained no indication that King George was more than "the undoubted King of this Realm". In administering the coronation oath, the King was asked:

Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, according to the Statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the respective Laws and Customs of the same?

A further section of the oath pledged the King to "maintain the Laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law," although there was no form of religion established by law except in England and Scotland.

The standards of the dominions were added in 1911 to those traditionally carried in the procession within the Abbey. At the coronation of 1911 they were borne by former governors general; the standard of Canada was carried by the Earl of Aberdeen. According to the *Historical Record of the Coronation of King George V and Queen Mary*, issued by the Norroy King-at-Arms, the order of the standards was: standards of South Africa and New Zealand; standards of Australia and Canada; standard of the Emperor of India; standard of Wales; standards of Ireland and Scotland; standard of England; standard of the Union; Royal Standard.

Procedures Revised

The development of the British Commonwealth of Nations during the reign of King George V made necessary a thor-

ough overhauling of coronation forms and machinery before the coronation of King George VI in 1937. By this time it was well understood that all nations of the Commonwealth were concerned with the arrangements. The planning machinery therefore had to include representatives not only of the United Kingdom but also of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa. For this purpose a Coronation Commission was established, consisting of the Prime Minister of each member nation of the Commonwealth, along with other representatives from each. The Canadian representatives were the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King; the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, Mr. Vincent Massey, and the Secretary of the High Commissioner's Office, Lt.-Col. George P. Vanier. For the detailed work of preparation, the Commission set up a Coronation Joint Committee to make recommendations. On this committee Mr. Massey represented Canada.

Text of Service Altered

Alterations were made in the text of the coronation service to conform with the new constitutional position. The words "of this Realm" were dropped from the Recognition, the Archbishop now declaring to the congregation:

Sirs, I here present unto you King George, your undoubted King.

The coronation oath ceremonial now began with the question:

Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the peoples of Great Britain, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, of your Possessions and the other Territories to any of them belonging and pertaining, and of your Empire of India, according to their respective laws and customs?

It will be observed that this oath did not list all the member nations of the Commonwealth; if it had done so it would have begun the list with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and ended it with the Irish Free State. The latter, however, was in process of changing its name and of reducing to a minimum the King's functions in relation to it; no doubt it was for this reason that the purely geographical terms "Great Britain, Ireland" were

borrowed from the Royal Style and Titles for the purpose of the Coronation oath.

Another change in the oath in 1937 was the limitation to the United Kingdom of the pledge to maintain "the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law". This brought the language of the oath in this respect into conformity with the facts. The standards of overseas members of the Commonwealth, borne in the Abbey procession, were carried on this occasion by their High Commissioners, thus transferring the task from United Kingdom nationals to nationals of the countries represented by the standards.

Coronation Commission

The Commonwealth machinery set up to plan the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II was the same as in 1937. On the Coronation Commission, Canada was represented by the Prime Minister, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent; the High Commissioner, Mr. N. A. Robertson, and the Official Secretary in the High Commissioner's Office, Mr. Frederic Hudd. A further step was taken by adding the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. George Drew, in line with a practice previously adopted only by the United Kingdom and Australia. On the Coronation Joint Committee, the High Commissioner was again the Canadian representative.

In 1937 no special machinery had been set up in Canada for coronation purposes; problems which arose had been dealt with by the Prime Minister, or, if necessary, by the Canadian Government as a whole, advised only by the government departments concerned. This arrangement was considered inadequate for 1952, and Canadian machinery was established to advise the Canadian Government on aspects of the coronation affecting Canada. This consisted, first, of the Coronation Committee of Canada, headed by the Secretary of State of Canada, Mr. F. G. Bradley, and having as its other members the Minister of Public Works, Mr. Alphonse Fournier; the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton; the Leader of the Government in the Senate, Senate Wishart Robertson; the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson; the Minister of Veterans' Affairs, Mr. Hugues Lapointe; the



—Capital Press

OTTAWA CORONATION DECORATIONS

Night scene of arch at Confederation Square, looking west on Wellington Street.

Speaker of the Senate, Senator Elie Beauregard; the Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. W. Ross Macdonald, and the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. George Drew. The Secretary of the Committee was the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Charles Stein. For detailed work, the Coronation Executive Committee was set up to advise the Coronation Committee of Canada. Mr. Stein was its chairman and its other members represented various government departments concerned with coronation preparations, including the Department of External Affairs.

The only change made in the coronation oath for 1953 was in the countries listed in it. This part of the oath read:

Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the peoples of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Pakistan, and Ceylon, and of your possessions and the other territories to any of them belonging or pertaining, according to their respective laws and customs?

It has not been the practice to use the complete Royal Style and Titles in the coronation service, although the arch-

bishops and bishops, in swearing fealty, used to recite a slightly abbreviated version. Nevertheless it was obviously desirable that the Royal Style and Titles should be brought up to date before the coronation of 1953 took place. This was achieved not only by eliminating obsolete terms, but also by making the Queen's title variable to fit the needs of each of her realms, while retaining a common element. Her title in Canada, for example, is: "Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom, Canada and her other realms and territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith."

Royal Style and Titles Bill

Mr. St. Laurent, in moving second reading of the Royal Style and Titles Bill in the House of Commons, February 3, 1953 explained that the arrangement reached by the nations of the Commonwealth as regards the Queen's titles was "in accord with the historical development of our constitutional relations". He continued:

Her Majesty is now the Queen of Canada, but she is the Queen of Canada because she is the Queen of the United Kingdom and because the people of Canada are happy to recognize as their Sovereign the person who is the Sovereign of the United Kingdom. It is not a separate office. It is the recognition of the traditional development of our institutions; that our Parliament is headed by the Sovereign; and that it is the Sovereign who is recognized as the Sovereign of the United Kingdom who is our Sovereign and who is loyally and, I may say, affectionately recognized as the Sovereign of our country. We all felt that it was desirable to have that recognition retained in the title as a proclamation of the historical, traditional link between this country and the United Kingdom.

Development of Royal Style and Titles

Mr. Pearson, during the debate which followed, reviewed the historical development of the Royal Style and Titles, pointing out that in 1901 the Canadian Government had suggested the addition to the King's title of the words "King of Canada, Australasia, South Africa, and all the British Dominions beyond the Seas". As regards the present title he stated:

In recent years, members of the Commonwealth have been considering, by exchanges of correspondence between governments and by meetings in London, ways and means of bringing the title into conformity with the constitutional relations which now exist within the Commonwealth. The discussions which took place last December when the prime ministers of the Commonwealth assembled in London were the result of long and careful consideration of how changes could be brought about in the Royal Style and Titles which would make them appropriate to and practicable for the current Commonwealth relations, while maintaining

the tradition and dignity associated with them . . .

It is of great significance, I think, that the words which are common to all titles in all parts of Her Majesty's realms are the words 'Head of the Commonwealth' . . . Our Queen . . . is Head of a Commonwealth whose members include a republic of which she is not Queen and in which she has no constitutional function to perform. That, I suggest, is striking evidence not only of the adaptability of the Commonwealth to changing conditions but of the political realism and ingenuity of the peoples and the governments who make up the Commonwealth . . .

For certain members of the Commonwealth — and this certainly includes Canada — the monarchical form is preferable because it symbolizes in a very real way the unbroken continuity in our history and the development of our political institutions from Magna Carta to the sessions of the House of Commons in Ottawa today. The Crown under the monarchical principle also lends, I think, stability and dignity to our national life, and I am sure we all agree that that is important in a democratic system based on the free and active play of party controversies. The Crown as head of the state and as represented in our country, standing above all such controversies, commanding and deserving the respect and loyalty and affection of us all, ensures a more solid and secure foundation for national development than might otherwise be the case under some other form of democratic government.

Yet it is good to know that the Commonwealth, with its monarchical and its republican membership, is flexible enough to contain Asian as well as Western members, and a republic as well as monarchies . . .

At London, as I have said, it was agreed last December to differ, if necessary, in the title and style of the Crown, but we all agreed, without difficulty and without difference, in our determination to pursue within the Commonwealth those ideals for which the Crown so finely stands — peace, dignity and ordered progress.

Eritrea: A Successful Beginning

DURING the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly there was celebrated, without the accompaniment of any special publicity, the orderly and successful termination of another chapter in the record of post-war adjustments in East Africa. Many observers had feared that this chapter might close in an outburst of violence and anarchy. Instead the story presented to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee of the General Assembly on December 11 and 12, 1952 was one of reconciliation through voluntary co-operation. It furnished an example of how under difficult conditions, representatives of a colonial power, governments of other states directly interested and local national leaders, co-operating with representatives of the United Nations, might bring about an orderly transition in the political status of a dependent territory in the face of many conflicting interests.

U.N. Commission in Eritrea

When the question of the disposal of the former Italian colonies was referred to the Assembly in September 1948 because the Four Powers (the United Kingdom, the United States, France and the U.S.S.R.) could not agree on what should be done with them, it was found that a decision on Eritrea presented special difficulties. Thus although the Assembly was able on November 21, 1949 to make recommendations about the future government of Libya and Italian Somaliland, the question of Eritrea had to be deferred until a United Nations Commission should have visited the territory and reported to the Assembly. It is true that the Four Powers had sent a commission of investigation to Eritrea in the closing months of 1947, but in view of contradictory statements made at the Assembly in 1949 by Eritreans who represented various party groupings the Assembly felt it would be wise to have a fresh inquiry made.

The United Nations Commission which spent the early part of 1950 in Eritrea found local sentiment to be divided be-

tween support of outright union with Ethiopia, the creation of an independent Eritrean state (possibly after a short period of trusteeship) and partition of the territory to enable part of it to join Ethiopia and the rest to remain independent. Two members of the United Nations Commission recommended independence after a period of trusteeship not to exceed ten years. A third recommended tentative partition so as to allow the unionists to join Ethiopia immediately, giving the rest of the country under continued British administration time to choose between Ethiopia or the Sudan. The fourth and fifth members of the Commission recommended a compromise in the form of immediate federation of the whole of Eritrea with Ethiopia under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown.

Various Views of the Problem

The United Kingdom was anxious for an early settlement since it wished to withdraw as soon as possible from the administration of Eritrea, for which it had been responsible since the Italian defeat in East Africa in 1941. Although Italy in the Peace Treaty of February 10, 1947 had renounced all right and title to Eritrea it had a continuing interest in the territory, not only because of its association with Eritrea from 1885 to 1941, but also because of the presence there of some 20,000 Italian farmers, artisans, technicians, professional persons and entrepreneurs who regarded Eritrea as their permanent home. Italy hoped for an independent régime which would safeguard the position of these Italian nationals, encourage Italian enterprise and permit the development of close trade relations between Eritrea and Italy.

Ethiopia asked for incorporation of Eritrea as an integral part of the Ethiopian Empire. Its claims to Eritrea were based on historic considerations, on the similarity of the cultural and racial heritage of the two countries and on the economic advantages which each could offer the other. In particular Ethiopians



argued that Eritrea alone was not economically viable and that the creation of a larger political unit, which would give Ethiopia unobstructed access to the Red Sea and to international trade routes, would tend to raise the standard of living of the inhabitants of the whole area.

Plan of Federation

On December 2, 1950 the General Assembly decided to recommend the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia as an autonomous unit under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown. Canada and thirteen other states had jointly sponsored the draft resolution on which this decision was based. The first seven paragraphs constituted a federal act setting forth the main lines along which power was to be divided between Eritrea and the federal

authority. The plan called for creation of a separate Eritrean government and for the inclusion of Eritreans in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the federal government. An Imperial Federal Council composed of equal numbers of Ethiopians and Eritreans would meet at least once a year to advise on matters of common interest, but otherwise the federal government and administration would not require the creation of new organs but would involve merely the inclusion of Eritreans in existing organs of the imperial Ethiopian government. A single nationality would prevail in the federal area. Human rights and fundamental liberties would be guaranteed to all residents both by the federal and by the Eritrean authorities. A United Nations Commissioner, acting in consultation with interested parties, would draft a constitu-

tion for Eritrea and help elected representatives of the people in their consideration of the draft. The British administration of Eritrea would arrange for the actual creation of the new Eritrean administration and organs of government and was asked to transfer powers to the appropriate authorities by September 15, 1952.

Successful Implementation

Eritrea was torn by violent dissension at the time when this resolution was adopted. None of its own leaders had advocated a plan of federation, nor had the Eritrean people been consulted about it. Neither was it certain that Ethiopia and Italy, which had given their consent to the compromise only in deference to the weight of opinion expressed in its favour in the General Assembly, would find it easy to accord the moral support which was essential if a federation was to be successfully established and maintained. At the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, however, on December 11, 1952, Dr. Eduardo Anze Maitienzo of Bolivia, the United Nations Commissioner in Eritrea, was able to report to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee that the principle of federation had been accepted by rival party leaders in Eritrea shortly after the Assembly resolution was adopted, that Ethiopia had given willing co-operation, and that in his own work relating to the drafting of a constitution for Eritrea he had kept in touch with Italian leaders as well as with leaders of the indigenous population in every part of the country. In Geneva he had twice taken up difficult constitutional issues with panels of legal consultants appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Subsequently every aspect of the draft constitution had been carefully considered by the elected representatives of the Eritrean people, who had approved the instrument after making certain amendments. Both the Eritrean constitution and the federal act recommended by the General Assembly had been ratified by the Emperor of Ethiopia, with whom the Commissioner had also kept in close touch. The whole process had been successfully completed within the time-limit prescribed by the General Assembly.

In presenting his report Dr. Anze Maitienzo made special mention of the importance for the future of the fulfilment by Ethiopia of the responsibilities it had undertaken toward Eritrea. It would have to protect the integrity of the federation against possible secession movements on the one hand and against annexationist agitation on the other. It would have to give Eritrea economic assistance, and its manner of doing so must not affect either the economic or the political autonomy of the smaller country.

Help from British Administration

While the United Nations Commissioner had been responsible for preparing the draft constitution for Eritrea and for helping the Eritrean legislative assembly to deal with the issues it raised, the British administration had been responsible for carrying out the practical measures which had to be introduced to transform Eritrea into an autonomous unit federated with Ethiopia. The representative of the United Kingdom duly made a report to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on the work done to create an Eritrean administration, to build up an Eritrean civil service, to arrange the first free general election ever held in the country, and to convoke the first Eritrean representative assembly, as well as to organize a customs union between Eritrea and Ethiopia before the federation became a reality.

Within twenty months the British had succeeded in establishing an administration 96 per cent Eritrean. Only 350 foreigners remained in the civil service, of whom 27 were British. The British administration had also reorganized on a simpler basis the judicial system, in which the utmost confusion had formerly prevailed. For the first time a balanced budget had been drawn up. Political banditry, long a feature of Eritrean life, had become accentuated during the years when the future status of the territory was a subject of international discussion. In 1951, however, the problem practically disappeared as a result of firm measures adopted by the British administration coupled with an offer of amnesty to all who would submit within a given time-limit. At the time of their withdrawal on September 15, 1952, the British had been

able to hand over to the Eritrean administration "adequate and well-trained security forces". Necessary measures for co-operation with the Ethiopian police and administrative authorities had also been worked out.

In his account of the part played by the British administration in giving effect to the federation plan recommended by the United Nations General Assembly, Sir Gladwyn Jebb attributed some importance to the influence which the holding of general elections had had on public opinion, since it had tended to remove fears underlying the political unrest by which Eritrea had been torn from 1945 to 1950. The elections had resulted in an equal distribution of seats between Christians and Moslems, so that neither group was now apprehensive of domination by the other, and no political party had obtained a majority. Despite frequent references in 1949 to the political immaturity of the Eritrean people, it had been discovered after the legislature was convoked that groups which had formerly been bitterly opposed to each other were capable of an admirable degree of mutual co-operation without prompting either from the United Nations Commissioner or from British administrators.

Assembly Comment

Speaking on behalf of his government, the representative of Ethiopia gave formal assurances that the autonomy of Eritrea and the provisions of the federal act would continue to be respected by Ethiopia and that the rights of Italian inhabitants in the federal area would not be diminished. The Italian representative, on being invited to speak to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, accepted these assurances as "unreserved and final". He suggested, however, that it would be a wise precaution to act on a suggestion of the United Nations Commissioner that a Federal Supreme Court should be set up to deal with possible conflicts of jurisdiction between federal and Eritrean authorities. He also pointed out the importance of strict compliance with provisions of the Eritrean constitution relating to the receipt by Eritrea of its due share of customs revenue collected throughout the federal area. He expressed the hope that

the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies would bear in mind Eritrea's need for technical assistance.

After twenty-four members had participated in the committee debate, for the most part expressing gratification over the outcome of the Assembly resolution of December 2, 1950, the Chairman put to the vote on December 12 a joint draft resolution sponsored by the same states which had introduced the resolution of 1950, with the exception of Bolivia, whose representative was the retiring United Nations Commissioner. The resolution made appreciative references to the part played by the United Nations Commissioner in Eritrea, and by the former administering authority as well as by Ethiopia, and noted the determination of the latter to execute scrupulously the provisions of the federal act. It welcomed the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown and congratulated the people and governmental authorities of the federation for their effective and loyal fulfilment of the Assembly resolution of December 2, 1950. The new resolution was formally adopted in a plenary meeting on December 17, 1952 by 51 votes in favour and none against. The five members of the Soviet bloc abstained.

An Important Experiment

How the unique constitutional arrangement recommended by the United Nations General Assembly is going to function is a question of importance to several millions of human beings in East Africa. It is the first time in modern history that an African territory, after generations of administration by Europeans and dependence on subsidies from abroad, has embarked on an enterprise of self-government under the sovereignty of an African monarch and in close federation with a neighbouring African people. The experiment has had a successful beginning, thanks in part to the extraordinary degree of co-operativeness shown by all concerned. Special credit goes to the British administrators who were able to translate into some form of reality, often in unpromising circumstances, the ideas embodied in directives given by the United Nations General Assembly. The patience

shown by the United Nations Commissioner in ensuring that Eritreans should understand the implications of the new constitutional arrangements has helped to give these arrangements a firmness they might otherwise have lacked. How far the new partners in East Africa will

have to rely on technical assistance from the United Nations and other sources is not yet known, but they have been assured of the hopes of other members of the United Nations that they will succeed in the tasks of organization and administration which lie ahead.



—*Capital Press*

PAKISTANI CIVIL SERVANTS IN CANADA

Four officers of the Pakistan Civil Service who have come to Canada to study public administration, are welcomed by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson. Left to right: Riazuddin Ahmad, Deputy Secretary to the Government of the Punjab in the Department of Finance; Ataulah Jan Khan, of the Civil Service of Pakistan; Mr. Pearson; Hussain Haider, Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet, East Bengal; and Hammad Raza, Deputy Commissioner at Montgomery, West Punjab.

North Atlantic Council Ministerial Session

Paris, April 23-25, 1953

FOR the eleventh time since its establishment, and for the second time since the Lisbon meeting, the North Atlantic Council met in Ministerial session in Paris in April, with the Foreign, Defence and Finance Ministers of the fourteen member countries present. Lord Ismay, the Secretary General, acted as chairman in place of Mr. Kraft, of Denmark, who was unavoidably absent because of the elections in his country. Canada was represented by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance, and Mr. Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence. Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, who is the Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, also attended.

Fortunately it has now become more widely recognized that these Ministers may, and should, meet together from time to time to take stock and review future plans without necessarily recording spectacular decisions or controversies. This session was neither spectacular nor controversial, not because its achievements were unimportant — quite the contrary — but because the Ministers were able to reach rapidly full agreement on all the matters under discussion. This result is indicative of the close working relationships that are being developed within the Organization and was much assisted by the excellent preparatory work done in Paris by the Council meeting in permanent session and by the International Secretariat under Lord Ismay. The session was, moreover, both constructive and timely. Measures were approved to enable the Organization to make further progress in the immediate future toward developing the defensive strength necessary to defeat aggression. Ministers also had a valuable opportunity for a frank exchange of views on the international scene at a time when developments in Soviet foreign policy were attracting particular interest.

There was to be discerned at this session a new note of sober confidence in the growing capacity of the North Atlantic community to maintain peace and security. The firm conviction was expressed that the policy of collective defence had thus been proved fully justified and that it should, if continued with patience and firmness, create a basis for the just settlement of unresolved international problems.

Annual Review

A firm military programme was established for 1953 and a provisional programme for 1954; that is, the level of forces to be contributed to NATO by the end of 1953 was formally agreed and the further level to be contributed by the end of 1954 was adopted provisionally. These levels represent, in the words of the communiqué, "a notable increase" in the size of forces assigned to NATO over those achieved by the end of 1952 in accordance with the targets set at Lisbon. This, however, is only part of the story. It was also agreed, in accordance with the emphasis placed on quality by the December meeting of the Council, that important improvements in training, equipment and support units should be carried out which would increase substantially the effectiveness of these forces. On this occasion, in contrast to the practice followed at Lisbon, the Council did not make public the exact numbers involved. This decision was taken deliberately to minimize the security risk and to avoid misunderstanding. It was felt that, although guesses (inspired and otherwise) were bound to be made, it would be lending gratuitous assistance to potential enemies to furnish official confirmation of the correct figures involved. It was also felt that a mere tabulation of numbers would fail to give a balanced picture and would not do justice to the full significance of the



—NATIS

NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING

The Canadian delegation to the 11th ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization headed by, left to right: the Minister of Finance, Mr. Douglas Abbott; the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton; the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson; and the Canadian Permanent Delegate to NATO, Mr. A. D. P. Heeney.

qualitative improvements that had been adopted.

These decisions on forces for 1953 and 1954 came at the conclusion of a lengthy and thorough review by the Council of member countries' current defence programmes and their future defence plans. A similar review had been carried out by the "Three Wise Men" before the Lisbon meeting. This time, however, the review was carried out by member countries themselves through their Permanent Representatives on the Council and with the assistance of the Secretary-General and his staff. Full account was taken of the various economic and financial factors affecting the rate of expansion of each country's defence effort. It was recognized that members of the alliance must be prepared to keep their guard up for a prolonged period — for as long as the threat to their security remained — and that to do this it was essential that the development of sound national economies and the increase of military forces should be pursued concurrently.

Infrastructure

An important and far-reaching agreement was reached on sharing the cost, over the next three years, of constructing the permanent installations (such as airfields, telecommunications, and jet fuel supply and storage facilities) required for the common use of the NATO forces. This agreement is subject to the necessary appropriations being made by national parliaments. It will, however, enable the NATO military commanders to draw up long-term plans for building these so-called "infrastructure" facilities. Such plans will be subject to approval in detail by the Council and its subordinate bodies, and the actual expenditure of funds will be subject to an improved system of close financial supervision, which has now been worked out. The amounts involved are \$187.6 million for the second part of the infrastructure programme approved at the December Ministerial meeting, and \$700 million for the 3-year period beginning in 1954. These amounts are not large in relation to the

total defence expenditure of the NATO countries but they constitute by far the largest commonly financed element of NATO expenditure. They involve, moreover, installations which are of the greatest importance to the fighting efficiency of the NATO forces. The formula adopted for sharing the cost of these infrastructure programmes was arrived at pragmatically by negotiation and not on any pre-determined basis. Canada's share was set at 7.13 per cent.

Report of the Secretary-General

As he had in December, the Secretary-General again submitted a progress report to the Council outlining the current work of the International Secretariat. It also described the progress made in a wide variety of technical studies initiated by the Council on such problems as civil defence and the non-military matters covered by Article II of the Treaty. In each of these fields committees or working groups had been set up to investigate the possibilities of closer co-operation and joint action. In introducing the report, the Secretary-General emphasized particularly the importance of increasing public understanding of NATO and its objectives in the member countries and he commended this problem to the active attention of member governments. Various ministers expressed their special interest in the further development of co-operation between the NATO countries in the economic, cultural and social fields.

Exchange of Political Views

The Ministers once more followed their practice of consulting together on political matters of common concern. Their exchange of views on the international

situation, with special reference to recent Soviet moves, was particularly full and frank and was one of the most valuable features of this session. There was a remarkable unanimity of opinion on the significance of recent developments. Member governments reaffirmed their readiness to seek every opportunity to reduce international tension and were, therefore, prepared to welcome the recent Soviet moves and gestures to the extent to which these were proved by deeds to be genuine. At the same time, it was agreed that nothing had yet happened to alter the fundamental threat to our security and that there was, therefore, no justification for the slightest relaxation at this time in the defensive measures which Soviet intransigence had forced upon the NATO countries. The conclusions of this discussion, therefore, underlined the determination of the Council to persist with the policy of collective defence while remaining prepared to meet halfway any genuine move toward conciliation.

The Council also discussed the prospects for establishment of the European Defence Community. The belief was reaffirmed that the participation of forces of German origin was as essential to the defence of the North Atlantic community as to the defence of Western Germany itself. It was stressed that, since this participation could best be achieved through a European Army, it was of paramount importance that the remaining obstacles in the way of establishing the European Defence Community should be overcome as quickly as possible.

It was decided that the Ministers should meet again if possible next autumn, at which time plans for the following year could be reviewed. The text of the final communiqué issued by the recent session is given below.

Final Communiqué

(Approved by the North Atlantic Council on 25 April, 1953)

1. The North Atlantic Council, meeting in Paris in Ministerial Session with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Economics and Finance present, and under the Chairmanship of Lord Ismay, completed their work today.

2. The Council agreed on short and long-term programmes for NATO. They established a firm military programme for 1953 and a provisional programme for 1954. In addition to the forces which Greece and Turkey are contributing,

there will be a notable increase in the size of the forces assigned to NATO Supreme Commanders and a considerable improvement in their effectiveness. Training is being greatly improved at all levels. The series of large-scale manoeuvres held during the last year has appreciably raised the standard of co-operation of the forces of the member countries; units are being better equipped and the organization of support forces is developing. The NATO military authorities consider that the attainment of the force goals in 1953, and the combined influence of these various factors, will add materially to the defensive strength of NATO during 1953.

3. Agreement was reached not only on the common financing of the second part (£ 67,000,000) to the Fourth Slice of the Infrastructure Programme (the first part to the amount of about £ 80,000,000 having been settled at a Ministerial Meeting in December), but also on a cost-sharing formula which would cover fu-

ture programmes to be submitted by the Supreme Commanders for the three-year period beginning in 1954, involving expenditure of up to £ 250,000,000, subject to the approval of Parliaments. These programmes will include a wide range of projects such as airfields, telecommunications, naval bases and port facilities, pipelines and radar installations. The military authorities of NATO now have a financial planning figure to which they can work for over three years. In addition, an improved system is ready to be put into operation to ensure closer financial supervision over the expenditure of common infrastructure funds.

4. The Council gave close attention to various economic and financial factors affecting the rate of expansion of the defence efforts. It was agreed that the development of sound national economies and the increase of military forces should be pursued concurrently; in certain fields the establishment of long-term joint mili-



—National Defence

CANADIAN SABRES FOR NATO

General Roger Noiret, left, Commander-in-Chief of the French Forces in Germany, and Group Captain A. C. Hull, Commanding Officer of No. 3 Fighter Wing, at Zweibruken, Germany, examine one of the Canadian built "Sabre" jets, on the occasion of the assignment of this Canadian Wing to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on April 20.

tary production programmes appeared to be the least costly and the most efficient solution.

5. It was on these lines that the Member Governments and the International Staff developed a method for preparing correlated production programmes. The object of this is both to ensure that the defence production undertaken by European countries within their own budgets is on the most economic lines and to make defence production in Europe more effective. The participation of the United States, through off-shore procurement, adds to the contribution of the European countries and plays a very important part in these achievements. The additional fighter aircraft production programme, which has recently been announced, is a first important result of this. It will facilitate the expansion of the aircraft industries in five European countries while at the same time strengthening the air defence capacity of the alliance. Other programmes are being considered. NATO is also studying the means of developing production in Europe of spare parts for the maintenance of equipment of American and Canadian origin.

6. The Secretary General's Progress Report to the Council stressed the close collaboration between the civilian and military agencies of NATO, and outlined the current work of the International Staff. It emphasised the importance of developing a better public understanding of the aims and achievements of NATO, a matter to which Governments should give their constant attention. The Report described the progress made in the many and varied technical studies by Committees of the Council in a number of widely different fields, such as civil defence and other aspects of civil organization in time of war.

In the course of discussion on the Report, the Council re-emphasised their interest in the NATO countries' co-operation in the economic, cultural and social fields. They noted with satisfaction the initiative taken by the President of the United States of America, recently announced, with a view to fostering the solution of overpopulation problems in certain countries.

7. The Council continued their regular practice of exchanging views on political

matters of common concern. In reviewing the international situation they were in full agreement. This agreement included their estimate of the recent Soviet moves and gestures. To the extent that these moves and gestures are proved by events to be genuine efforts to reduce international tension, they will be welcomed by Member Governments, whose policy has always been to seek every opportunity for world peace.

8. Nevertheless, the Council found that there had not yet in fact been any change in the fundamental threat to the security of free peoples. The most striking evidence of this continuing threat is the huge and constantly strengthened military force maintained by those nations whose policies have been responsible for the present tension, and who are still promoting aggressive war in several parts of the world. The most recent example is the extension of hostilities in Laos. This serious development has increased the burden of France in the struggle against aggression and has given rise to deep concern on the part of other Member Governments.

9. The Council, therefore, reaffirmed the policy of collective defence which has proved fully justified, and which has been responsible for the growing confidence of the free world in the future. The Council felt that there was every prospect that this policy, continued with firmness and patience, will create a basis for a just settlement of unresolved international problems.

10. The Council considered it essential that Member Governments should continue to develop the free Atlantic community which should include a European Defence Community to be established as soon as possible in an ever more closely united Europe.

11. The Council reaffirmed their fundamental desire to build for peace. They looked forward to the day when a greater share of the resources of their countries would be devoted to national and international reconstruction and development. Convinced that in unity lies their greatest strength, they are resolved to broaden co-operation in every field, economic, political and social, as well as military, and so to make the Atlantic community a lasting reality.

Mr. St. Laurent's Visit to Washington

AT the invitation of President Eisenhower, the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, made an official visit to the United States from May 7 to 9. He was accompanied by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, and the Secretary of the Cabinet, Mr. J. W. Pickersgill.

The Prime Minister met President Eisenhower at the White House shortly after his arrival, and later went to Arlington Cemetery to lay wreaths at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and at the Canadian Cross.

On the following day Mr. St. Laurent visited the Capital where he called on the Vice-President, Mr. Richard M. Nixon, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Joseph W. Martin Jr. He then attended a luncheon and gave an address at the National Press Club. Later that afternoon he had a further meeting with the President. During his visit, Mr. St. Laurent met prominent members of Congress at a luncheon tendered by the President, and at dinners given by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. Wrong, and Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles. The following statement was issued by the White House at the conclusion of the meetings of President Eisenhower and various United States government officials with Mr. St. Laurent:

The President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and other members of the cabinet have held discussions during the last two days with the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Louis S. St. Laurent, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson. The meeting continued a long standing practice of visits exchanged across the border between Prime Ministers of Canada and the Presidents of the United States. The conversations consisted of a full and frank exchange of views on the world situation in general and on United States-Canadian relations in particular. They were conducted in that spirit of friendship and co-operation which has long been characteristic of official discussions between the two governments and they revealed a far-reaching identity of objectives.

World Situation

In a survey of the world situation today, the President and the Prime Minister gave particular emphasis to recent developments

in the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet orbit and their effects upon the free nations of the world. It was agreed that while every effort should be made to bring about a relaxation of current tensions, the free nations could not afford to diminish their efforts toward the achievement of united strength and ability to meet aggression. Acts, not words, would be proof of Communist intentions. Though recent developments in Korea where Canadian and United States troops are fighting side by side have seemed more hopeful, nevertheless, in Laos, a new act of aggression has been committed which might have serious consequences for Thailand and the whole of Southeast Asia. These developments in Southeast Asia must cast doubt on Communist intentions.

In the discussions on the European area, emphasis was placed on the necessity of maintaining the momentum of vigorous support for NATO. The achievements of the recent NATO ministerial meeting were noted with satisfaction. It was agreed that both countries must continue to do their full share to further NATO objectives.

Expanding Trade

Views were exchanged concerning progress made toward the expansion of world trade. It was recalled that trade between the United States and Canada is greater than that between any other two countries. The Prime Minister stressed the great importance attached by Canada to the liberation and expansion of world trade and expressed the hope that the United States would play a role of leadership in this field. The President stated that, as an interim step, the administration has recommended to the Congress the one-year renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Act and intends to submit to the Congress shortly its proposals regarding customs simplification. The President also pointed out that he has recommended to the Congress the establishment of a commission to study all aspects of United States economic foreign policy so that future policies will be comprehensive, constructive and consistent.

St. Lawrence Project

The Prime Minister emphasized the importance to Canada of an early start on the St. Lawrence project and the especial urgency to Canada of the power development. The President assured the Prime Minister that the United States is fully aware of Canada's urgent need for St. Lawrence power. He said that he favored the development of the United States share of St. Lawrence power under the authority of New York State and that he hoped for an early favorable decision by the Federal Power Commission in this



—USIS

THE PRIME MINISTER IN WASHINGTON

The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, on the steps of the United States Capital, during his recent visit to Washington, D.C., talks with the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Joseph W. Martin, Jr., left, and Senator Styles Bridges, President "Pro Tempore" of the United States Senate.

matter. The President in this connection referred to the decision of the cabinet on this subject announced today (Friday). The Prime Minister said that the Canadian Government was still prepared to discuss United States participation in the International Section, provided that arrangements for power construction are completed and provided the whole seaway would not be delayed. He stressed

again Canada's readiness to proceed at once with the work under the Canadian St. Lawrence legislation of 1951.

Adequate Defence

Recognizing the importance to the free world of the adequate defence of the North American continent, the President and the

Prime Minister emphasized the desirability and effectiveness of co-operating on the basis of the Ogdensburg Declaration of 1940, which established the Permanent Joint Board on Defence between Canada and the United States. Post-war arrangements for continental defence have continued in this framework. It was recognized by the Prime Minister and the President that joint defence facilities erected in Canada under these arrangements strengthen the defence and the security of

both Canada and the United States. The President assured the Prime Minister that the United States, for its part, in such joint actions will continue scrupulously to respect Canadian sovereignty.

The Prime Minister and the President reaffirmed the importance of continuing the whole-hearted co-operation between the two countries in the field of continental defence, and in the wider field of international action designed to preserve and strengthen peace.



—Capital Press

VICE-PRESIDENT OF INDIA VISITS OTTAWA

The Vice-President of India, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, with the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Brooke Claxton, during his visit to Ottawa on May 25.

Canada and the United Nations

Personnel Policy of the Secretary-General

WHEN the seventh session of the General Assembly resumed its meetings in February of this year, it had before it a new item entitled "Personnel Policy of the Secretary-General". This item had been placed on the agenda at the request of the Secretary-General, Mr. Trygve Lie, in order that he might inform the Assembly and at the same time obtain its views on the action which he had taken or proposed to take regarding United States citizens on the Secretariat who were suspected of subversive activities against the United States.

Commission of Jurists

The events which led to the proposing of the agenda item on personnel policy began during the summer of 1952 when a number of United States citizens employed on the Secretariat were called to testify before the Sub-Committee on Internal Security of the United States Senate. Certain of these employees refused to answer questions regarding subversive activities or membership in the Communist party, pleading their privilege under the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution to refuse to answer questions which might tend to incriminate them. The Secretary-General, disturbed by these refusals, appointed a three-man "Commission of Jurists" to advise him on the action he should take in regard to these employees and other United States citizens on whom he had received adverse reports from the United States authorities. The Commission, after studying the problem, recommended that the Secretary-General should dismiss all employees who had been found guilty of subversive activities against the host country (i.e. the United States), all employees who pleaded the constitutional privilege mentioned above and all employees whom he had reasonable ground to believe had been, were or were likely to be engaged in subversive activities against the host country. They also

recommended the establishment of an Advisory Panel to help decide cases in the last category and Mr. Lie later set up this Panel under the chairmanship of a Canadian, Mr. Leonard W. Brockington, Q.C.

The Jurists' report was issued during an unsettled and difficult period, just after the United States elections but before the change in administration and just before Mr. Lie tendered his resignation as Secretary-General. Some delegations were not convinced that the recommendations it contained were wholly in accord with the provisions of the Charter pertaining to the Secretariat. Although it was generally recognized that the United States had a legitimate right to protect its interests, the consensus of debate at the first part of the seventh session was that member states should have an opportunity to express their views before the Secretary-General, who had already expressed general agreement with the Jurists' report, took definitive action. Accordingly, Mr. Lie undertook to prepare a full report on his personnel policy, and an item entitled "Personnel Policy of the Secretary-General" was placed on the agenda for the resumed part of the seventh session of the Assembly.

Conflicting Concepts

The problems with which the Assembly was faced with regard to personnel policy arose from the existence of two seemingly conflicting concepts — that of an independent international civil service, and that of the protection of the legitimate security interests of a member state. The provisions of the Charter concerning the Secretariat clearly emphasize certain fundamental principles governing the recruitment, obligations and functions of the staff. First, the Secretariat must be free, independent and of truly international character. Secondly, appointment of staff must be the sole responsibility of the Secretary-General. This responsibility

is necessary to assure the independence already mentioned. Thirdly, members of the Secretariat must conduct themselves in a manner befitting the status of an international civil servant. While they are not expected to give up national sentiments or political beliefs, the expression of these must at all times be governed by the reserve and tact necessitated by their international status and the impartiality which their work requires.

In the years between the two world wars, the ideals of an international civil service which eventually crystallized in the wording of the Charter were being tried out in the Secretariats of the League of Nations and the I.L.O. The experience gained in these years was of inestimable value and had the period of comparatively normal world relations which existed at the end of the last war continued, it is probable that the international secretariat could have flourished without the problems with which it is now faced. But with the advent of the cold war there has been an increased awareness on the part of member states of the need for safeguarding their national security interests. The United States, because of its position in world affairs, has been particularly exposed to the problems engendered by the presence of subversive elements in the population. Quite naturally, therefore, in seeking to oust or to neutralize these elements, the attention of United States investigating bodies was drawn to the presence of a large group of international civil servants resident in the largest United States centre of population and enjoying certain privileges and immunities. The United Nations headquarters can not only literally but figuratively be called a glass house. The official activities of its employees are public knowledge and the information with which they deal is available to all member states. Thus it would not appear that, in the performance of their official duties, members of the Secretariat present a security risk to the United States. It is the United States view, however, that the employment by the United Nations of the United States citizens who are or are likely to be engaging in subversive activities is not in the national interests of the United States.

Tenets of Charter

During the debate on the Secretary-General's report on personnel policy, it was evident that nearly all delegations were deeply concerned and were anxious to find a solution which would not only meet the legitimate security requirements of member states but would also serve to strengthen and improve the morale of the Secretariat, which had suffered considerably from the allegations of subversive activities which had been made against it by some of the more vehement sections of United States press and public opinion. The Secretary-General in his report reaffirmed the international character of the Secretariat and his own sole responsibility for recruitment and dismissal. Canada joined with a great majority of member states, including the United States, in supporting these basic tenets of the Charter. Stress was laid on the fact that if the Secretary-General succumbed to national influence the Secretariat would become multi-national rather than international. Recognition was also given to the fundamental obligation of states to refrain from interfering with the Secretary-General's conduct of his personnel policies and, equally important, to the fundamental obligation of staff members to refrain from political or subversive activity.

Grounds for Dismissal

The virtual unanimity which marked the Assembly debate on the fundamental precepts regulating the international civil service and its relations with member states was not apparent during the discussions on the second part of the Secretary-General's report in which he made specific proposals regarding dismissal of Secretariat staff. The proposition that a staff member should be dismissed if reasonable ground exists for believing him engaged or likely to engage in subversive activities was accepted generally by all delegations as being in accord with the tenets of the Charter. A difference of opinion occurred, however, on the standards to be applied by the Secretary-General to cases of this nature. A considerable number of countries, including the Scandinavian countries and the Commonwealth, except the United Kingdom, were

disturbed by the Secretary-General's decision to consider resort to the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination as grounds for automatic dismissal. In the words of Mr. Paul Martin, Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, . . . "it is not just or reasonable that an employee should be dismissed on the sole ground of having refused to answer questions, the answers to which might serve to incriminate him . . . Such refusal should cause the Secretary-General to view the employee with suspicion and should lead the Secretary-General to institute enquiries . . ." The United States was supported by the United Kingdom, Greece and several Latin-American countries in its contention that pleading privilege is not consistent with the obligations of United Nations staff members. When discussion turned to the current United States investigations of its own nationals in international organizations a similar difference of opinion appeared. Most delegations recognized that the United States had the right to investigate its own citizens but considered that the final decision must lie with the Secretary-General, who would accept a report from the United States authorities only for his own information. Some delegations including the Canadian Delegation welcomed the Secretary-General's assurance that he would require reasonable grounds for suspicion before taking action and would not dismiss on mere hearsay or rumour. Several delegations also pointed out that the standards to be used by the Secretary-General should be divorced from national standards set up for a different purpose.

Action by Assembly

Apart from the differences mentioned, which were mainly of emphasis and detail, the main cleavage which developed in the Assembly concerned the proper method of tackling the personnel question. The Arab and Asian states thought that the problem should be given a much more detailed study by experts and therefore introduced a resolution calling for the establishment of a fifteen-member committee to study the Secretary-General's report and submit its findings to the eighth session of the Assembly. Western delegations on the other hand took the view that the Secretary-General could be guided in his actions by the various statements made during the debate, provided the Assembly made it clear that the fundamental Charter provisions continued to be the sole criteria which should determine his actions. A compromise between these two positions was finally attained by the adoption of a resolution reaffirming the Charter provisions and asking the Secretary-General to report to the eighth session after consulting with the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Matters and the heads of the Specialized Agencies.

Thus the Assembly will at its next session have the benefit of any technical comments or recommendations which may result from these consultations. In the meantime, the new Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, whose appointment was announced during the debate on the personnel item, will have before him for guidance the various criticisms which were expressed and the principles which were reaffirmed.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. T. F. M. Newton was posted from the NATO Secretariat, Paris, to home leave, effective April 29, 1953.
- Mr. B. A. Wallis was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C., to home leave, effective May 2, 1953.
- Miss B. M. Meagher was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in London, effective May 6, 1953.
- Mr. M. G. Bertrand was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective May 9, 1953.
- Mr. K. B. Williamson was posted from home leave (Prague) to Ottawa, effective May 9, 1953.
- Mr. C. N. Senior was posted from San Francisco to home leave, effective May 26, 1953.
- Mr. R. H. Jay was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner, New Delhi, to home leave, effective May 27, 1953.
- Mr. J. R. Maybee was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in Canberra, to home leave, effective May 14, 1953.
- The following officers were appointed to the Department of External Affairs: C. E. Bourbonniere, D. K. Doherty, E. T. Galpin, H. G. Hampson (all effective May 12/53), P. A. Bissonnette (May 26/53). Mr. G. R. Harman was appointed May 12/53 and joined the Department at the Consulate General, New York.
- Mrs. E. K. Smart (nee Marjorie Gordon) resigned from the staff of the Consulate General, New York, effective May 22, 1953.

ADDENDUM

In the May issue of *External Affairs*, the entry for Mr. J. A. Irwin should have read as follows: Mr. J. A. Irwin was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, Indonesia, effective April 13.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- | | |
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| No. 53/18— <i>Post-War Trends in Labour-Management Relations</i> , text of an address delivered by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Milton F. Gregg, to the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Hamilton, Ont. | No. 53/20— <i>The North Atlantic Treaty Organization</i> , text of the radio broadcast by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, over the CBC, May 3, 1953. |
| No. 53/19— <i>Disarmament</i> , a statement by the Permanent Representative of Canada to the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. David M. Johnson, made in the First Committee, March 20, 1953. | No. 53/21— <i>Canadian-United States Partnership in World Affairs</i> , an address by the Prime Minister, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, made at the National Press Club, Washington, D.C., May 8, 1953. |

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

**Statistical Commission—Report of the Seventh Session (2 to 13 February 1953)*; 20 February 1953; document E/2365, E/CN.3/163. Pp. 42. 40 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 5.

**Restrictive Business Practices—Report of the Ad Hoc Committee*; 20 March 1953; document E/2380, E/AC.37/3. Pp. 22. 25 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 11.

**Report on a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development*; 18 March 1953; document E/2381. Pp. 61. 50 cents. Sales No.: 1953.II.B.1 (Department of Economic Affairs).

Commission on the Status of Women—Report of the Seventh Session (16 March-3 April 1953); 1 April 1953; document E/2401, E/CN.6/227. Pp. 19. 15 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 2.

**UNICEF—A special report of the Executive Board (25 March 1953)*; 21 April 1953;

document E/2409, E/ICEF/226. Pp. 5. 10 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 6A.

Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Specialized Agencies (five official languages); New York, 1953; document ST/LEG/4. Pp. 58. 60 cents. Sales No.: 1953.X.1.

WHO—Executive Board, Eleventh Session (Geneva, 12 January to 4 February 1953); Resolutions, Report of the Executive Board including Report on the proposed programme and budget estimates for 1954, Annexes. Geneva, April 1953. Pp. 265. \$1.50. Official Records No. 46.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Economic Commission for Europe — Annual Report to the Economic and Social Council covering the period from 19 March 1952 to 18 March 1953; 28 March 1953; document E/2382, E/ECE/162. Pp. 100.

Fifth report of Mr. Frank P. Graham, United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan; 27 March 1953; document S/2967. Pp. 22, annexes I-V.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, p. 36.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".



No. 7

Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada



HER MAJESTY WITH COMMONWEALTH LEADERS

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II held a reception at Buckingham Palace on the eve of her Coronation for Representatives of the Member Countries of the Commonwealth Overseas. Her Majesty is seen here surrounded by Commonwealth Prime Ministers and the Chief Minister of Jamaica. Left to right are: Mr. Mohammed Ali (Pakistan); Sir Godfrey Huggins (Southern Rhodesia); Lord Bessborough (Northern Ireland); Mr. Nehru (India); Mr. Bustamante (Jamaica); Sir Winston Churchill; the Queen; Mr.

Historic Meeting of Commonwealth Statesmen in London

TAKING advantage of their presence at the Coronation ceremonies, the Prime Ministers of the self-governing members of the Commonwealth met in London from June 3 to June 9 to confer on international affairs, defence strategy and economic problems. Present were Prime Ministers Churchill of the United Kingdom, St. Laurent of Canada, Menzies of Australia, Holland of New Zealand, Malan of South Africa, Nehru of India, Mohammed Ali of Pakistan and Senanayake of Ceylon. Sir Godfrey M. Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, also attended the meetings.

A communiqué issued at the conclusion of the conference said the meetings had been demonstrative of the concord which existed between all the governments and peoples of the Commonwealth despite their varying circumstances and approaches to world problems. Hundreds of millions of people of many races and creeds and living in many parts of the world were represented at the conference.

Text of Communiqué

Following is the text of the communiqué:

"The final plenary session of the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was held this afternoon. The Prime Ministers have met at a time of general rejoicing. The presence at the coronation of representatives of all parts of the Commonwealth has illustrated the unity and the variety of the Commonwealth Association of which Her Majesty is the head. The discussions which the Prime Ministers have held have once more demonstrated the concord which exists between all the governments and peoples of the Commonwealth despite their varying interests and circumstances in their approach to the major problems of the world today.

"This sense of concord has been strengthened by the discussions of the

past week. These have enabled the Prime Ministers to undertake comprehensive and realistic review of the international situation and there has been a personal exchange of views which will help all the Commonwealth Governments to continue their conduct of foreign relations with renewed understanding of the policies and interests of their partners in the Commonwealth.

Relations with U.S.S.R.

"The Prime Ministers found it especially valuable to have this opportunity for personal discussions so shortly before the proposed meeting at Bermuda between the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of France. They reviewed the state of relations with the Soviet Union and agreed that no opportunity should be lost of composing, or at least easing, the differences which at present divide the world. But they recognized that the democracies must maintain their strength and exercise unceasing vigilance to preserve their rights and liberties.

Western Europe

"The Prime Ministers reviewed recent developments in Western Europe. The Commonwealth countries associated with or interested in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization expressed the hope that the European Defence Community would be established at the earliest possible date.

Korea

"The Prime Ministers followed with close interest the concluding phases of the armistice negotiations in Korea. They noted with gratification that long and patient labours have now led to the conclusion of an agreement on

prisoners of war and thus made way for the early signature of the armistice agreement. They exchanged views on the steps which have to be considered after the end of hostilities in Korea for the promotion of stability and progress throughout the Far East and Southeast Asia.

Middle East

"The current problems of the Middle East were also discussed. The Prime Ministers recognized the international importance of the Suez Canal and of the effective maintenance of the military installations in the Canal Zone. They agreed that it is in the common interest that the outstanding issues in the Middle East should be settled on the basis of ensuring the peace and security of the Middle East countries consistently with the sovereignty of each and promoting their social and economic development.

Economic Field

"The Prime Ministers reviewed developments in the economic field following the Commonwealth Economic Conference of December 1952. They agreed that the Commonwealth coun-

tries should adhere firmly to the long term objectives and lines of policy then laid down. In the meantime it was essential to take advantage of the improved outlook for the sterling area by continuing to strengthen the economy of each of the countries concerned. Particular attention was given to the need for stimulating economic development, for expanding exports and, consistently with the maintenance of adequate reserves, for removing progressively restrictions on trade over as wide an area as possible and especially within the Commonwealth and the sterling area.

Informal Talks

"Throughout this coronation period the Prime Ministers have taken advantage of many opportunities for informal talks on matters of particular interest to two or more countries and on general subjects which have not been discussed in the plenary sessions. Although those sessions are now over some of the Prime Ministers will be remaining in London for a further period during which these exchanges will be continued."

Some Aspects of Canada's Relations with Latin America

CANADA'S relations with Latin America have developed in spontaneous fashion, following no pre-ordained pattern. Trade interests required attention. Canadian missionaries and businessmen, at times, needed help from Canada. Hence trade and, eventually, consular offices were opened. During the Second World War, diplomatic missions were established. The first mission to be opened was a legation in Brazil in September 1941. A month later a legation was opened in Argentina and in January 1942 the Canadian Minister in Buenos Aires was also accredited as Minister to Chile. This arrangement continued until 1943 when a separate Minister was appointed to Chile. Embassies were opened in Mexico and Peru in March and October 1944 respectively. The legations in Brazil and Chile were raised to the rank of embassies in 1944 and the legation in Argentina in 1945. In May 1945 a legation was established in Cuba and this was raised to an embassy in 1950. Although an embassy was not established in Venezuela until January 1953, Canada has had a consulate general in Caracas since 1946. In January 1953 the Canadian Ambassador to Argentina was also accredited as Ambassador to Uruguay. In the Ambassador's absences, the embassy in Uruguay is left in care of a *chargé d'affaires*. Canada's first Ambassador to Colombia took up his post in March 1953. In addition to these diplomatic missions a consulate was opened in Sao Paulo, Brazil in 1947.

Canadian Representation in Latin America

Canada has, at present, nine diplomatic missions, two trade commissioners' offices and one consulate in the Latin American Republics. (There are, also, trade commissioners' offices in two other countries, namely Jamaica and Trinidad). The mere enumeration, however of diplomatic and trade missions should not be allowed to hide two facts. First, where a

diplomatic mission exists in Latin America, there too will be found a representative of the Department of Trade and Commerce. Second, the republics where trade commissioners are not actually stationed are "covered" by a trade commissioner in the vicinity. For instance, the Canadian Trade Commissioner at Guatemala City has a "territory" which includes Costa Rica, the Canal Zone, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama.

Trade, the Basic Factor

Trade with Latin America has unquestionably been the basic factor which has led to the close and harmonious relations of Canada with that part of the hemisphere. The Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Louis St. Laurent, pointed out recently that Canada's trade with Latin America has increased 18 times in value since 1939. Canada's total trade during 1952 was valued at \$8,332 millions, of which some \$559 millions were with Latin America. While that area purchased, in 1938, about 2 per cent of Canada's exports and supplied about 2 per cent of our imports, it took, in 1952, over 6 per cent of the Canadian exports and Canada obtained there about 7 per cent of her imports.

Reasons for Importance of Latin American Trade

A number of reasons contribute to the growing importance of Latin America to Canada's trade pattern. Latin America has a population of over 150 millions and vast natural resources which generally are complementary to Canada's. The Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, after his tour of that area, in January and early February 1953, put it in these terms:

As in Canada, the whole area is in the process of economic expansion with higher production, rising living standards and increasing import requirements. We are



—Kurt Klagsbrunn

CANADIAN GOODWILL TRADE MISSION TO LATIN AMERICA

The Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, left, and Sr. Joao Neves da Fontoura, at that time Brazilian Minister of External Affairs, at a luncheon arranged by the Commercial Association of Rio de Janeiro on January 9, 1953, in honour of members of the Canadian Goodwill Trade Mission to Latin America.

natural trading partners, each in need of what the other can supply.

Canadian Investments in Latin America

Canada — few Canadians realize this — has invested about \$1,000 millions in Latin America, chiefly in public utilities, mining, banks, insurance, and industry. Brazilian Traction alone accounts for about half of this not inconsiderable investment. Brazil is, at present, Canada's largest export market in South America and it is one of our best markets for motor vehicles and electric apparatus. In 1952, Canada sold to Brazil goods valued at over \$81 millions and bought from Brazil about \$35 millions of goods consisting mainly of coffee, vegetable fibres and iron ore. Brazil recently has been badly beset by exchange difficulties owing to an overall trade deficit and, as a result, has had to impose severe import and exchange restrictions, particularly with the dollar area. The Brazilian Government is anx-

ious to return to a regime of free trade and currency and is taking measures designed to improve the country's exchange position. Opportunities for greater trade promotion may be available at the exhibition — in which Mr. Howe announced Canadian participation — to be held in 1954 to mark the 400th anniversary of the founding of Sao Paulo.

The total trade of Canada with Argentina, on the other hand, has dropped in 1952 to \$12.6 millions from \$22.8 millions in 1951. There are many reasons for this. The first is the serious droughts of 1950 and 1951 which cut Argentina's wheat crop one-third of her ten-year average. Another reason is that Argentina is one of the few countries of that area whose economy is not complementary to the Canadian. Argentine and Canadian wheat and beef, for example, compete on the world's markets. And so it is for other products.

Both Argentina and Brazil — seeking to meet the needs of their expanding demands — present attractive yet somewhat

difficult markets in the present circumstances. Before the war, Argentina had a triangular trade and payments pattern with a sterling surplus and a dollar deficit. Post-war trade and payments restrictions have disrupted this pattern and, in the absence of the convertibility of sterling and other currencies, Argentina must increase her dollar exports. This is, of course, a matter primarily for businessmen with whatever facilities governments may offer. Brazil, on the other hand, is primarily an agricultural country with vast potential mineral wealth; it is also probably the most industrialized country of Latin America. But its very expansion and heavy purchases have created problems which affect Canadian supplies in the short-term.

Demand Increasing

These samples of Canada's trade with two of the largest Latin American republics do not give the complete picture of trade with these republics. Nor does any recital of figures such as: Venezuela's total trade with Canada in 1952 amounted to about \$172 millions; Mexican-Canadian trade amounted to \$64 millions; our trade with Cuba was of the order of \$42 millions; Colombia and Canada exchanged that year goods amounting to \$32 millions. The fact of the matter is that Latin America is the home of some of the world's fastest growing populations. And the people of Latin America are seeking more consumer goods, more capital machinery, more technical assistance and more means of developing and enjoying their cultural amenities.

Over the years, Canada (either directly or, before achieving autonomy, through the Government of the United Kingdom) has signed trade agreements with all the Latin American republics except Honduras. These treaties provide for the exchange of full most-favoured-nation treatment in tariffs and other trade matters. Thus it is that Canadian exports are on the same footing as those of any other country except where provision is made for preferential treatment to contiguous territories. One further exception is Cuba, where the United States of America receives preferential tariffs on many items

because of long-standing treaties between those two states. By negotiations, Canada has been able to obtain a reduction and, in some cases, the elimination of a number of these preferences.

The basis for Canadian-Latin American trade is further strengthened by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Among countries which are members with Canada are Brazil, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Chile, Peru, and Nicaragua.

First Contacts Established by Private Corporations

Trade treaties apart, it was a number of Canadian banks, insurance companies and other private corporations which established the first important commercial contacts between Latin America and Canada. Before 1939, only a few Latin American republics had trade and consular representatives in Canada. Early in the Second World War, Canada and Latin American countries made a real start on the present phase of their efforts to establish closer and mutually beneficial ties.

One reason this development has not been more rapid has been that the energies of the peoples of both Canada and Latin America have always been absorbed to a great extent in developing their own countries. That this is as true today as it ever was is borne out by the inspiring development projects that are in progress in hundreds of localities throughout Latin America; by Canada's activities in the iron ore fields and mines of Quebec and Ontario, in the western oil fields and in the neighbourhood of Kitimat, B.C.

Another factor which has, in the past, arrested the development of relations between Latin America and Canada is to be found in the important ties of blood, culture and tradition which Canada has with Western Europe and the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth ties, Canada's efforts to ensure her security through the United Nations, and latterly, through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have drawn Canada's attention to parts of the world other than the southern half of this hemisphere.



—Ward & Davidson

S.S. "Ciudad de Valencia", built by Canadian Vickers for Flota Mercanta Grancolombiana.

It may be that Canada's ties and commitments explain — yesterday and today — her attitude toward the Organization of American States, formerly known as the Pan-American Union. Professor Soward held the thesis that Canada could not become a member of the Pan-American Union until she had achieved complete political autonomy. If this be true, there could be no question of Canada joining the Union until 1926, the date of the Balfour Declaration, which established the equality and independence of each of the self-governing members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Until 1939 Canada was — so to speak — finding her feet. During the Second World War, Canada had her work cut out for her in providing an army of five divisions overseas, in patrolling and convoying ships over half the North Atlantic and in providing a large number of air squadrons. One of Canada's main aims since the war has been to find a system which would ensure her security from the real threats of aggression which hitherto had seemed to originate in Europe. All this helps to explain, possibly, Canada's attitude toward the Organization of American States.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Louis St. Laurent, said in the House of Commons

on March 27, 1953, that the position of the Canadian Government with regard to the Organization of American States had not changed since he had referred to the question in 1949. At that time, he had stated that Canada's relations with all the members of the Organization of American States had always been most satisfactory and that so far it had not appeared to the Canadian Government that there would be any decided advantage in Canada's formal membership in the Organization.

Bonds Tightened

On the other hand, by Canada's contacts through the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies (as well as through trade and diplomatic channels), the bonds between Latin America and Canada have been tightened — even though it may have escaped public notice. Contacts have become more frequent by the presence of Canada in some Inter-American specialized agencies dealing with such subjects as health, labour, agriculture, medicine, engineering and tourist travel. In 1952, Canadian representatives attended nine such conferences in addition to the several unofficial conferences.

Exchange of Visits

One way of increasing the knowledge of citizens of both North and South America is the frequent visits of these citizens to each other's countries. Apart from a large number of tourists, Canadian businessmen visit these countries in increasing numbers. Some instances of official Canadian visits have been those of two frigates of the Royal Canadian Navy to Peru, Panama, and Nicaragua in February 1952; the calls made by the cruiser "Ontario" at ports in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil in the latter part of 1952; the visit of the Queen's Printer to Mexico in April 1952 to collaborate in the organization of the National Printing Bureau of that country; and the goodwill and trade mission of 1953 headed by Mr. C. D. Howe to Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Uruguay, and Venezuela. In the reverse direction, one should mention the visits to Canada in September 1952 of prominent Latin Americans in connection with the centennial celebration of Laval University; the presence in Canada of a large number of Latin American students and, late in 1952, the informal visit to Canada of the wife of the President of Peru.

Cultural, Technical and Religious Fields

Increasing emphasis is being placed on establishing closer collaboration in the cultural, technical and religious fields. Few Canadians are aware that some 2,000 Latin American scholars frequent Canadian schools, colleges, and universities. Scores of Canadians have gone to Latin America to help in the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme. There are also relatively large numbers of Canadian missionaries who

have gone to Bolivia, Chile, and Haiti (to name but three countries) in order to augment the all too small numbers of clergy in some of the more remote areas.

Information material, films produced by Canada's National Film Board, broadcasts by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's International Service and exhibitions of Canadian paintings presented by the National Gallery of Canada have made a notable contribution to a better understanding of Canada in Latin America. Two private ventures in this field should be noted. The first is the activity of the Canadian Inter-American Association of Montreal which has organized instruction in Spanish and Portuguese and arranged for Canadian scholarships in 1952 and 1953 to the University of Mexico. The second example of private activity is the tour of paintings of Canadian cities organized by Seagram's to visit San Juan, Havana, Mexico City, Caracas, Rio de Janeiro, and Sao Paulo.

Communications Improving

In the world of communications, it is interesting to see that Trans-Canada Air Lines and Canadian Pacific Airlines are working out arrangements to have air schedules between Canada and Latin America and that the Canadian Vickers Company of Montreal launched, on April 8, 1953, the fifth of a fleet of seven ships being built for the Grancolombiana Merchant Fleet, a line owned by the Governments of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador.

These intercontinental movements of ships, planes, businessmen, traders, artists, and intellectuals plying northwards and southwards are the true foundations upon which are built the cordial relations between Latin America and Canada.

The Foreign Service Officer Competition

DURING the last six years more than 175 young Canadians have begun careers as Foreign Service Officers in the Department of External Affairs. This represents a sizeable influx for a Department which in 1927 had only three officers and in 1941 only 49. The rapid expansion has been necessitated by the unprecedented increase in the activities of the Department in the post-war years. With the growth of Canada's international responsibilities her Government has taken a more active role in world affairs, the evidence of which has been the opening of many new foreign posts in recent years. In 1939 Canada maintained a half-dozen posts abroad; today she has to staff and provide for more than 50. In addition, the extension of the practice of diplomacy by conference has created a further demand for personnel, by requiring Canada to provide delegations to international conferences (in 1952 there were 146). Permanent representatives must be maintained at the headquarters of important international and regional organizations such as the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Demand for Officers of Senior Grade

These developments have created a heavy demand for officers with the experience and training required to conduct the affairs of the Department at home and abroad. In order to secure qualified officers for the intermediate and senior grades during and immediately after the war, it was necessary to bring in a number of recruits whose background in business and professional life and in other government departments fitted them for diplomatic duties. Following the cessation of hostilities, there was a large influx of members of the armed forces whose normal entry into the Department in the preceding years had been prevented by the war. Most officers, however, entered at the junior level and were selected from among successful candidates in competitive examinations con-

ducted by the Civil Service Commission. Now that the Department has sufficient experienced officers capable of assuming the responsibilities of the more senior ranks, new officers are recruited through the Civil Service Commission by examination.

Large Number of Candidates

The Foreign Service Officer competitions, which are held almost every year, usually attract a large number of candidates. Interest is keen in all parts of Canada. Although, in ordinary circumstances, the number of positions offered is about ten, it is not unusual to have up to 200 candidates taking part in the written examination. This is particularly remarkable at a time when Canada is undergoing unprecedented economic expansion. While individual suitability is the guiding principle in selecting officers, it is interesting to note that all parts of Canada are represented by the officers in the Department.

Eligibility — Qualifications

To be eligible for the Foreign Service, candidates must be British subjects with a minimum Canadian residence of ten years, and they must have graduated with a degree from a university of recognized standing. Recommended courses of study are history, economics, political science, law, philosophy and geography, but the list of courses is not intended to be exclusive. A post-graduate degree is not required, though most of the successful candidates in the past have taken at least one year of graduate studies. Previous business or professional experience is helpful, as is a knowledge of a modern language in addition to English and French. Candidates are expected to have a working knowledge of both the official languages of Canada. The competition is open to both male and female candidates possessing the minimum formal qualifications. In recent years the competition has

been restricted to applicants between the ages of 23 and 31 years.

C.S. Commission Conducts Examination

The Civil Service Commission is responsible for conducting the examinations and prepares and distributes the notices giving particulars of forthcoming competitions. These are displayed in post offices and Civil Service and National Employment Service offices across Canada and in Canadian Government offices abroad. In order to ensure that all interested and potential candidates are aware of the competition, the Civil Service Commission also notifies all Canadian universities and the major universities abroad at which Canadians may be studying; the Department of National Defence informs Canadian troops in Korea and Europe.

The Written Examination

The competition is divided into three phases: the written examination, the oral examination, and the assignment of a rating based on education and experience. The written examination is prepared by officers of the Department of External Affairs in co-operation with representatives of the Civil Service Commission. Candidates may write in English or French and each is given a number, in order to preserve anonymity until the marking of the papers is completed.

In the 1952 examination, the first paper, which is reprinted as an appendix to this article, contained a list of six questions upon one of which the candidates were required to write an essay. The second paper was composed of two parts: the first contained questions on Canadian and international affairs, and the second consisted of a passage which candidates were asked to summarize and to interpret by answering certain specific questions. The essay paper was rather general in character and was designed to test the candidate's intellectual qualities and his ability to express himself effectively in writing. The second paper had the twofold purpose of examining the candidate's general knowledge, particularly on Canadian and international af-

fairs, and testing his reading comprehension.

The Oral Board

In the second phase of the competition those who are successful in the written examination are called before the oral board. The centres at which the oral boards sit may change from year to year, but normally they are convened in the main cities of Canada, and, if the number of candidates should so warrant, in some of the larger cities in the United States, the United Kingdom and Western Europe. Occasionally it is more convenient, where there are only one or two candidates, to request them to appear for interview at the nearest city in which the board is sitting. The boards are normally composed of five members, including the Civil Service Commission representative who acts as chairman, two representatives from the Department (one English-speaking and the other French-speaking), and two outside members representing the universities and business respectively. In the interests of continuity and to ensure that similar selection standards are applied, an effort is made to have one or more persons common to all boards.

During the interview, which normally requires about one hour, the function of the board is to assess the personal suitability of the candidate. They rate him on such traits as intellectual capacity, moral and personal integrity, sense of responsibility, initiative, adaptability, effectiveness of speech, and appearance and manner. To aid the board members in forming a judgment, they have before them the comments of the persons whom candidates have given as references. On the basis of the board's assessment, a mark is assigned for the second phase of the competition.

The Third Phase

In the third phase a rating, based on military, business and professional experience, academic training and knowledge of foreign languages, is assigned to each candidate who has been successful in the written and oral examinations. In the final mark this rating is given a weight of two, while the written and oral

examinations each are given a weight of four. All who obtain a sufficiently high final mark are graded according to rank to form an eligible list which is published in the *Canada Gazette*. Successful candidates who are entitled to the statutory veterans' preference are automatically ranked at the top of this list, from which appointments are made to meet the requirements of the Department for new officers. Appointments are, of course, limited by the number of vacant positions on the approved Departmental establishment.

Appointments

The successful candidates who accept appointments enter the Department in the late spring and summer following the completion of the competition. They enter on the understanding that they are available for service wherever the Department may require. Appointments are probationary but, after about twelve months of satisfactory service, promotion to temporary status is usual. The normal training period in Ottawa is approximately two years, after which a new officer becomes available for service abroad. During this period the Department attempts to ensure that each officer will be employed in an "area" division, such as

the Commonwealth or American Division, an administrative division, and a functional division, such as the Consular or Information Division. His tour of duty in each covers a period of four to six months. In addition to practical experience and training in the various duties performed by officers, he attends a series of lectures presented by senior officers of the Department and of other government departments, and by speakers from outside the government service. The object of this training is to acquaint him with the work of the divisions and of closely related government departments, as well as to round off his knowledge of Canada and Canadian affairs.

The chief emphasis of the system of competitive examinations is on selecting officers whose personality, academic attainments and previous experience show them to possess the qualifications for success in performing diverse diplomatic and consular functions. They must possess the intelligence and flexibility of mind for a job in which a wide variety of subject matter is handled; they must be able to work harmoniously with others and be readily adaptable to contrasting circumstances and conditions of work; and they must be able to exercise independent judgment and to assume increasing responsibilities.

FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER, GRADE I

Department of External Affairs

WRITTEN EXAMINATION

PAPER I

Time: 3 hours

The purpose of this paper is to test your capacity to analyze a theoretical problem lucidly. The examiners will base their judgment on the manner in which you present your views and on the cogency of the views themselves.

Discuss *one* of the following:

1. What is the best balance of work and leisure; how should the question of leisure time be approached in modern society?
2. "The form of government of any country is determined by tradition, physical environment and the stage of its economic development."
3. "A Nation, in its influence upon civilization, is not an aggregate of its living people, for they are but part of the whole continuing and historic people. Nor is it a State, for the State is artificial. A Nation is an Idea."
4. "Without justice, what is political rule but brigandage and rapine?" ("Remota justitia, quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia?")
5. "The first requirement of a sound body of law is that it should correspond with actual feelings and demands of the community, whether right or wrong."
6. "There is no such thing as a science of economics; every system of economic thought is in a large measure subjective in that it is posited on desired social goals."

WRITTEN EXAMINATION

PAPER II

Time: 3½ hours

The purpose of Parts A and B of this paper is to test your interest in, and understanding of some of the following problems and your ability to discuss them clearly and in logical fashion.

In Parts A and B candidates must do three questions with at least one from each part. Part C, which is designed to test the candidate's ability to comprehend the meaning of written material, is compulsory for all candidates.

PART A—Questions on Canada

1. Discuss the feasibility of Canadian membership in the Sterling Area.
2. Discuss some of the implications of recent trends of domestic and foreign investment in Canada.
3. Discuss the contribution to political thought and action in Canada of one of the following: Henri Bourassa, J. S. Woodsworth, Goldwyn Smith, J. S. Ewart.
4. Discuss the relationship of Canadian trade unions to the political life of Canada.
5. Discuss the role of the Federal Government in fostering cultural activities.
6. Discuss Canada's role in the evolution from 'British Empire' to 'Commonwealth of Nations'.
7. To what extent do you think the British North America Act restricts the Government of Canada in the conduct of its external affairs?

PART B—Questions on International Affairs

8. How do you account for the appearance of Titoism in Yugoslavia? What are the chances of similar developments in the European Satellites and China?
9. Discuss the movement toward European integration, and assess its prospects.
10. Discuss the role of Christian Democracy in Europe today.
11. In your opinion, in the present international situation do "neutralist" or "no foreign entanglements" policies contribute to world peace? Discuss, using examples drawn from foreign policies of governments in both Europe and Asia.
12. "Stalin has none of Hitler's compulsion to go to war; indeed, the compulsion is all the other way, taking into consideration his own nature, the categories of Marxist thinking, Soviet geography and resources, the nature of the Russian people, and the miserable and unreliable state of the Soviet Union today." Comment.
13. Assess the role of either the United Nations or NATO in preserving international peace and security.
14. Do you think it is desirable to establish at the present time an International Court of Criminal Jurisdiction?
15. Discuss two representative authors from any one of the following countries: France, Germany, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, Canada, and indicate why you consider them representative.

PART C

Read the passage contained in Appendix A and answer the following questions which are based on it.

1. Summarize in one paragraph of not more than one page in length the theory presented in this passage.
2. The author suggests that in the historical process there is one vital unknown element. Define, and if you agree or disagree with his theory, give your reasons.
3. From the above passage, what does the phrase "Uniformity of Nature" mean to the author and to what extent does it satisfy the author's view of the origin of a civilization?
4. Relate the idea of "Integration of Custom" to "Differentiation of Civilization".
5. In your opinion is the author subscribing to a deterministic theory of history? In a short paragraph, defend your answer.

APPENDIX A*

By the light of Mythology, we have gained some insight into the nature of challenges and responses. We have come to see that creation is the outcome of an encounter, or—to re-translate the imagery of myths into the terminology of Science—that genesis is a function of interaction. Let us now return to our immediate quest: our search for the positive factor which has shaken part of Mankind out of 'the Integration of Custom' into 'the Differentiation of Civilization' within the last six thousand years. Let us look again into the origins of our twenty-one civilizations in order to ascertain, by an empirical test, whether the conception of Challenge-and-Response answers to the factor of which we are in search any better than the hypotheses of Race and Environment, which we have already weighed in the balance and found wanting.

* Extract from "The Study of History", Volume I, by Arnold Toynbee, pp. 299-301.

In this fresh survey, we shall be concerned with Race and Environment once more, but we shall regard them in a new light and shall place a different interpretation upon the phenomena. We shall no longer be on the look-out for some simple cause of the genesis of civilizations which can be demonstrated always and everywhere to produce an identical effect. We shall no longer be surprised if, in the production of civilizations, the same race, or the same environment, appears to be fruitful in one instance and sterile in another. Indeed, we shall not be surprised to find this phenomenon of inconstancy and variability in the effects produced, on different occasions, by one and the same cause, even when that cause is an interaction between the same race and the same environment under the same conditions. However scientifically exact the identity between two or more situations may be, we shall not expect the respective outcomes of these situations to conform with one another in the same degree of exactitude, or even in any degree at all. In fact, we shall no longer make the scientific postulate of the Uniformity of Nature, which we rightly made so long as we were thinking of our problem in scientific terms as a function of the play of inanimate forces. We shall be prepared now to recognize, *a priori*, that, even if we were exactly acquainted with all the racial, environmental, or other data that are capable of being formulated scientifically, we should not be able to predict the outcome of the interaction between the forces which these data represent, any more than a military expert can predict the outcome of a battle or a campaign from an 'inside knowledge' of the dispositions and resources of both the opposing general staffs, or a bridge expert the outcome of a game or a rubber from a similar knowledge of all the cards in every hand.

In both these analogies, 'inside knowledge' is not sufficient to enable its possessor to predict results with any exactness or assurance, because it is not the same thing as complete knowledge. There is one thing which must remain an unknown quantity to the best-informed onlooker, because it is beyond the knowledge of the combatants, or the players, themselves; and their ignorance of this quantity makes calculation impossible, because it is the most important term in the equation which the would-be calculator has to solve. This unknown quantity is the reaction of the actors to the ordeal when it actually comes. '*Les causes physiques n'agissent que sur les principes cachés qui contribuent à former notre esprit et notre caractère.*' A general may have an accurate knowledge of his own man-power and munition-power and almost as good a knowledge of his opponent's; he may also have a shrewd idea of his opponent's plans; and, in the light of all this knowledge, he may have laid his own plans to his own best advantage. He cannot, however, foreknow how his opponent, or any of the other men who compose the force under his opponent's command, will behave, in action, when the campaign is opened and the battle joined; he cannot foreknow how his own men will behave; he cannot foreknow how he will behave himself. Yet these psychological momenta, which are inherently impossible to weigh and measure and therefore to estimate scientifically in advance, are the very forces which actually decide the issue when the encounter takes place. The military genius is the general who repeatedly succeeds in divining the unpredictable by guesswork or intuition; and most of the historic military geniuses—commanders of such diverse temperament and outlook as a Cromwell and a Napoleon—have recognized clearly that man-power and munition-power and intelligence and strategy are not the talismans that have brought them their victories. After estimating all the measurable and manageable factors at their full value—insisting that 'God is on the side of the big battalions', that 'God helps those who help themselves', that you should 'trust in God and keep your powder dry'—they have admitted frankly that, when all is said and done, victory cannot be predicted by thought or commanded by will because it comes in the end from a source to which neither thought nor will have access. If they have been religious-minded, they have cried 'Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory'; if they have been sceptical-minded, they have ascribed their victories—in superstitious terms—to the operations of Fortune or to the ascendancy of their personal star; but, whatever language they have used, they have testified to the reality of the same experience: the experience that the outcome of an encounter cannot be predicted and has no appearance of being predetermined, but arises, in the likeness of a new creation, out of the encounter itself.

Winners of Canadian Government Overseas Awards for 1953-54 Announced

THE ranks of Canada's unofficial representatives abroad will include during the 1953-54 academic year 28 winners of Canadian Government Overseas Awards. The awards consist of 12 fellowships with a value of \$4,000 each and 16 scholarships worth \$2,000 each.

Selected by Royal Society

The successful candidates were selected by the Royal Society of Canada on behalf of the Department of External Affairs. Funds for the awards are derived from a parliamentary allocation of balances owing the Canadian Government in France and the Netherlands. These funds are administered by the Department of External Affairs.

All of the fellowships awarded this year and all but three of the scholarships will be held in France. Four of last year's scholarships have been renewed for a second year, one tenable in the Netherlands and three in France. Of the new scholarship awards two are for study in the Netherlands and ten in France.

This is the second year that Canadian Government Overseas Awards have been offered. A new departure was made this year by giving a number of awards in the creative arts for the first time. Last year all of the scholarships were given for academic studies.

Fellowship Winners

Fellowship winners were: Louis Archambault, 38, sculptor and ceramist, Montreal; Rev. Father Rene Beaudry, 43, librarian and archivist at St. Joseph's University, St. Joseph, N.B.; Maurice Blackburn, 39, musician, Ottawa; Stanley M. Cosgrove, 41, artist and member of the staff of École des Beaux Arts, Montreal; Dr. Douglas Derry, 46, Professor of mathematics, University of British Columbia, Vancouver; George Haddad, 35,

concert pianist, Windsor; Dr. Cyril M. Jones, 49, professor and head of the Department of French, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg; Dr. Wm. T. E. Kennett, 34, professor of French, Trinity College, University of Toronto, Toronto; Robert Lapalme, 35, artist and caricaturist, Montreal; Miss Rina Lasnier, poet, St. Jean, Quebec; Robert H. G. Orchard, 44, professor of drama, University of Alberta, Edmonton; Goodridge Roberts, 48, artist, Montreal.

Scholarship Renewals

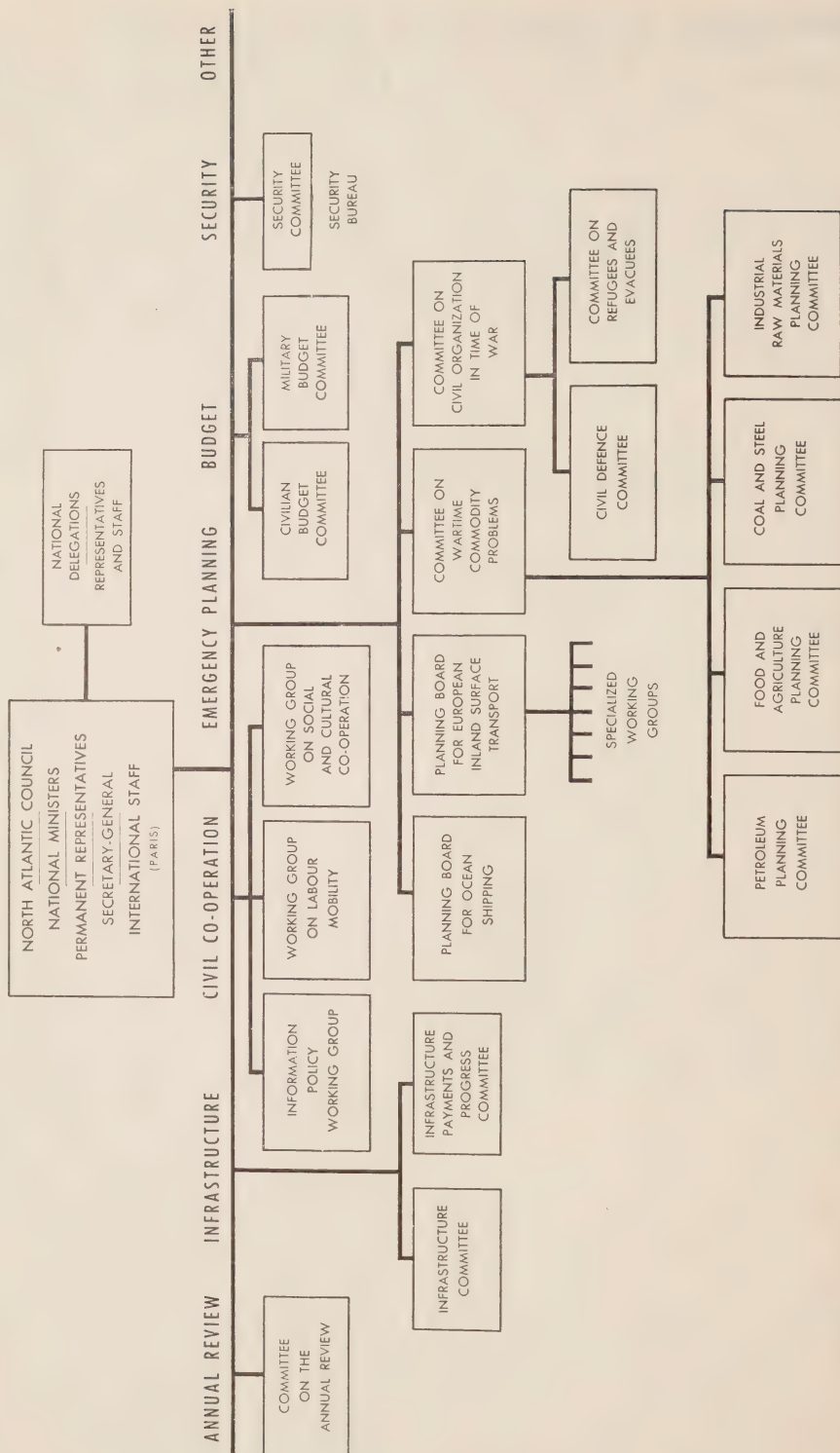
The following received renewals of scholarships; Antony F. R. Brown, 24, student of Oriental languages, Toronto; John C. Forsyth, 26; student of modern languages, Toronto; Jean Menard, 23, student, Gatineau, Quebec; Miss Louise Saint-Pierre, 23, student, La Tuque, Quebec.

Scholarship Winners

The following received scholarships in the creative arts: Yves Bedard, 24, musician, Ste. Henedine, Quebec; Georges deNiverville, 24, art student, Ottawa; Joseph F. Plaskett, 34, artist and theatrical designed, New Westminster, B.C.; Ronald W. Turini, 20, musician, Quebec.

The remaining eight scholarships were awarded to: Harold B. Attin, 27, student of history and modern languages, Toronto; Ernest George Clark, 25, student of Oriental languages, Seaforth, Ontario; Fernand Dumont, 25, student of Political Science and Sociology, Montmorency, Quebec; John F. Flinn, 32, student of modern languages, Toronto; Fernand Grenier, 26, student of history and geography, Beauce, Quebec; David A. Griffiths, 28, student, Vancouver; Miles H. A. Keenleyside, 24, student of zoology, Ottawa; Lyall H. Powers, 28, student of English and French, Winnipeg.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (CIVILIAN SIDE)



How NATO Works

THERE is probably no international organization of such importance to the Canadian people, of which so little of the day-to-day functions is known, as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is true that from time to time — about twice a year during the last three years — public attention is attracted by the gathering of Cabinet Ministers, high-ranking military officers and civilian officials for meetings which news commentators invariably expect will produce spectacular decisions. On these occasions, the departure for Lisbon or Paris of members of the Canadian Government, and reports of the meetings, are usually noted in the Canadian newspapers. But what goes on between such full-dress meetings? It is obvious that a great co-operative enterprise of fourteen nations requires continuing activity in many fields. As can readily be seen from the charts shown on pp. 224 and 226, NATO is a widely ramified structure dealing with many different aspects of international co-operation.

The Council

The North Atlantic Council is the supreme governing body of the organization. The chairmanship rotates annually in alphabetical order of member countries. The Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, was Chairman during 1951-52; currently the Danish Foreign Minister holds the office. Periodically, the Council assembles in ministerial session, attended usually by foreign, defence and finance ministers, to review the work of the Organization and to approve future plans. The last such meeting was held in Paris in April of this year. Between ministerial meetings, however, the Council is in permanent session in the French capital, where member governments are represented by permanent representatives. Mr. A. D. P. Heeney is at present the permanent representative of Canada, and will be succeeded shortly by Mr. L. D. Wilgress. Each week normally two meetings of the Council attended by permanent representatives

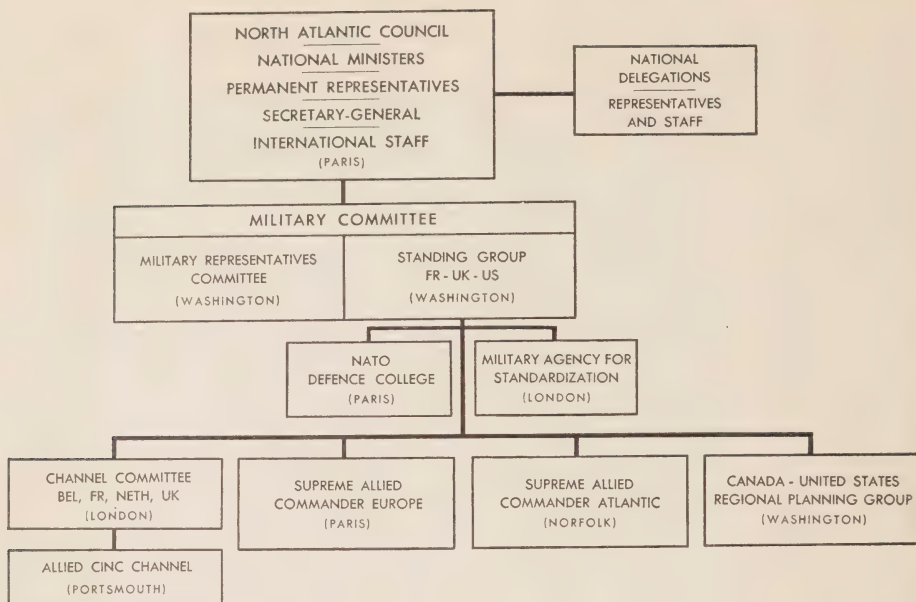
are held, one formal and one informal. Both convene at the Palais de Chaillot under the chairmanship of Lord Ismay, who combines the functions of Vice-Chairman of the Council and Secretary-General of the Organization. On hand also, to provide both secretarial assistance and expert advice, are members of the international staff. The permanent representatives, armed with background information and recommendations prepared by the Council's subordinate bodies with the help of the Staff, consider a widely assorted group of items. The business of a typical meeting may include a variety of matters, such as reports on the progress of the European Defence Community, the plans of the military bodies for future joint exercises, a suggested procedure for the preparation of correlated production programmes, or, perhaps, the budget of the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE).

As Secretary-General, Lord Ismay directs the international staff. This staff is made up of a number of divisions dealing with the various aspects — production questions, economic and financial questions, political questions — of the Organization's work on the civilian side. It assists in the work of the various committees of the Council and provides a body of experts which can undertake special studies as required.

The Civilian Side

Subordinate to the Council are both civilian and military bodies. On the civilian side there are committees and working groups to deal with such aspects of the Organization's work as the Annual Review of member countries' defence plans, the construction of fixed military installations for the common use of the NATO forces (called "infrastructure"), budgetary control, emergency planning, civil co-operation, security, etc. Some of these topics may be considered by a single committee, others by three or more, each with or without its specialized working group. Each committee is re-

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (MILITARY SIDE)



sponsible to the Council and each has a group of experts in the international staff working with it. All meet in Paris. Generally speaking, the chairmen of these committees are drawn from the permanent delegations of the member countries in Paris, with secretaries and technical assistance provided by the international staff.

The Military Side

On the military side, the senior organ is the Military Committee, composed of the chiefs of staff of the member countries. It normally meets when the Council meets in ministerial session in order to provide the Council with military advice and receive from the Council political guidance. It is also responsible for providing general policy guidance of a military nature to the Standing Group. The Standing Group is the permanent executive body of the Military Committee. It is located in Washington and is composed of the chiefs of staff (or their representatives) of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. The other members of NATO are in continuous association with the work of the standing group by means of the Military Repre-

sentatives Committee, which is located in Washington, and which consists of representatives of the national military authorities. Thus, between meetings of the Military Committee, top level military direction and co-ordination is provided by the standing group and the interests of all the member countries are safeguarded by the Military Representatives Committee.

Standing Group Liaison Officer

In order to provide close and continuous contact between the work of these military bodies, located in Washington, and the Council, meeting in Paris, there is a Standing Group Liaison Officer, located at the NATO Headquarters. He or his assistants attend all Council meetings and important committee meetings and are responsible for bringing the viewpoint of the Standing Group to the attention of the Council and of seeing that the Standing Group is, in turn, fully informed of the Council's deliberations.

Supreme Commanders

Direct military command of the NATO forces is delegated to the Supreme Com-

manders, who are perhaps as well known to the public as the Council itself. The new Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) is General Alfred M. Gruenther, United States Army, with headquarters at SHAPE near Paris. He is responsible for the defence of Northern, Western, and Southern Europe (including Turkey) which, for this purpose, is divided into a number of subordinate naval, army and air commands. Admiral L. D. McCormick, United States Navy, is the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT), with headquarters at Norfolk, Virginia. He is responsible for the defence of the lines of communication across the Atlantic Ocean. The Channel Committee in London co-ordinates defence preparations in the narrow waters bordering France, Belgium, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Under it is a Commander-in-Chief with headquarters at Portsmouth. For North America, which has no peacetime NATO commander, there is the Canada-U.S. Regional Planning Group, which has headquarters in Washington.

The Annual Review

Let us see how these various bodies on both the civilian and military sides work together on important problems with which the Organization has to deal in building up the defensive strength of the West. A good example is to be found in the process of the Annual Review of member countries' defence plans which provides the means whereby the organization as a whole can take stock of the progress made in the collective defence effort and accordingly, make plans for the build-up of forces in future years. Responsible under the Council for co-ordinating this work is the Annual Review Committee, one of the most active and important of the Council's subordinate bodies. In order to obtain the necessary information on national defence plans, the international staff, under the guidance of the Annual Review Committee and in collaboration with the NATO military agencies, draws up a questionnaire for completion by member governments. At the same time, the Supreme Commanders take stock of the position of the forces under their command and

prepare recommendations for changes in those forces designed to improve their effectiveness. When the replies of member governments to the questionnaire and the military recommendations have been received, the Annual Review Committee, the international staff and the NATO military agencies are in a position to examine the collective defence effort of NATO and to reconcile the military requirements with the national, political and economic capabilities. In this process, various points of view are considered: national interests are represented in the Annual Review Committee; general political, economic and production considerations are contributed by the international staff; and military considerations are contributed by the Supreme Commands and the Standing Group. The results of this process of stock-taking and reconciliation in terms of recommended levels of forces for the NATO countries are embodied in a report which the Annual Review Committee prepares and the permanent representatives submit to the Council in ministerial session. The Ministers in adopting decisions on this report also have before them the comments of the Military Committee.

Infrastructure Programme

Another phase of the Organization's work which illustrates the way in which the various bodies work together is the "infrastructure" programme. The initial judge of NATO forces requirements for their common use in the way of fixed installations such as airfields, communications and radar facilities is the NATO Commander concerned. These "infrastructure" requirements are therefore submitted in the first place by the Supreme Commanders to the Standing Group, which in turn reviews them in the context of overall NATO military planning. Consideration must also be given, however, to the technical and financial aspects of these requirements in order to insure that the airfields and other "infrastructure" projects are constructed as economically as possible and within the financial means of the countries which are to pay for them. The Infrastructure Committee of the Council, assisted by

technical experts of the international staff, is responsible for screening the military recommendations from this point of view. Their conclusions are submitted to the Council where member governments, either through their permanent representatives or through their Ministers, negotiate the proportions in which the cost of the agreed programme should be shared. An outstanding accomplishment of the Council at the recent ministerial session in April was agreement on a three-year financial arrangement for "infrastructure" which will enable the Supreme Commanders to make their construction plans up to 1954. The actual expenditure of funds on these projects is subject to a system of close financial supervision for which the Infrastructure Payments and Progress Committee is responsible. This Committee arranges that member coun-

tries contribute to the cost of construction in proportion to the agreed formula and sees that these contributions are spent as they should be.

The many-sided work of NATO never ceases. The permanent representatives consult regularly in Paris, and, through civilian committees, carry on continuous deliberations. Military bodies function daily in varied places. At the Palais de Chaillot, the International Staff representing all fourteen member nations carries out assiduously its daily work under the leadership of the Secretary-General. The total co-operative effort whereby like-minded nations adjust their viewpoints and requirements in order to achieve common objectives presents an excellent example of how complex international machinery can be made to function in a democratic alliance.



UN Announces Winners of International Essay Contest

The names of 10 winners of the fifth annual international essay competition organized under the auspices of the United Nations Department of Public Information were announced on June 24, by Benjamin Cohen, Assistant Secretary-General for public information.

Each contestant had been required to submit an essay of approximately 2,000 words on "United Nations Technical Assistance and Peace — the Duties of the Peoples and the Responsibilities of the International Community" or on "The Role of Non-governmental Organizations in the Implementation of the Principles of the United Nations."

The winners are members of international and national organizations which actively co-operate with the Department of Public Information or with a United Nations information center.

As prizes they will receive 30-day trips to UN Headquarters with all facilities for studying the work of the secretariat and of any UN organs meeting at the time. The prizes will be utilized in principle between September 3 and October 1, 1953.

The winners — eight men and 2 women, all between 20 and 35 years of age — are: Dr. Cornelio Pop — Argentina — member

of the Student Association for the United Nations of Cite Universitaire and Y.M.C.A.

Lucien de Groote — Brussels, Belgium — Belgian Institute of Political Science and Centre Belge des Nouvelles Equipes Internationales.

Manuel Valderrama Aramayo — La Paz, Bolivia — Club de La Paz.

Stanley L. Burke — Vancouver, Canada — United Nations Association and Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

Dra. Altagracia Bautista — Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic — Federation Nacional de Abogadas (National Federation of Women Lawyers).

Ismar T. Kittani — Baghdad, Iraq — International Relations Clubs.

Benjamin Salamon — Israel — United Nations Association.

Jean Charles Tibaldi — Italy — United Nations Association.

Mrs. Nancy Alison Alexander — Wellington, New Zealand — United Nations Association.

Yusuf Buch — Murree, Pakistan — Pakistan Institute of International Affairs.

The international panel of judges awarded a special prize to Augustus F. Caine of Monrovia, Liberia.

The contest is the fifth of its kind held

by the United Nations Department of Public Information. Final selection of the winners was made by an international panel of judges composed of Benjamin Cohen, Assistant Secretary-General for Public Information, Chairman of the jury; Arthur Goldschmidt, Director, Programme Division, UN Technical Assistance Administration; V. J. G. Stavridi, Director of External Services and Specialized Agencies; Henri Fast, Deputy-Director of Press and Publications Bureau; Carlos Garcia-Palacios, Deputy-Director of Radio Division; William Agar, Acting Director of Special Services Division; and Jean Dupuy, Chief, Section for Non-Gov-

ernmental Organizations, Secretary of the jury.

Before the essays reached this jury, an initial selection was made by national committees set up by the United Nations information centers, in countries where such centers exist. In other countries, national committees had been set up by national United Nations associations or other organizations active in the United Nations field.

Fifty national committees were formed for the selection of essays before submission to the international panel of judges, which indicates an increase of 32 per cent over previous years.



Economic and Social Projects of UN and Specialized Agencies Described in Catalogue

A picture of the work carried on in economic and social fields by the United Nations, its four emergency agencies, the Technical Assistance Board and the Specialized Agencies is given in a 138-page catalogue published by the UN.

The catalogue (Doc. E/2393) shows, for example, the contributions made by various UN units and agencies to emergency work in Korea and for Palestine refugees.

Operations, studies, publications and technical services of 1952, or authorized for 1953, are described in separate sections on the UN; on four UN emergency agencies (The UN International Children's Emergency Fund, The Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, The UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, and the UN Korean Reconstruction Agency); on the Technical Assistance Board, with a description of the expanded programme of technical assistance; and on the Specialized Agencies.

The section on Specialized Agencies describes work of the International Labor Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Inter-

national Civil Aviation Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the World Health Organization, the Universal Postal Union, the International Telecommunication Union, the World Meteorological Organization, and the Interim Commission for the International Trade Organization, whose secretariat is serving the contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The catalogue includes an index designed to permit quick reference to the various projects conducted in general fields such as relief, health, safety, trade and economic development. The index which also lists activities under specific headings and under organization, shows projects ranging alphabetically from "Aboriginal Populations" to "Zoonoses" (Diseases affecting both man and animals).

Copies of the catalogue of economic and social projects may be purchased from United Nations Sales Agents including the Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York; the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, P.Q., Canada; and H.M. Stationery Office, P.O. Box 569, London, S.E. 1.

MR. PEARSON'S HARVARD UNIVERSITY SPEECH

Text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Harvard University Alumni Association, Cambridge, Mass., on Thursday, June 11, 1953.

... When he was a young man, Francis Parkman, whose life work made such a great contribution to the history both of Canada and the United States, said that it was his ambition to write the history of the forest. This task would have been an easy one compared with that of any conscientious historian of our age who wished to pick his way through the wilderness of tangled conspiracies in our contemporary international forest. We live, indeed, in what might with some truth be called an age of conspiracy.

We are not likely soon to forget the plot hatched in the beer cellars in Munich, which grew to such monstrous size that it threatened to cast a blight over the whole world; until it was finally reduced to the cramped bunker in Berlin, where Hitler intrigued to the sordid end with his doomed and ludicrous court.

There is today also the Communist conspiracy, even more dangerous because less hysterical, which by its alliance with Soviet imperialism, and by its secret operations throughout the whole world, is the cause of so many of our present difficulties; the source of so much of our fear.

The story of these conspiracies would bulk large in any history of our times. Future historians also will have to record with regret that some of those who have gone about to eliminate the real menace of the Communist conspiracy have done so by methods which weaken our democratic concept of law and justice; which, by spreading needless division and distrust, have threatened to destroy that feeling of community on which free society must be based. These methods play into the hands of the Communists by giving some of them, the more dangerous because they have been able to conceal their purposes and affiliations, a chance to pose as victims of persecution and hysteria. They become a kind of conspiracy themselves.

Opposed to all these conspiracies which draw their strength from dark places, there is, however, the constructive co-operation of tolerant and enlightened persons, working together in societies of which this university is a heartening and illustrious example.

No one on this occasion and at Harvard could be unmindful of the debt which freedom — personal and politic — owes to the belief that the pursuit of knowledge is good of itself and must be continued at any price, wherever it leads. We meet here in the shade of those learned and wise men who believed that, subject though it is, and always has been, to its own torments, such pursuit is our main source of progress and achievement. They dedicated their lives to the proposition that reason can unravel the knots and difficulties caused by the increasing intricacy of social and economic organization and by the bewildering advance of science. They insisted, moreover, that tradition is the starting point

for orderly progress; that without it our life would lose much of its savor and our political institutions much of their stability.

It is hardly necessary for me, therefore, in this place, to elaborate on the duty of universities to foster exact learning and to promote free and unprejudiced enquiry. But I would like to say a little about their duty to encourage tolerance and magnanimity, in public, as well as in private life. There can be no quarter in hunting down those who abuse the liberty granted by our society in order to subvert it. They must expect to be punished under the laws they have broken; and they must be prevented from holding positions of trust which they could use for disloyal ends. But to say that is not enough. Man's powers for good and evil are too strangely intertwined for his quality to be decided merely by actions with which the law can deal or solely in matters of which the state can take cognizance.

More than one hundred years ago Herman Melville wrote, "Knaves, fools, and murderers there may be; men may have mean and meagre faces; but man, in the ideal, is so noble and sparkling, such a grand and glowing creature, that over any ignominious blemish in him, all his fellows should run to throw their costliest robes." Our public life would be dangerously impoverished if we were ever completely to lose sight of this generosity and this humility of mind. It is alarmingly easy to do so today, when hard and sharp exposure, at times indecent exposure, by camera, screen or printed word, is not only exhibiting but often manufacturing blemishes.

The world, being what it is, will always be a place where those in whom the spirit burns brightest will often feel themselves outnumbered and ignored. Nor are such rare persons to be found only in our universities. Melville learned more on the whaler in which he sailed to the South Seas than he perhaps could have learned even at Harvard College. Completely unlettered individuals, as we all know, can, by the grace of God, be wiser than most professors. I hope that this is a comfort to those who have graduated without "laude". In few parts of the world has that fact received more effective and practical recognition than at Harvard, where education from the earliest days has been so broadly based, without unnecessary dependence on forms or formulae.

There are many contributions, apart from the pursuit of knowledge, and the cultivation of magnanimity to be made by a university community such as this and which are vital if we are to survive successfully our present trials. One of them is to foster what has always seemed to me to be a special quality of American thought, when it is at its best. It is the power to be conscious both of the reality of evil and danger, and yet reject a cynical or even a tragic view of life. Nowhere

more than in the United States have those two attitudes been held in balance. I think, for example, of William James, who returned from his researches into the areas of unreason with his confidence in the constructive powers of intelligence unimpaired. I think of Mr. Justice Holmes, who insisted grimly all through his life that "Every society is founded on the death of men"; who is said to have kept in his cupboard until the day he died the tunic in which he was wounded at Balls Bluff; and who yet was prepared to sanction what seemed to him the most visionary social experiments. Today, although recognizing the grim aspects of human and political life, we need, as never before, to be able to see beyond them with courage and with obstinate confidence in the future; to keep our vision steady and to keep it true.

I venture to refer to this fine and enviable quality of American thought and life because this is a moment when it is needed, perhaps as never before, in the direction of the policy of this country. It is, I hope, not inappropriate for an outsider — even one so close as a Canadian — to refer to American policy — and actions — because they largely determine the fate of all the rest of us.

This country, devoted to the ideals of peace, progress and freedom under the law, has not sought (but thank God has not refused) the leadership of the free world — a leadership which has indeed been thrust upon it by the hard and inescapable facts of power and position. It is moreover discharging this responsibility in close co-operation with other peoples who share the same ideals and are working towards the same goals; especially the peoples of the Atlantic and Western Europe.

Leadership, by a pistol at the back of sullen and forced allies is one thing. Leadership of free and democratic peoples, who can be convinced but not coerced, is something else.

Such leadership, I suggest, has never been tried, let alone succeeded in circumstances such as those in which we live today, when scientific material progress has far outstripped social, political and moral development; when the plain and challenging facts of interdependence on a shrinking globe make solitary progress almost as difficult and unrewarding as solitary confinement.

Kipling, in a more spacious, free-for-all age, could write:

"Down to Gehenna and up to the throne
He travels fastest who travels alone".
It might be argued that in 1953 this motto applies only to the first part of the journey. To reach the right goals we must advance together.

A coalition such as ours, however, can only move together on the basis of full consultation and agreement on basic policies and objectives. It must combine freedom of the parts with concerted and effective action by the whole. This is a terribly difficult combination to achieve and it can be brought about only by working out policies together on the principle of give-and-take. Concession and com-

promise, which we have learned to apply, however grudgingly at times — in domestic affairs as essential for freedom and order.

Penalties and Privileges of Leadership

In this spirit, the leader of the coalition, the United States, has had to accept — and it is not always easy — some of the penalties as well as the privileges of leadership. These include being misunderstood and criticized, being urged to go forward by one and asked to hold back by another. All this requires the exercise of patience and tolerance and magnanimity about which I have been talking; and an understanding of the fact that pulling the eagle's feathers is one of the ways by which his ascendancy among the birds is recognized. The lion had to learn that long ago about his tail.

The other members, the less powerful members of this partnership, have also their own obligations and duties. These include full recognition of the greater responsibilities of and the stupendous essential contribution by the United States in our combined effort. They call for concessions and compromises also; at times the abandonment of a particular point of view in the interest of effective direction and action. They require that — within our resources — every member of the coalition must play its part in carrying out agreed policies, even though that part may be secondary, and at times not easily recognizable. There is no disgrace in playing second fiddle to the United States; a part in the international orchestra which Mr. Gromyko contemptuously gave Canada a few weeks ago in New York. The second fiddle is a respectable instrument and can be very important if the orchestra is trying to play a symphony. The real disgrace would come, I suppose, if we threw away our fiddle in the middle of a well-conducted performance or deliberately played some discordant notes when the score didn't call for them.

Abandoning this somewhat tricky musical metaphor, I would add that we should also remember that smaller countries are not necessarily wiser or more righteous than the big and powerful ones. They only seem so because of the limited and relatively unimportant consequences that usually flow from their mistakes or wrong doing.

There is, however, no refuge of this kind for the United States. That is another penalty of power. One mistake — political, or economic or strategic — by the colossus and the rest of us may be dangerously, and even fatally affected. You must not therefore be surprised or disturbed when the relief and admiration with which we view your great and overpowering strength at times, tinged with a shade of anxiety.

Reducing these abstractions to more concrete terms, I would say that this anxiety today expresses itself most noticeably in economic and in Far Eastern developments. It is here that are to be found the most serious threats to close co-operation within the Atlantic and free world coalition.

As to the first, I can only say — though I would like to say a lot more — that political co-operation and economic conflict are incompatible.

On the second difficulty, however, I would elaborate a little.

Urge for National Freedom

New forces have swept across the Far East since World War II. Some of these reflect the pulsations of the international Communist conspiracy. Others are primarily related to the awakening urge of millions of Asians for national freedom and a better life. If we of the West are not able to agree on the distinction between these two forces which require a different approach by us, our co-operation in this part of the world may weaken and disappear to the joy and relief of those forces centred in Moscow and Peiping who are using foul means and fair to bring about just such a result.

This is an actual, and not an imaginary danger, because there is a real difference of view within our coalition as to the meaning of these Asian developments and on what our reaction to them should be. This difference involves, in fact, basic questions of Asian policy.

There is no dispute over the necessity of resisting Communist military aggression, so determined by the United Nations, or even, in certain circumstances, without such formal determination. There will, of course, inevitably be differences over the means for defeating such aggression and as to the relative contributions of those taking part in the operation. Korea is an example of this kind of difference which can be disagreeable without being fatal.

A far more serious dispute may arise, however — there are signs that it has already arisen — over the nature and extent of our collective obligations, if any, to defeat Communism, as such, in Asia.

There are some who believe that Asian Communism is an implacable foe, bound hand and foot to Moscow, and that to negotiate with it in any circumstances is futile and perilous. Therefore, they argue we must all do everything we can through governmental action short of all-out-war — but even at some risk of war — to prevent the appearance of Asian Communist governments; and to weaken and destroy them if they have managed to obtain power. This may require the active encouragement of and support for anti-Communist elements in Communist countries, and by continuing and strong support for any regime which is opposed to Communism, irrespective of its nature or its popular support in its own country.

There are others, however — individuals, groups and governments — who will have none of this policy. They feel that Communism in Asia, though it may be far deeper and more sinister than “agrarian reform”, is a social, economic and political development, growing out of special Asian conditions and one primarily for Asians to deal with; that

the only justification for direct Western intervention is when Communism expresses itself in military aggression. It is felt that our obligation in this matter is positive, not negative; not to intervene against Asian Communism, an intervention which would be stigmatized in Asia as Western and colonial; but to intervene in favour of democracy and to help Asian governments build up free and stable institutions which will defeat Communism by doing more for the welfare of the underprivileged and undernourished millions of the East than Communism can ever hope to do. We should also, according to this view, not expect Asian governments or Asian people automatically to accept our Western views of the cold war and the Kremlin conspiracy.

Those are the two viewpoints, each of which has its advocates within our Western coalition. The latter may not always take sufficient account of the aggressive nature of Communism or of the efforts that are being made by the United States to build up a democratic security system in the Pacific. But I also believe — and firmly — that there can be no effective or successful collective action or policy on the basis of the first concept. I believe this because such a policy would have to be worked out and agreed on at the United Nations or in the North Atlantic alliance, and frankly, I can see no possibility of such agreement.

It would mean that we would have to extend our specific obligations to the removal of Communist governments in North Korea and Peiping, and not merely to the defeat of military aggression. There are few countries inside the Western alliance willing to accept this obligation, especially in the terms in which it is sometimes presented in this country.

General Policy Towards Asian Communism

Now that the signing of an armistice in Korea will soon mark — as we hope — the end of aggression there, this particular problem of our general policy towards Asian Communism becomes one of immediate urgency. The armistice in Korea is to be followed by a political conference on Korea and possibly on related problems. At this conference, the United Nations will be represented. But so will Communist Asian governments. We are moving from the military to the political aspect of Far Eastern problems and it is to be hoped that we on the United Nations non-Communist side, can move in unison. I can think of no more important subject for discussion at the forthcoming three-power conference in Bermuda than how to ensure this unison. The other free countries who will not be at the Conference, but who cannot escape its consequences or isolate themselves from its decisions, will hope that those consequences will be good and those decisions wise; as we now face the political problems of an Asia which is in ferment and whose stirrings and yearnings cannot be ignored.

I have already exceeded my oratorical time limit, Mr. Chairman, and I apologize. The other day, an American newspaper, the "Philadelphia Bulletin" editorialized to the effect that Foreign Office people talked too much these days. True. The newspaper went on to fix the blame for this unhappy development on the introduction to formal diplomatic wear of the soft collar which allowed the speaker "to wag his jaw freely".

"In the old days" it went on, "whenever an Ambassador (and I suppose also a Foreign

Minister) started to say something, the sharp points of his starched wing collar scratched his throat, reminding him that nobody ever put his foot in his mouth with closed lips".

My collar point was not, I fear, very sharp. But it has at last reached my throat and reminded me that, while expressing once again my great appreciation for the privilege of being with you this afternoon, I should now resume that attitude of proud but modest silence which becomes one who has so newly graduated from this university.



—United Nations

CANADA CONTRIBUTES TO UN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FUND

Mr. David M. Johnson, right, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, presents a cheque for \$800,000 to the United Nations Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, representing Canada's contribution to the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for 1953. At the third Technical Assistance Conference, held on June 12, Canada pledged a minimum of \$750,000 (Canadian dollars) provided the total contributions reached \$20 million, plus proportionate increases up to \$850,000 if the total contributions reached the \$25 million target.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

Treaty Series 1952, No. 6:—Exchange of Letters between Canada and the United States of America providing for the renewal of the arrangement of 1942 for the exchange of agricultural labour and machinery. Signed at Ottawa, April 15 and 16, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 12:—Supplementary Convention to the Supplementary Convention between Her Majesty and the United States of America for the mutual extradition of fugitive criminals, signed at Washington, December 13, 1900. Signed at Ottawa, October 26, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 13:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America constituting an agreement regarding allocation of television channels. Signed at Ottawa April 23 and June 23, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 15:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and New Zealand modifying the Agreement of August 16, 1950, relating to air transport services between the two countries. Signed at Wellington, September 29, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 3:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America constituting an agreement on civil defence co-ordination. Signed at Washington March 27, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 4:—Exchange of Letters between Canada and the United States of America providing for the renewal of the Arrangement of 1942 for the exchange of agricultural labour and machinery. Signed at Ottawa March 15 and 16, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 5:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Turkey constituting an agreement on the issuance of multi-entry visas to diplomatic representatives and officials. Signed at Ottawa February 9, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 9:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America constituting an agreement concerning the disposal of U.S. excess property in Canada. Signed at Ottawa April 11 and 18, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

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Treaty Series 1951, No. 19:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United Kingdom constituting an Agreement extending to certain colonial territories the Canada-United Kingdom double taxation agreement of June 5, 1946. Signed at Ottawa, July 27 and August 14, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 25:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and India giving formal effect to the Statement of Principles agreed between the two countries for co-operative economic development of India. Signed at New Delhi on September 10, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 29:—Financial agreement between the government of Canada and the government of the United Kingdom. Signed at Ottawa, June 29, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1950, No. 17:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the Union of South Africa constituting an agreement regarding the temporary suspension of the margin of preference on unmanufactured logs. Signed at Ottawa, February 22 and 24, 1950. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

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A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

Financial Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 December 1952, and *Report of the Board of Auditors*; New York, 1953; document A/2392. Pp. 43. 40 cents. General Assembly Official Records: Eighth Session, Supplement No. 6.

Analysis of Governmental Measures relating to Restrictive Business Practices; 29 April 1953; document E/2379 and E/2379/Add.1, E/AC.37/2 and E/AC.37/2/Add.1. Pp. 68. 60 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 11A.

Economic Commission for Latin America — Annual Report (15 February 1952 - 25 April 1953); 13 May 1953; document E/2405, E/CN.12/324. Pp. 56. 50 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 3.

Resolutions of the Fifteenth Session of the Economic and Social Council (31 March - 28 April 1953); 12 May, 1953; document E/2419 (Bilingual). Pp. 32. 30 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 1.

Commission on Narcotic Drugs:

Report of the Eighth Session of the (30 March to 24 April 1953); 7 May 1953; document E/242, E/CN.7/262. Pp. 29. 25 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 4.

Freedom of Information 1953 — Report submitted by Mr. Salvador P. Lopez, Rapporteur of Freedom of Information; 6 May 1953; document E/2426. Pp. 64. 60 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 12.

Fiscal Commission — Report of the Fourth Session (27 April - 8 May 1953); 8 May 1953; document E/2429, E/CN.8/78. Pp.

8. 10 cents. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 5.

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UNESCO

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Basic FACTS and FIGURES — illiteracy, education, libraries, museums, books, newspapers, newsprint, film and radio; UNESCO, Paris 1952. Pp. 58. 50 cents.

The RACE Concept — Results of an Inquiry (The Race Question in Modern Science); UNESCO, Paris 1953. Pp. 103. 50 cents.

UNESCO Official Bulletin, Volume V, No. 2, May, 1953. Paris 1953. Pp. 45-73.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Report of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; 14 May 1953; document E/2432. Pp. 24, Annex A, pp. 3.

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Structure of the United Nations (Sixth Revision) March 1953. Document ST/DPI/7. Pp. 90.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 229 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, page 36.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

- No. 53/23—*Five Years of Health Progress*, an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, made at the 1953 Biennial Meeting of the Canadian Hospital Council, Ottawa, May 19, 1953.
- No. 53/27—*Petrochemicals in the Canadian Economy*, an address by the Minister of Resources and Development, Mr. Robert H. Winters, at the opening ceremonies of the petrochemical plant, BA-Shawinigan Ltd., Montreal East, P.Q.
- No. 53/28—*The Promise of the North*, an address by the Deputy Minister of Resources and Development, and Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, Major-General H. A. Young, delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Manufacturing Association, Toronto, May 28, 1953.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 53/22—*The Unity of the Free World*, the text of an address by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. D. Wilgress, delivered to the Annual Congregation of the University of British Columbia, at Vancouver, May 19, 1953.
- No. 53/24—*Canada and NATO*, text of an address by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered to the Vancouver Board of Trade, at Vancouver, B.C., May 20, 1953.
- No. 53/25—Speech by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at the International Trade Fair, Toronto, Ont., June 1, 1953.
- No. 53/26—*The New Commonwealth Bridge Between East and West*, the text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, May 25, 1953.
- No. 53/29—*Far Eastern Issues*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made to the Men's Canadian Club, Vancouver, B.C., May 27, 1953.
- No. 53/30—Text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Harvard University Alumni Association, at Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., June 11, 1953.
- No. 53/31—Text of Commencement Address at Dartmouth College, delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at Hanover, N.H., U.S.A., June 14, 1953.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

A Tour of Indian Villages

By ESCOTT REID,* High Commissioner for Canada in India

MY wife and daughter and I have recently had the privilege of spending about a fortnight visiting some villages in Uttar Pradesh near Agra and Etawah.

Ever since we arrived in India towards the end of last year, we had wanted to get into the countryside and see village life. We had seen glimpses of it from the train coming up from Bombay and we had driven through a few near New Delhi, but we knew from our own experiences at home in Canada that the closer a village is to a main railway or a main road or a big city, the less likely it is to be a representative village, and we wanted to see something of the ordinary sort of Indian village. We knew that unless we could get into our minds some picture of ordinary village life in India, we would not have any chance of understanding India.

I also wanted to be able to give my colleagues in the Canadian Government service in Ottawa, some pen pictures of the kind of village community in which over 80 per cent of Indians live. Under the Colombo Plan, Canada is co-operating with India in its efforts to speed up its economic development. The Canadian contribution of about 7 crores of rupees a year is spent on development projects chosen after discussion between the two governments. One of our difficulties in Ottawa in dealing with Colombo Plan problems has been that we have so few people there who have ever been in this part of the world and it is difficult for someone who has not been here to get the feeling of your village economy.

Off Beaten Track

On our tour of villages we stayed at canal inspection bungalows and we deserted the main roads for the roads along

the canal banks. Sometimes we abandoned our car to go by jeep or truck. Often, of course, we had to abandon these and one of our most pleasant memories of the tour are the walks we had from village to village along cart tracks through the fields. In every single one of the fifteen or so villages we visited, the villagers treated us with a warm, smiling friendliness and a gracious dignified courtesy which touched our hearts.

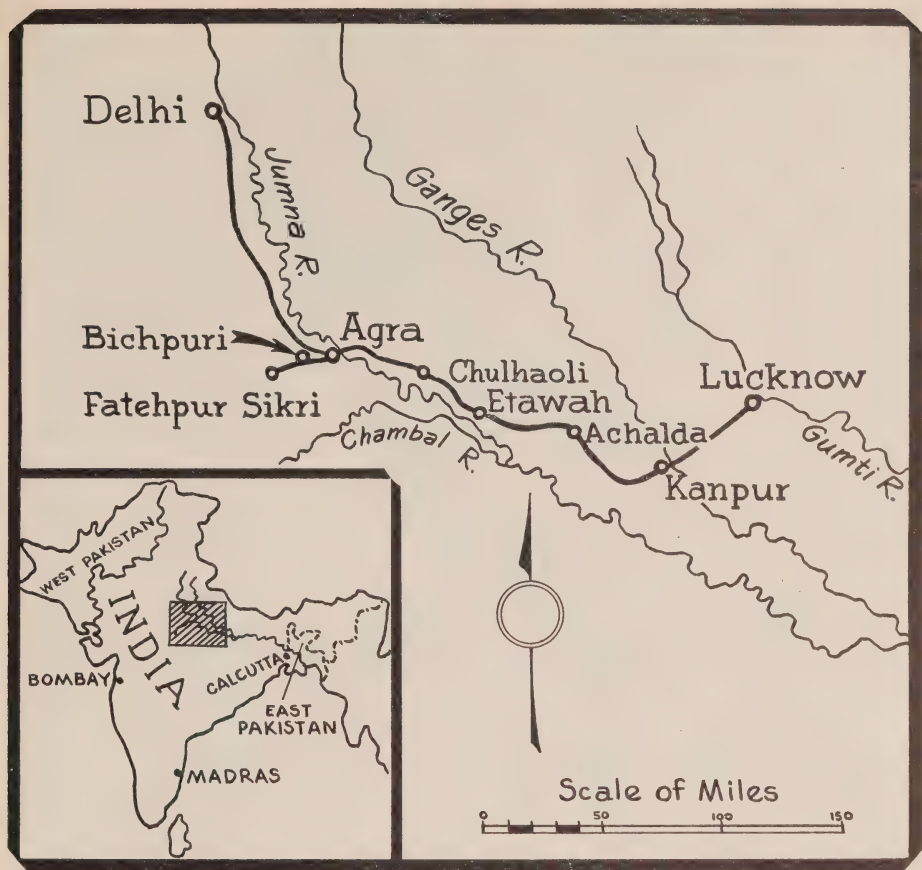
During our tour of villages, we attended a meeting of the executive committee of the ancient democratic institution—a village panchayat. It was electing two sub-committees, one to deal with land use and one with planning. We attended one night a village class for teaching adult illiterates to read and write. The class was held on a platform outside a village house. I shall always remember that clear star-lit night and the play of lantern light and shadow.

We spent one morning at an agricultural school farm. We visited two schools for training village level workers and two agricultural high schools where boys and girls not only get the ordinary academic training but also work in the fields belonging to the school. Every second village we visited seemed to have a new primary school which the villagers proudly showed us, explaining that it had been built without any contribution from the central government or the state government, but by voluntary contributions in money, in supplies or in labour.

We were taken to a small village, Taiabpur, which is going to be completely reconstructed by the villagers over the next two or three years, and we have promised to come back to join the villagers in their celebration when the job is done. We visited a collective farm at Asokpur.

We drove through the terrible desert between the Jumna and Chambal rivers and we saw in Fisher's Forest near Etawah how that desert could be reclaimed.

*Mr. Reid, accompanied by his wife and daughter, recently spent a fortnight visiting Indian villages near Agra and Etawah in the State of Uttar Pradesh, which is located in north central India. This article is based on an address delivered by Mr. Reid over the All India radio.



The above sketch map shows the route followed by Mr. Reid during his study tour of Indian villages in the Province of Uttar Pradesh.

We must have walked over about twenty miles of the 5,000 miles of new road which the villagers of Uttar Pradesh had, by voluntary labour, built during Republic Week.

Impressions of U.P.

What impressions did we take back to New Delhi from that visit to U.P.? In the first place we took back a love for the Indian countryside which we had seen. It combines much of the loveliness of our own flat Canadian prairies with the loveliness of the sleepy canals in rural England. My memories of it are full of colour, of fragrance and of music. The golden glow of the early morning and the late afternoon. The gold of the mustard fields. The fragrance of the flowering fields of peas and of mustard. The sweet

smell of boiling sugar cane juice. The tree lined canal banks. The long shadows of late afternoon and early morning. The bells of the bullock carts. And the gay singing of the villagers heard across the fields during the day or from the villages at night.

The second thing we took back from our tour was a respect for the villager's shrewdness. We had read about his caution, the necessary caution of a man who lives close to the edge of starvation. What impressed us on our tour, however, was not his caution but his readiness to adopt new methods—new seeds, new tools, new ways of sowing the grain—once he had seen with his own eyes in the fields surrounding his own village that the new methods produced bigger crops.



A carpenter at work in a small village in the Province of Uttar Pradesh.

Rural Development

During our tour we must have talked to about thirty government officials who are concerned with rural development. It seemed to me that most of the officials I met combine a missionary zeal for their work with a commonsense approach to their day to day problems. Thus they consider the villager's natural resistance to change not as something to be contemptuous about, but as one of the limiting factors to be taken into account in dealing with their problems. They do not, for example, expect the villager to accept immediately the most efficient tool which can be designed. Instead, they design for him new tools which, though more efficient than the old, are not so unfamiliar that the villagers will not use them.

I was told in U.P. that for many crops most villagers use about twice as much seed as they need to and that if they used less seed they would get bigger crops. The experts do not, however, try to persuade the villager to reduce immediately by 50 per cent the amount of seed he uses. They are content to try to persuade him to reduce by 20 per cent to begin with, and then when he sees that that works, to reduce by another 20 per cent and so on.

At the little village which is being completely reconstructed, the officials are not pressing the villagers to put outside windows in their houses at the normal level for windows. The villagers are not accustomed to outside windows in their houses. I was told that they consider that outside windows make a house inse-

cure since passers-by can look in through the windows and find out where the householder keeps things which are worth stealing. So the project workers suggest that the windows in the room at the back of the house be placed near the ceiling and have an unnecessarily heavy grating.

All these are, it seems to me, examples of the sensible, realistic approach of the project workers. Another example which impressed me is the way in which the adult illiteracy programmes are run in the villages. The classes meet every night for four months and are taught by a fellow villager who has been given a short course in modern methods of teaching illiterates to read and write. It would be unrealistic to expect the villagers to attend dull illiteracy classes every night for four months. So the class opens with chanted prayers and ends with folk songs, folk dancing or chanted recitations from the holy book, Ramayana. But though the pill of instruction is sugar-coated, the examinations are tough and only about one-half the students are given a pass mark.

Officials Needed

In U.P. they need for every four or five villages, one official who will help the villagers in all their problems—sanitation, illiteracy, animal husbandry, seeds, methods of cultivation, and so on. These men they call the "all purpose village level worker." Since there are over 100,000 villages in U.P., they need about 25,000 of these village level workers. They cannot hope to train in a short period 25,000 new recruits. They are, therefore, giving special courses of training to the 16,000 government officials who are already doing work of one kind or another in the U.P. countryside. This, it seems to me, is an example of sound practical commonsense.

I knew before I came to India that 83 per cent of its people live in its 560,000 villages and that the heart of India is to be found in its villages. After I came here I began to realize in a way I had not before that the key to the solution of India's problems lies in its villages, that the peasant is the pivot of the Five Year Plan, that if India is to increase as it must

its agricultural production, it has to introduce some dynamic elements into its static village economy, that it has to arouse the villager from the lethargy of centuries and release his immense latent energies. Having won its political liberty and created a new nation, India is now going on to the next stage in its peaceful revolution—the task of stimulating a social and economic revolution in the villages.

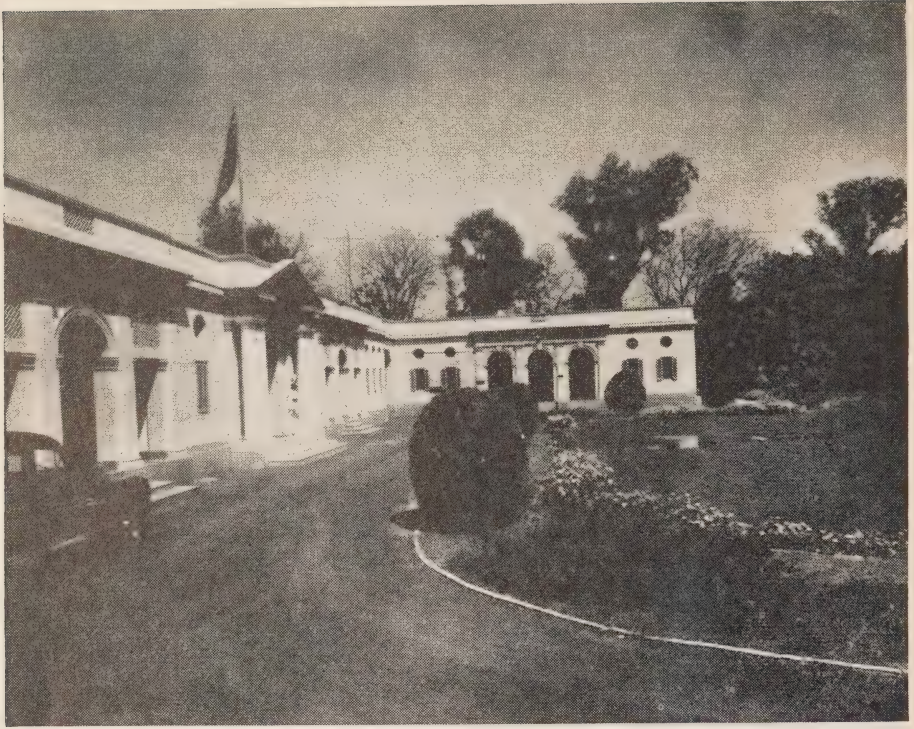
I have stolen one phrase from an article on the Five Year Plan which appeared in the London *Economist* at the end of December—"The peasant is the pivot of the Plan." There are a number of other good phrases in that article which particularly impressed me when I re-read it after returning from my village tour.

"Drama and Destiny"

The first is that the setting for your Indian revolution is one of "drama and destiny." Your revolution is taking place side by side with China's. A peaceful competition is thus being waged between "the two most populous and ancient cultures the world has ever known." China has embraced communism and totalitarian rule and "if the Soviet analogy holds good its people will be battered into economic growth."

India of its own free will, by choosing the way of liberal democracy, has renounced those short-cuts to economic salvation. India is determined to secure economic advance within a tolerant and humane society. India's policy is based on a realization that it is possible for a nation, as for an individual, to gain the whole world and lose its own soul, and India has decided not to renounce the great traditions of its civilization.

It has often been said of my country that Canada is a land of opportunity for young people. That is true, but it seems to me that India is a land of even greater opportunity for young people. The thing which most impressed me in my study tour of the villages in Uttar Pradesh was the key position in the short run of the all purpose village level worker and the key position in the longer run of the village school teacher. For its half million villages India needs over 100,000 of these all purpose village level workers. India needs



The Canadian High Commissioner's Residence, New Delhi, India, with a portion of the chancery adjoining at right.

hundreds of thousands of village school teachers. These hundreds of thousands of posts must, if India's social and economic revolution is to succeed, be filled by the most brilliant and the most devoted young men and young women of India. I can myself think of no more fascinating task in the world for a young man or a young woman than to assist as a village level worker or a village school teacher in promoting in India's villages a peaceful, liberal, democratic revolution.

"High Adventure"

When I came back to New Delhi, I sought for some phrase to describe what

I had seen on the faces of the many officials and teachers I had met. I sought in vain until I heard the Prime Minister speak in the House of the People about the developments which are taking place in India. He spoke of his feeling of "excitement at this tremendous drama that is taking place in this work, a sense of high adventure at what we are endeavouring to do in this country, and also a sense of the tremendous difficulties that confront us all the time." Here was the phrase I was searching for. I had seen on the faces of the officials and school teachers in U.P., outward signs of their inner conviction that they are participating in a "high adventure."

The Canadian Foreign Service

The Work of the Department of External Affairs

SINCE the end of the Second World War the scope and variety of Canada's international interests have very greatly increased. The heavy new responsibilities assumed in this field by the Canadian people and its Government are the business of the Department of External Affairs and several other government departments. In addition to Canada's diplomatic representatives, the Departments of Trade and Commerce, National Defence, Defence Production, Agriculture, Citizenship and Immigration, National Health and Welfare, and Labour have representatives abroad for their special purposes. They usually work in conjunction with the diplomatic or consular staff in those countries where External Affairs posts are located, and they frequently serve on the strength of a diplomatic mission and share the same offices. However, the Secretary of State for External Affairs is the Cabinet minister directly responsible for the "conduct of all official communications between the Government of Canada and the government of any other country in connection with the external affairs of Canada," and it is, therefore, the responsibility of the Department of External Affairs to co-ordinate all the interests of the Canadian Government abroad.

Functions of the Department

Under the supervision of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Department, with a staff of more than 1,000 in Ottawa and abroad, maintains official communication between the Canadian Government and foreign governments and carries out the policies of the Canadian Government in relation to these other countries. International agreements, the negotiations for which are often long and arduous, must be concluded with respect to a large variety of subjects. These range from major questions such as treaties of peace or the establishment of the North Atlantic Alliance to minor arrangements such as travel privileges for troops

on leave while on foreign posting. External Affairs officers abroad also have the duty of keeping other governments informed of Canadian interests and opinions on a wide range of subjects. For example, when legislation or other action which might affect Canadians is being contemplated, they ensure that the government concerned is fully aware of the implications of such action as it relates to Canada.

Another of the more important functions of the Department might be called, simply, reporting. This involves the collection and interpretation of information about the activities of other governments, particularly as they affect Canada. This information is gathered by External Affairs posts and is analysed and condensed in Ottawa where it is submitted through the Minister to Cabinet and to other government departments and agencies. On the basis of this knowledge the Government makes its decision on external policy and on those aspects of domestic policy which are dependent on conditions abroad.

Policy of Co-operation

In the dissemination of information about Canada, including its history, its economy and its way of life, the Department of External Affairs co-operates with the National Film Board, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Department of Trade and Commerce, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and various other departments having interests abroad. Close liaison is also maintained with business firms and voluntary organizations with connections in other countries. All posts provide, to the extent that their time and resources permit, the necessary information services to meet what is a genuine interest in Canada and in Canadian life. The object of these activities is to encourage interest and to develop understanding of Canadian affairs and to project, by whatever means are

available, a balanced and factual portrayal of Canadian life.

A final large element in the activities of the Department in Canada and abroad is the performance of consular work. Every diplomatic post has officers who hold consular and diplomatic status concurrently. Their job is to render assistance to the many thousands of Canadians abroad, from the provision of passports to the evacuation of Canadians from their territory in time of trouble. They must be ready at all times to assist or succour the missionary, the destitute traveller, the soldier on leave and the merchant seaman. The consular function is, to put it briefly, the protection of the interests of individual Canadians abroad.

The increase in recent years in the number of international organizations in

which Canada participates has been so great that in 1952 the country was represented at nearly 150 conferences and meetings. The most notable of these, of course, was the United Nations General Assembly, to which Canada has, on occasion, found it necessary to send delegations containing as many as 50 persons. Other international bodies of various types in which Canada participates include the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, UNESCO and the North Atlantic Council. Since other Departments are concerned with the activities of many of these bodies they are appropriately represented on the Canadian delegations to their meetings.

The Organization of the Department of External Affairs

The head of the Department of External Affairs is the Secretary of State for External Affairs. The senior permanent officer of the Department is the Under-Secretary (Deputy Minister), who is the chief adviser to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. He is assisted by a Deputy Under-Secretary and by three Assistant Under-Secretaries and is advised by officers in charge of the various divisions, each responsible for a part of the work of the Department. The divisional heads are assisted by Foreign Service Officers, Administrative Officers and by the administrative staff of clerks, stenographers and typists. While serving abroad, Foreign Service Officers are formally designated as Ambassadors, Ministers, Counsellors, First, Second and Third Secretaries at diplomatic posts and as Consuls General, Consuls and Vice-Consuls at consular posts.

Organization at Ottawa

The work of the Department in Ottawa is performed by 17 divisions which can be grouped, according to their functions, into three categories—political, functional and administrative. There are five political divisions—American, Commonwealth, European, Far Eastern and

United Nations; eight functional divisions—Consular, Defence Liaison (1) and (2), Economic, Information, Legal, Historical Research and Reports, and Protocol; and four administrative divisions—Establishments and Organization, Finance, Personnel, Supplies and Properties.

Political Divisions

Four of the five political divisions, as their names suggest, are organized mainly on the basis of geographic area. From reports sent in from posts in each area and from information gathered from many other sources—government reports, newspapers, radio, conditions of international trade, representatives of other countries in Canada, other departments of government, and, of course, other divisions in the Department—the political divisions are constantly studying developments throughout the world. Through this continual analysis they are able to keep the Minister and, through him, the Cabinet, informed of all important developments abroad. They advise him concerning decisions on foreign policy and assist him in taking whatever action the Government considers necessary to meet changing conditions in the international field.



The chancery building, Canadian embassy, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

Although the United Nations Division is not, in a sense, a "geographic political" division, its responsibilities, which are similar to those of the other political divisions, are concerned mainly with the work of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies. It analyses United Nations developments, and, through the Under-Secretary, advises the Minister on policies which should be adopted at the General Assembly and elsewhere.

Functional Divisions

The Consular Division is responsible for all consular matters, which include the issuance and control of Canadian passports and other travel permits and the granting and rejection of visas for entry into Canada. In addition, its functions take in problems such as deportation, relief of distressed Canadians abroad, travel control, merchant seamen,

repatriation of Canadians, and war graves administration. It works in close co-operation with the Departments of Citizenship and Immigration, Transport, National Health and Welfare, and Labour.

The Protocol Division deals with all matters of diplomatic protocol, precedence, privileges and immunity. It arranges for the accrediting of Canadian diplomatic and consular representatives abroad and deals with the accrediting of representatives of other countries in Canada.

The Legal Division is concerned with all legal aspects of Canada's relations with other countries and with international organizations. Its work, usually in close co-operation with the Department of Justice, requires continual examination of the constitutional implications of all international undertakings, the preparation of documents as the basis of negotiation in international relations and the final drafting of agreements and treaties.

The Economic Division deals with the financial, commercial and general economic aspects of Canada's external relations. It is, therefore, responsible for the Department's work in connection with commercial and trade agreements, foreign assets in Canada and Canadian assets abroad, programmes of assistance to foreign countries, foreign loans, and balance of payments and exchange problems. It also deals with international civil aviators, telecommunications and shipping. Co-ordination of policy on economic questions requires continual co-operation with other government departments and agencies such as the Department of Finance and Trade and Commerce. Canada's participation in certain international agencies in the economic field are also the responsibility of this Division.

The Information Division supplies information about Canada to posts abroad, which they in turn adapt to meet the requirements of the press, radio and other outlets in their areas. It co-ordinates the information work abroad of other government agencies and assists foreign journalists and cultural representatives who visit Canada. It also makes available within Canada current information and reference material about international affairs and Canadian foreign policy.

The Defence Liaison Divisions co-ordinate the work of the Department in defence matters. Canada's participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, for example, which involves close co-ordination with the policies of the Department of National Defence, is one of their major responsibilities.

Administrative Divisions

The Personnel Division is responsible, in co-operation with the Civil Service Commission, for the recruitment and promotion of all persons appointed to the staff of the Department. It arranges for the transfer of employees within the Department and for the assignment of all staff to and from posts abroad. It conducts training programmes both for new entrants and for all staff going abroad.

The Establishments and Organization Division, as an administrative division, is responsible for pay, salaries, allowances, superannuation, leave and attendance. It also supervises the work of the communications system between Ottawa and posts abroad, mail distribution, the organization of the file registry and the issuance and revision of the general administrative regulations and instructions.

The Finance Division is responsible for the control of all spending by the Department. It prepares, on the basis of probable expenditures forecast by each division, the Department's estimates, which must be approved by Cabinet and Parliament. It supervises the accounting system in Ottawa and at posts abroad.

The Supplies and Properties Division is responsible for the purchase or rental of properties required by posts in each country, for the furnishing of these buildings and for the procuring and shipping of a wide range of equipment and material needed by posts in the performance of their work. It also assists in the shipping problems of personnel of the Department.

In practice, all divisions work as a team. Similarly, all departments of government, through an elaborate system of formal and informal committees and close personal co-operation by their staffs, are continually working out the very complex and constantly changing web of Canada's diplomatic relations.



The chancery building, Canadian embassy, Tokyo, Japan.

Posts Abroad

The heads of Canadian diplomatic and consular posts report directly to the Secretary of State for External Affairs and receive their instructions from him.

Posts vary greatly in size. The larger posts in London, Washington and Paris include the Head of Post (Ambassador in Washington and Paris, High Commissioner in London), the diplomatic staff, consisting of counsellors and a number of secretaries, commercial secretaries, service attaches, and representatives of other government departments. Smaller posts consist of the Head (Ambassador, Minister or High Commissioner), one or two diplomatic secretaries, a commercial secretary, and, perhaps, a service attache. More specialized in their functions are the consulates and consulates general which, in some cases, are administered

by Trade Commissioners of the Department of Trade and Commerce.

One aspect of diplomatic life which is often not appreciated is the extent of personal inconvenience which must be accepted by every member of the foreign service staff in being required to move every few years, often on short notice, to any post in any part of the world. There is, perhaps, some glamour in the idea of living in the capitals of other nations. In reality, many of the foreign service staff and their wives and families often find very trying the endless and exhausting problems of housing, schooling and languages, and the difficulties of changing from one home to another and from one strange land to another every few years. The life of a diplomat does have certain shortcomings of this nature which are not readily apparent and, therefore, not always appreciated.

The Staff of the Department of External Affairs

A staff of slightly over 1,400 men and women carries out the work of conduc-

ting Canada's relations with other nations of the world. Roughly 50 per cent

of this number staff the fifty-odd missions situated in more than thirty-five countries. Of the total number, nearly 300 are Foreign Service Officers, about 700 are administrative personnel, and the remainder are local employees on the staff of the posts abroad.

Foreign Service Officers

The basic academic qualification of an applicant for appointment as a Foreign Service Officer is a university degree, preferably with specialization in history, economics, political science, philosophy, law or geography. Additional credit is given for those who have done post-graduate work in one of these fields, who have command of a modern language other than English and French, or who have had experience in business or a profession. Candidates must be able to express themselves effectively in writing and speech. Such personal qualities as initiative, good judgment, and the ability to work in close co-operation with others are essential.

A career as Foreign Service Officer is open to both men and women. All applicants are required to have ten years' residence in Canada; service in the armed forces outside of Canada is counted towards this period. Candidates must be between the ages of 23 and 31, but this rule may be relaxed slightly in cases where candidates possess outstanding qualifications.

Foreign Service Officers, Grade 1, begin at a salary of \$3,280 per annum. After about one year of satisfactory service, the new officer may be advanced to \$3,580. Providing his work is satisfactory, his salary increases after this in annual increments to \$4,180. The salary range for Foreign Service Officers, Grade 2, is \$4,280 to \$4,860. The salary of the highest grade (10) is \$12,000 and up. The appointment of a head of mission is made by Order-in-Council on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs rather than by promotion within the Department; however, many Heads of Missions are "career" appointments, that is, they have been appointed from the senior grades of Foreign Service Officers.

At posts abroad, the Foreign Service

Officer receives, in addition to his salary, allowances to compensate him for differences in living costs and for his representation expenses. This is, in effect, an income adjustment which enables him to meet all the responsibilities of a Canadian representative abroad. Additional education allowances are paid to officers with children between the ages of five and 21 years.

Selection of Foreign Service Officers

Foreign Service Officers are recruited by the Civil Service Commission through competitive examinations. This begins with the written examination and the candidates who are successful are required to appear before an oral board. The purpose of the oral examination is to assess the personal suitability of the candidate for the foreign service. A candidate who is successful in the written and oral examinations is then assigned a rating in which business and professional experience and overseas war service are taken into account.

Successful candidates, in order of merit, are placed on eligibility lists which are normally valid for a period of one year. These lists are usually limited to the number of names required to meet the number of vacant positions in the Department's staff. Preference in appointment is given to those qualified candidates whose war service entitles them to the statutory veterans' preference.

The newly-appointed Foreign Service Officer is assigned immediately to one of the various divisions of the Department in Ottawa. This is the beginning of the period of training which normally lasts approximately two years. During this time he will work in at least three divisions, assuming greater responsibility as he becomes more familiar with the work of the Department. Courses of lectures, covering the work and organization of the Department, the work of other government departments and of important organizations such as the Bank of Canada and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation are arranged as part of the training programme. During this period in Ottawa, Foreign Service Officers may be assisted financially to study certain foreign languages. Upon the satisfactory

completion of their training, officers become available for assignment to a post abroad.

Administrative Staff

Appointments of clerks, stenographers and typists to the rotational administrative staff of the Department are made through the Civil Service Commission on the basis of results obtained in competitive examinations conducted periodically by the Commission. Members of the rotational staff are appointed initially to positions in Ottawa; after a period of satisfactory service, they normally become available for a foreign posting. All are accepted in the Department on the understanding that they are prepared to serve in Ottawa or at any post abroad as required. A tour of duty at a foreign post varies from two to three and one-half years depending on the climatic and living conditions at the post concerned.

Starting salaries for stenographers range from \$1,800 to \$2,240 per annum depending on education and experience.

Stenographers with exceptional qualifications may be assigned in a slightly higher range up to a maximum of \$2,480. The minimum starting salary for clerks and typists is \$1,690, but for those clerks who have senior matriculation it is \$1,800 per annum, and \$2,130 for those with university graduation. While serving abroad they receive, in addition to their salary, rental and living allowances based on the cost of living index at their post.

Local Staff

Locally-engaged staff are selected by the individual Head of Post on the basis of their knowledge of the local language and customs and in accordance with the needs of the post. Since they are employed for particular duties at the Canadian diplomatic or consular office located in the country in which they reside, they are not subject to rotation as are the remainder of the personnel of External Affairs. Local employees are engaged to perform routine clerical and administrative duties.



CORRIGENDUM

Vol. 5, No. 7, July 1953, p. 218, second sentence, for "three officers" read "fourteen officers". The three officers referred to in this paragraph included only those in Ottawa at the beginning of 1927.

Canada's International Trade Fair

By J. FERGUS GRANT*

CANADA'S reputation in foreign lands as a growing market and a dependable source of supply for a wide variety of commodities was further enhanced at the sixth Canadian International Trade Fair. Twenty-seven countries displayed their wares, and buyers from some sixty countries descended on Toronto during the first two weeks of June to compare products ranging from a sixty-ton boring and milling machine through one of the finest displays of machinery and machine tools seen on the North American continent to beautiful examples of handicrafts from many lands.

The Trade Fair was a success from various points of view. While it is seldom possible to determine the amount of business transacted, and the value of orders actually placed, a number of exhibitors declared they were well pleased with the results achieved. Many already have booked space for next year. As a medium through which to create a better understanding among peoples of different races, religions, colours and creeds, the Trade Fair performed a most useful function. Its international character was reflected in the displays of goods and in the representatives of many countries with a common purpose; a purpose that resulted in the creation of personal friendships which well may blossom into a wider measure of international goodwill.

While the Trade Fair primarily is a mart or meeting place, sponsored by the Canadian Government in an effort to help businessmen explore the possibilities of foreign markets, it can create a more favourable atmosphere for an exchange of commodities. Though an exchange of opinions and a frank discussion of problems, the way may be found through obstructions that now restrict the free flow of trade. This should prove to be one of the more favourable features of such an international gathering. This Canadian venture is not unique in this respect, for

much of its strength is drawn from other lands in which trade fairs have flourished for many years. It represents, however, a contribution of a young country to the commercial stability sought by men of goodwill as one of the more important planks in the platform of peace.

Press and Radio Promoted Interest

The press and other media of mass education, such as radio, television and moving pictures, deserve special mention in any consideration of the success achieved. They have carried the story of this trade fair into the homes of many people unable to visit Canada at this time, and have portrayed the benefits to be derived indirectly by them from the efforts of their countrymen to secure export sales. Special issues of domestic and foreign publications, identified with this fair, already have created a better understanding of Canada, its people, natural resources, industries and its ability to emulate the older countries of Europe in organizing such an international trade mart. Correspondents from the United States and from overseas have been welcomed; some travelled further afield in an effort to furnish their readers with a more faithful interpretation of Canada. Their contributions is perhaps greater than they realize, for their words carry to the public the impressions that exhibitors and buyers can convey only to a relatively small, though influential, circle of fellow businessmen in their respective countries.

As the only international trade fair in North America, the Toronto event affords businessmen in the United States an opportunity to examine and compare a large variety of foreign products that might readily prove acceptable to a discerning public in what is now considered the most desirable market in the world. A group of some ninety businessmen from Buffalo, N.Y., were welcomed by officials of the fair as a unit; fifty of them chartered a special plane to permit of

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their spending a day in Toronto. Many more visitors from the United States were registered than in any previous year, which indicates a growing interest in this venture. Foreign exhibitors, who have taken up the slogan of "trade not aid," are not unmindful of such interest and welcome the Canadian show window for this reason.

Canadian Firms Profit

Canadian businessmen are also deriving increasing advantage from this opportunity to display their products to prospective Canadian buyers as well as buyers from other lands. Their participation was substantially larger than in any previous year. While the competition of foreign firms showing similar products, must be met, the lower cost of transportation provides a measure of assistance in securing sales. Of great importance, however, is the opportunity afforded of comparing their own manufactures with those of other countries, and of determining whether those produced here will measure up on world markets.

Over 264,000 square feet of space was required by exhibitors this year, compared with slightly more than 190,000 square feet in 1952. Nearly half the total was occupied by Canadian displays. While some of this was of an institutional nature, such as that taken by the National Harbours Board, the Government of Newfoundland, the Fisheries Council of Canada and the City of Sherbrooke, Que., these exhibits portrayed some of the facilities available to firms from across the seas, the Great Lakes or the St. Lawrence River who might be contemplating the establishment of a branch plant in Canada. The Trade Fair was also made the occasion by some companies for meetings of their salesmen or their buyers with salesmen and buyers from many parts of the country.

Engineers were shown a wide selection of equipment that could improve the efficiency of their plants. Other buyers, particularly from the large department stores, were presented with a wide variety of goods that would undoubtedly appeal to the prospective purchaser.

Some idea of the cosmopolitan character of the Trade Fair is indicated by the list of participating countries,—Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, England, Finland, France, Germany, Guatemala, Hong Kong, India, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Korea, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Scotland, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States of America.

Nineteen Trade Classifications

Exhibits from these twenty-seven countries were arranged in nineteen trade classifications as follows: building materials, plumbing and heating; drugs, cosmetics and tobacco; electrical equipment; diesel engines and power equipment; farm implements and equipment; food products and beverages; footwear, leather and leather products; hardware and smallwares; heavy construction and road-building equipment; household furnishings and appliances; handicrafts and ornamental goods; institutional exhibits; publications; jewellery and silverware; machinery, machine tools and plant equipment; medical and optical equipment; metals, chemicals and raw materials; office equipment and paper products; packaging, and materials-handling equipment; scientific and precision equipment; sporting goods, toys and musical instruments; textile products; and transportation equipment.

The fact that, this year, displays of machinery and machine tools occupied some forty per cent of the total space allocated to exhibits might create the impression that they dominated the Trade Fair to the exclusion of other products. Two buildings and an outdoor section were filled with one of the finest presentations of engineering equipment on the North American continent. But, there were many other exhibits to attract the attention of traders seeking varied merchandise for customers in their respective countries.

Window shoppers, with no opportunity to buy, also had their chance to see and admire, as the Trade Fair was thrown open to the general public on three days. This had the advantage of



CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR

General view of the machinery exhibits in the Automotive Building at the Canadian International Trade Fair, 1953.

creating a demand for some of the products that were not already available in department and other stores.

Wide Variety of Goods on View

Six countries were represented in the section devoted to building materials, plumbing and heating. Plywoods and ceramic tiles for interior finishing, electric heaters and ranges, air-conditioning units and the indispensable plumbers' supplies were alongside equipment designed to simplify and expedite building operations. The Canadian agent of a British firm displayed an aluminous cement, which hardens rapidly but does not liberate free aluminum. A Dutch firm, with thirty-two letters to its name, had samples of prefabricated utility and domestic buildings. There were elevator doors that could be controlled by a push button or by remote radio control and seamless tube elbows from Britain.

Five countries were represented in the section devoted to drugs, cosmetics and

tobacco. An English firm showed perfumes "distilled from fragrant English flowers," while another displayed a special line of asthma preparations, inhalers and other pharmaceuticals. A German company introduced a line of paper products, from tissues and disposable diapers to gift wrappings and shoulder pads. Two Dutch firms featured cigars, while one Canadian company showed cigarettes and other tobacco products.

Five countries were represented in the section devoted to electric equipment, Canada taking first place with exhibits that ran the electrical gamut. One of the interesting devices was an infra-red pyrometer for locating faulty joints on overhead power lines. New developments in the electronics field, radio and television captured much attention. There was a wide range of diesel engines on display in the category devoted to power equipment.

Canada and Germany displayed modern agricultural machinery, such as trac-

tors, centrifuges, home and farm freezers and milk-testing equipment.

Food Products Featured

Thirteen countries were represented in the section devoted to food products and beverages. The display ranged from the staple foods that make up a large part of Canada's exports, such as an exhibit of wheat flour, arranged by the Saskatchewan Co-operative Producers Limited, to delicacies from foreign countries. India displayed currie, pickles, condiments and Indian tea, while Ireland showed fruit cakes and specialties like "Irish pot still whisky." From Britain came beverages with unmistakably English names, such as Golden mead ale and Manx oyster stout. There was a large variety of Scotch whiskies on display. Brandies, wines, sparkling wines and liqueurs came from South Africa, while various brands of rum were brought in from the British West Indies. Austria displayed candies.

Six countries were represented in the section devoted to footwear, leather and leather products. Handbags, wallets, briefcases and travelling sets were on view, to capture the attention of the retail trade, but an Irish firm introduced sole and insole leather for the shoemaking trade. From Newfoundland came a display of rubber footwear and clothing, foam rubber mattresses, industrial and medical rubber goods, as well as lovely sealskin.

Six countries were represented in the section devoted to hardware and smallwares. The well-stocked exhibits, comprising all types of hardware, lighting appliances, flatware, tinware, cutlery, flashlights and gardening tools, attracted almost as much attention as does the ordinary hardware store. One Canadian firm showed aluminum extension ladders, while Germany displayed tools for the automotive and hardware trades, scissors, hairdressers' and barbers' implements, and Sweden had a small exhibit of hunting knives.

Six countries were represented in the section, midway between the Coliseum and Automotive Building, devoted to heavy construction and roadbuilding equipment. Here was a mechanized "road

show," with great machines painted gaily in red and blue, green, yellow and orange. Earth-moving equipment, road rollers, diesel dump trucks, mobile cranes, concrete mixers and power rammers for tamping earth or concrete were included among the large variety of machines. A mammoth exhibit was a hook block weighing eight tons and capable of holding 90 tons, which was displayed by a Canadian firm. It also had an exhibit of a model of the Granville Street Bridge, in Vancouver, which is the only eight-lane highway bridge on the continent outside of New York.

Six countries were represented in the section devoted to household furnishings, and six to that specializing in household appliances. There were some fine crystal chandeliers, rugs and carpets originating in ten different lands, rattan baskets and Dutch baroque furniture, cutlery and cowbells from Austria, aluminumware from Hong Kong and floor polishers from the Netherlands.

One of the most interesting series of displays was in the category devoted to handicrafts and ornamental goods, in which nine countries were represented. There were some original oil paintings from Vienna, crystal and ceramics from the Tyrol, intricately carved furniture made from native woods and rugs from India, bamboo products from Japan, and decorated Waterford glass from Ireland. One of the finest displays was that of the Quebec Handicraft Centre, of Montreal, which attracted much attention.

Institutional Exhibits

There were fifteen countries represented in the section devoted to institutional exhibits, apart from the Governments of British Columbia, Newfoundland and Saskatchewan, and the Cities of Halifax, Niagara Falls, Saint John, Sherbrooke and Toronto. The following countries were represented by government displays or those arranged by trade associations: Austria, Belgian Congo, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Guatemala, Ireland, Jamaica, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States. Canada, Great Britain and the United States had stands advertising some of the trade publications

published in their respective countries.

Many beautiful examples of craftsmanship were to be seen in the section devoted to jewellery and silverware, in which five countries were represented. Germany and Austria showed some of their famous cuckoo and talking clocks, and there was silverware of distinctive design produced by Peru.

Machinery Exhibits

Reservations from the manufacturers of machinery, machine tools and plant equipment were requested so rapidly that the Industries Building was completely booked before the end of last year, and space had to be allocated in the Automotive Building. With the machines came technicians, who were able to give displays and full explanations of the special features of each machine. Over fifty members of the Machine Tool Trades Association of Great Britain occupied space that enabled the various firms to stage an attractive display. Canada was well represented. Eleven countries were represented in this category.

Five countries were represented in the section devoted to medical and optical equipment, and displayed a wide variety of instruments, such as microscopes, photographic cameras, microtomes, metallographs, hemoglobinometers, cameras and projectors, surgical instruments, hospital furniture, binoculars, monoculars, small air compressors for medical purposes and optical surfacing machinery.

Imaginative displays in the metals, chemicals and raw materials section were arranged by firms in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States. Visitors were interested, for example, in seeing how certain secondary materials and finished products were made, and in some of the functions of chemicals, such as weed-killing, rustproofing and insect extermination.

Office equipment and paper products were displayed by seven countries. Steel executive desks, filing cabinets, horizontal card sections, lockers and shelving were displayed alongside typewriters, safes and vault doors, adding machines and calculators, lithographic presses, offset duplicators, photo-mechanical equipment and plate-making machines.

Exhibits grouped in the section devoted to packaging and materials handling equipment demonstrated the surprising ease with which modern machinery can move even the heaviest and most bulky materials. The evermoving display included fork-lift trucks, mobile cranes, pallet trucks, electric and hand-operated hoists and belt conveyors.

Scientific and precision equipment was displayed by ten countries, and included a wide variety of items, which included military equipment, ammunition, small arms, radar and instruments manufactured by Canadian Arsenals, Limited, a crown company. The exhibits covered a wide range, such as precision measuring instruments, analogue computers, intercommunication systems, electronic test equipment, micrometers, aeronautical instruments, medical, dental and surgical instruments, cameras, lenses and optical specialties, dial indicators for the engineering trades, solenoid valves, mechanically or magnetically held contractors, automatic transfer switches and a stroboscopic wavemeter designed by the National Research Council, in Ottawa.

Some of the most fascinating displays were found in the section devoted to sporting goods, toys and musical instruments. Loud applause greeted the completion of a piano concerto by an artist on the stand where pianos, organs and musical instruments were on display. Five countries had exhibits in this category, which included hunting rifles, skis and accessories and fishing tackle.

Hand-embroidered blouses and petit-point from Vienna, silks from Japan and velveteens from Spain, linens from Ireland, hosiery and knitted wear were among the many attractive articles that drew visitors to the displays of exhibitors from eleven countries in the section devoted to textile products. The Indian Jute Mills Association featured jute bags, cloths and furnishings, in an effort to step up North American sales.

Transportation Equipment

Seven countries were represented in the section devoted to transportation equipment. The displays included such items as fire trucks, firefighting equipment, dinghies and tenders, boats, unfin-

ished hulls, automotive accessories, bicycles, power saws, automobile and trucks, aircraft gangways, and portable staircases.

Officers of the Department of Trade and Commerce were on duty in the "Service Area," to answer enquiries and to assist both exhibitors and visitors. They also toured the Trade Fair, and discussed with the representatives of Canadian and foreign firms their problems, aims and objectives. In this way it was possible to assess the measure of success achieved by some of the firms and to determine whether they were satisfied with the reception of their goods. Booths were staffed in this area by a number of organizations, such as the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the Canadian Exporters Association, the Canadian Importers and Traders Association, the International Service of the CBC, and the United Kingdom office of the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission. In addition, the Departments of Trade and Industry or Trade and Commerce in the Canadian provinces had representatives on hand to assist the representatives of

firms already established in their respective territories, or contemplating the establishment of a branch plant in this country.

The Canadian International Trade Fair is held in the grounds of the Canadian National Exhibition, where admirable facilities for the display of goods are available, and the site overlooks the waters of Lake Ontario. The organization and administration of such a project is a monumental task, which is made possible only through the co-operation of the representatives of trade and industry with the officials of government charged with the actual administrative details. Visitors oftentimes have expressed their appreciation of courtesies extended. Speaking briefly at one of the press conferences held during the period of the fair, an Irishman who had travelled far and wide said that he had never before gone to a fair "where people fell over backwards to help." He also declared that his visit to Canada had been a voyage of discovery, and that the success of the fair had been achieved "through simplicity to complexity."



ADDENDUM

The two following scholarship holders replace A. F. R. Brown, and Ronald W. Turini as noted on page 223 of the July issue of *External Affairs*:

Gaston Laurion, 26, born White Plains, N.Y., graduate of the University of Montreal in Classics, will do research in France for doctoral thesis on medieval forms of the text of Euripides.

Jean-Charles-Francois Magnan, 23, born in St-Casimir, Portneuf, P.Q., graduate of Laval University in music, will do advanced study in France on the violin and of chamber music.

Canadian Visa Agreements with European Countries

THE record number of Canadian visitors to Europe this Coronation year may be finding transportation a problem but in one respect their travel is easier than at any time since before the Second World War. No less than thirteen European countries have now entered into visa modification agreements with Canada. As a result Canadian travellers may spend weeks touring the continent without having to take the time and trouble to obtain visas in advance for each country to be visited.

A visa is merely a notation made in a passport, usually by means of a rubber stamp, to the effect that the passport and other documents of the bearer have been "seen" and found to be in order. The visa indicates that the bearer qualifies for entry to the country concerned for the purpose stated on the visa. Visas are granted by consular or immigration officers for a nominal fee and must be presented at the border or frontier of the country for which they are issued. Unfortunately the process of obtaining a visa often consumes more time than the journey itself, particularly if the trip is by air. Thus when a Canadian tourist or businessman is able to enter the majority of western European countries without visas, he is saved a tremendous amount of time and trouble, which of course is the main purpose of these agreements.

Negotiations carried on through diplomatic channels have resulted in agreements with the following countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, The Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland. These arrangements cover visitors only and they must have in their possession valid passports. They may remain in any of these countries for up to three months, except in Belgium, where the limit is two months. They are not permitted to accept gainful employment during their stay and if they intend to take up residence they must comply with all immigration requirements prior to entry.

These visa modification agreements are of course basically reciprocal. In return for the concessions granted Canadian visitors, each of the nationals of the countries concerned is given the privilege of entering Canada for temporary purposes with a minimum of delay or difficulty. Canadian offices in Europe issue visas to applicants from these countries free of charge valid for an unlimited number of entries to Canada within a one year period.

The first country in Europe to take steps to relax visa requirements after the end of the Second World War was Switzerland. On November 1, 1947 Switzerland abolished requirements for visitors' visas for citizens of the United States, Australia, South Africa and Canada. This action applied to the Principality of Liechtenstein as well because their foreign affairs are handled by Switzerland. As a result of Switzerland's generosity to Canada, Swiss nationals were accorded the privilege of free multi-entry visas by Canada on April 1, 1949. Before the end of that year visa modification agreements were concluded by Canada with Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The latest agreement in this series was brought into force on May 1, 1953 between Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany.

One of the largest group of Canadian citizens in Europe at present are the armed forces serving in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Canadian soldiers and airmen may now visit most countries of Europe on leave or on duty without either passports or visas. Agreements have been reached with nearly all NATO member countries and a few others which permit service personnel to travel freely provided they have in their possession military identity cards and proper movement orders or leave papers. Reciprocal arrangements are in force permitting servicemen from other NATO member countries to visit Canada under the same conditions.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SIGNING OF AN ARMISTICE IN KOREA

Statement by the President of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made on July 26, 1953.

The good news tonight from Korea reflects the wishes of millions throughout the world that the fighting there should be brought to an end on honourable terms.

Our first thought at this moment is for those who have defended the principles of the United Nations with their lives, and in the hope that their devotion might save us from the destroying horror of another world war.

On June 25, 1950, the United Nations faced its greatest challenge: the aggression launched against the Republic of Korea. The challenge has been met by the United Nations in the spirit of the Charter. By resisting and ending aggression in Korea, the United Nations has reduced the chance of successful aggression elsewhere.

In nearly three years of hard fighting, under bitter conditions, the forces under the United Nations command—mainly from the Republic of Korea and the United States of America—have carried out their task with courage and determination.

The armistice will end the fighting in Korea. As such it is the first step toward a peaceful settlement in that area.

The next step is to call the United Nations General Assembly back into session to prepare the way for calling the political conference, recommended in the armistice terms. There are a number of decisions that will have to be made by the Assembly before this political conference can meet. There

is also the need for further United Nations action to aid the Korean people in the restoration and reconstruction of their devastated land.

Therefore, as President of the Assembly and in accordance with the Assembly's resolution of last April 18, I am informing the member governments tonight that the Assembly will reconvene at United Nations Headquarters on Monday, August 17, to take up these Korean questions.

The signing of the armistice is the end of one chapter of bloodshed and fighting. But it is only the beginning of a new and difficult one—the making of peace.

This new chapter can not be completed successfully in Korea unless the armistice terms are faithfully and scrupulously observed by all concerned.

If this is done, we can move on to the next stage, toward political settlement and reconstruction in a free, democratic and united Korea—a goal which the Korean people have fought so valiantly to reach. Such a settlement could in its turn lead to a solution of outstanding issues in the whole of the Far East.

The magnitude of the effort already made for peace and unification in Korea is the measure of the task which lies ahead. We shall succeed in that task only if we follow the course laid down by our Charter and maintain the spirit of joint endeavour that has carried us to this point on the long and hard road to peace.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, Canadian Ambassador (designate) to Washington, was posted on temporary duty from Paris to Ottawa, effective July 15, 1953.
- Mr. W. A. Irwin, High Commissioner for Canada in Australia, was posted from Ottawa to Canberra, effective July 19, 1953.
- Mr. E. H. Norman, High Commissioner for Canada in New Zealand, was posted from Ottawa to Wellington, effective April 14, 1953.
- Mr. L. G. Chance, Consul General (designate) in Los Angeles was posted from Geneva to Ottawa on temporary duty, effective July 27, 1953.
- Mr. E. P. Black was transferred from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to the Canadian Legation, Stockholm, effective June 1, 1953.
- Mr. Mr. J. J. Hurley, High Commissioner for Canada in Ceylon, was posted from Ottawa to Colombo, effective June 4, 1953.
- Mr. G. J. Choquette joined the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer, effective June 9, 1953.
- Mr. T. F. M. Newton was posted from home leave (NATO Secretariat, Paris) to Ottawa, effective June 9, 1953.
- Mr. J. K. Starnes was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective June 10, 1953.
- Mr. M. C. M. Gauvin was transferred from the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, to the Canadian Legation, Lisbon, effective June 12, 1953.
- Mr. d'Iberville Fortier was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C., effective June 12, 1953.

- Mr. G. C. Cook was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, effective June 19, 1953.
- Mr. P. Reading was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, San Francisco, effective June 24, 1953.
- Mr. J. R. Barker was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective June 25, 1953.
- Mr. G. V. Beaudry was posted from home leave (Buenos Aires) to Ottawa, effective July 6, 1953.
- Mr. R. H. Jay was posted from home leave (New Delhi) to Ottawa effective July 8, 1953.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

United Nations International Children Emergency Fund Financial Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 December 1952 and Report of the Board of Auditors; New York, 1953; document A/2396. Pp. 40. 40 cents. Geneva Assembly Official Records: Eighth Session, Supplement No. 6A.

International Monetary Fund, Washington, D.C.—*Annual Report of the Executive Directors for the fiscal year ended April 30, 1952*; 8 January 1953; document E/2351. Pp. 153.

World Economic Report 1951-52; April 1953; document E/2353/Rev.1, ST/ECA/19; Pp. 141. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.C.2.

Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East 1951-52 (Supplement to World Economic Report); February 1953; document E/2353/Add.1, ST/ECA/19/Add.1. Pp. 161. \$1.75. Sales No.: 1953.II.C.1.

Social Commission—Report of the Ninth Session (4-20 May 1953); 20 May 1953; document E/2437, E/CN.5/297. Pp. 22. 25 cents. Ecosoc Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 7.

Seventh Report of the ILO to the United Nations; Geneva 1953. Pp. 444. \$2.50.

Proceedings of the Regional Technical Conference on Flood Control in Asia and the Far East (Flood Control Series No. 3); Bangkok 1952. Pp. 320. \$3.00. Sales No.: 1953.II.F.1 (Document ST/ECAFE/Ser. F/3).

Report and Proceedings of the United Nations International Seminar on Statistical Organization (Sponsored by the TAA and the Statistical Office of the United Nations with the co-operation of the Government of Canada and the participation of the

FAO, IL, IMF and WHO, 13 October-6 November 1952); March 1953; document ST/STAT/SER.M/16, ST/TAA/SER.C/7. Pp. 137. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1953.XVII.2 (Department of Economic Affairs).

The Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration (U.N. Technical Assistance Programme); 2 November 1952; document ST/TAA/K Somaliland/1. Pp. 343. \$3.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.H.2.

Report of the AD HOC Committee on Forced Labour; Geneva 1953; document E/2431. Pp. 619. \$3.75. Ecosoc Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 13 or "Studies and Reports" (New Series) No. 36 of ILO.

Catalogue of Publications of the ILO; Geneva 1953. Pp. 84.

UNESCO

Transmitting World News (A study of telecommunications and the press) by Francis Williams. Paris 1953. Pp. 95. \$1.00.

Report of the Acting Director General on the activities of the Organization from November 1952 to April 1953; Paris, June 1953; document 2 XC/5. Pp. 82. 50 cents.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Fourth Report on the Regime of the High Seas (The continental shelf and related subject) by J. P. A. Francois, Rapporteur; 19 February 1953; document A/CN.4/60. Pp. 137.

Report of the Ninth Session of the Commission on Human Rights; 6 June 1953; document E/2447. Pp. 248.

List of non-governmental organizations in consultative relationship with the Economic and Social Council; 27 May 1953; document E/C.2/INF.4. Pp. 107. Appendices I to V.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 229 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, page 36.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	Melbourne (83 William St.)
“.....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Austria.....	Minister (Absent).....	Vienna 1 (Strauchgasse 1)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
Belgian Congo.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (35, rue de la Science)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
“.....	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	High Commissioner.....	Colombo (Galle Face Hotel)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Avenida General Bulnes 129)
Colombia.....	Ambassador.....	Bogotá (Calle 19, No. 6-39 fifth floor)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (No 16 Avenida de Menocal)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Krakowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Osterbrogade 26)
Dominican Republic.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Ciudad Trujillo (Edificio Copello 410 Calle El Conde)
Egypt.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara)
Finland.....	Minister (Absent).....	Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken 3-C. 32)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris xvi (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Ambassador.....	Bonn (Zittelmann Strasse, 22)
“.....	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Lancaster House, Fehrbelliner Platz)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatemala City (28, 5a Avenida Sud)
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Indonesia.....	Ambassador.....	Djakarta (Tanah Abang Timur No. 2)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Bldg.)
Japan.....	Ambassador.....	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku)
Lebanon.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Beirut (P.O. Box 2300)
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)
Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza, Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Ayala Bldg., Juan Luna St.)
Poland.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Kępa)
Portugal.....	Minister (Absent).....	Lisbon (Avenida da Praia da Vitoria)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	

Singapore.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building)
Spain.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Madrid (Avenida José Antonio 70)
Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvägen 7-C)
Switzerland.....	Ambassador.....	Berne (88 Kirchenfeldstrasse)
Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (Colonial Bldg.)
Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (Müdafaa-yı Milliye Caddesi, No. 19, Cankaya)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (24 Barclay's Bank Bldg.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Building)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador.....	Moscow (23 Starokonyushny Pereulok)
“ “	Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.	London (Canada House)
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
“ “	Consul General.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
“ “	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
“ “	Consul and Trade Commis- sioner.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
“ “	Consul General (Vice-Consul in Charge).....	Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.)
“ “	Consul and Trade Commis- sioner.....	New Orleans (215 International Trade Mart)
“ “	Consul General.....	New York (620 Fifth Ave.)
“ “	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street)
“ “	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
Uruguay.....	Ambassador.....	Montevideo (Casilla Postal 852)
Venezuela.....	Ambassador.....	Caracas (2° Piso Edificio Pan-Ameri- can, Puente Urapal, Candelaria)
Yugoslavia.....	Ambassador.....	Belgrade (Proliterskih Brigada 69)
North Atlantic Council.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (Canadian Embassy)
*OEEC.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (c/o Canadian Embassy)
United Nations.....	Permanent Representative.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
“ “	Permanent Delegate.....	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)
“ “	Deputy Permanent Delegate.....	

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.



EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

The Armistice in Korea

THE Korean Armistice Agreement was signed at Panmunjom at 10:01 a.m., Monday, July 27, 1953 (Korean Time). It was signed by Lieutenant-General William K. Harrison, Senior Delegate, United Nations Command Delegation and by Nam Il, Senior Delegate, Delegation of the Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers. It was subsequently signed by General Mark W. Clark, Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command, and by Peng Teh-huai, Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers, and Kim Il Sung, Marshal, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Supreme Commander, Korean People's Army. In accordance with the terms of the Armistice Agreement, hostilities ceased at 10:00 p.m. on July 27, 1953, and the Armistice Agreement became effective at that time.

The Prime Minister's Statement

The Armistice Agreement is a military agreement between military commanders. It is intended to make possible a final peaceful settlement and assumes that this end will, in good faith, be pursued. In commenting on the signing of the armistice in Korea the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, issued the following statement:

The news of the signing of the Armistice Agreement in Korea has been received with deep satisfaction by the Canadian Government and by the people of Canada. For three years, the forces of the United Nations have been fighting in Korea in order to resist an unprovoked aggression launched against the Republic of Korea. In response to the various resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations, a Brigade of Canadian soldiers, as well as three destroyers of the Royal Canadian Navy and elements of the Royal Canadian Air Force, have been in action since early in the fighting. All Canadians are proud of the courage and discipline of our servicemen during these three years of hostilities. Never in history have our soldiers, sailors and airmen fought so far from their homeland in defence of that homeland and of the highest ideals of peace. We will not forget the sacrifices which they have made, nor will we forget their losses which are the losses of the whole nation.

We will not forget that these sacrifices and losses were part of the cost of a great collective effort shared by many peoples, especially those of the Republic of Korea and the United States, to the end that peace shall prevail. We pay tribute to all the forces allied in this effort, under the leadership of the Unified Command.

When, in the summer of 1950, the United Nations intervened in Korea, it did so for the sole purpose of resisting aggression against the Republic of Korea. This objective has now been achieved. An armistice drawn up in honourable terms has now been signed. It is the earnest hope of the Canadian Government that this armistice in Korea will be observed scrupulously by all concerned and will lead to a political settlement in that ravaged peninsula, and eventually to a general settlement of outstanding issues in the whole of the Far East.

Meeting Announced

In his capacity as President of the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson made an announcement from United Nations Headquarters in New York.

The armistice will end the fighting in Korea. As such it is the first step toward a peaceful settlement in that area.

The next step is to call the United Nations General Assembly back into session to prepare the way for calling the political conference, recommended in the armistice terms. There are a number of decisions that will have to be made by the Assembly before this political conference can meet. There is also the need for further United Nations action to aid the Korean people in the restoration and reconstruction of their devastated land.

Therefore, as President of the Assembly and in accordance with the Assembly's resolution of last April 18, I am informing the member governments tonight that the Assembly will reconvene at United Nations Headquarters on Monday, August 17, to take up these Korean questions.

For a very long period prior to the Armistice the central issue in dispute concerned the repatriation of prisoners-of-war. The cease-fire negotiations which began between representatives of the opposing forces in Korea on July 10, 1951, had, by the summer of 1952, resulted in the drawing up of a draft armistice agreement complete except for agreement on



—United Nations

THE UNITED NATIONS AND KOREA

The flag of the United Nations flying over the graves of United Nations soldiers killed in battle in Korea.

this subject. On this issue there was a deadlock. The United Nations negotiators held fast to the basic position that they would not accept an obligation to force North Korean and Chinese prisoners in their hands to accept repatriation against their will, while the Communist negotiators would not agree that prisoners were free to refuse to return to their own country if they so wished. On October 8, 1952, the armistice negotiations at Panmunjom were recessed by General Harrison, on behalf of the United Nations Command, after the Communist representatives had rejected the compromise proposals on the prisoner-of-war issue put forward by the United Nations Command on September 28. Shortly afterwards, the

seventh session of the General Assembly opened and the Korean question was taken up as the first item on the agenda of the First (Political) Committee. In the course of a debate lasting almost six weeks, a number of draft resolutions were submitted.*

Indian Resolution

On November 19, 1952, Mr. Krishna Menon of the Indian Delegation introduced a draft resolution, which proposed that the repatriation of prisoners should be effected in accordance with the Geneva Convention of 1949 and that force should not be used either to prevent or

* See *External Affairs*, January 1953, pp. 18-20.

to carry out the return of prisoners to their homelands. This Indian resolution was the subject of considerable discussion, particularly regarding the disposition of those prisoners-of-war who did not wish to return home. In its final form, as amended in debate, the resolution provided that, at the end of a period of 90 days after the armistice agreement had been signed, the question of the disposition of such prisoners would be referred to the political conference provided for in paragraph 60 of the Draft Armistice Agreement. If the political conference could not reach agreement on the disposition of these remaining prisoners within a period of 30 days, it was provided that "the responsibility for their care and maintenance and for their subsequent disposition shall be transferred to the United Nations which, in all matters relating to them, shall act strictly in accordance with international law". On December 3, 1952, the Indian resolution, as amended, was adopted by the Assembly by a vote of 54 in favour (including Canada), five against (the Soviet bloc), and one abstention (Nationalist China). On December 5, the President of the Assembly transmitted the resolution to the Foreign Ministers of Communist China and of North Korea, with an appeal asking the two governments to accept the resolution "as forming a just and reasonable basis for an agreement which will serve to bring about a constructive and durable peace in Korea". Despite the fact that this resolution was rejected on December 14 by Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, as "illegal and void", the discussion on it afforded an impressive demonstration of the solidarity of the non-Communist members of the United Nations on the issue and led, eventually, to the breaking of the deadlock on the question.

Repatriation of Sick and Wounded

Discussion of the Korean problem in the earlier stages of the second part of the seventh session of the Assembly, which began on February 24, 1953, also proved to be fruitless. Meanwhile, in Korea, on February 22, 1953, General Mark Clark, the United Nations Commander, informed the Chinese and North

Korean Commanders by letter that his Command remained ready "immediately to repatriate those seriously sick and seriously wounded captured personnel who are fit to travel in accordance with the provisions of Article 109 of the Geneva Convention". Article 109 provided *inter alia* that no sick or injured prisoner of war eligible for repatriation might be repatriated against his will during hostilities. On March 28, 1953, the Communist Commanders informed General Clark that they agreed with his proposal and suggested immediate resumption of the armistice negotiations to discuss the entire problem of prisoners of war. Negotiations on arrangements for the repatriation of the sick and wounded led to the signature of an agreement at Panmunjom on April 11. The exchange of these prisoners took place between April 30 and May 3.

Chou En-lai Pronouncement

On March 30, Chou En-lai made an important pronouncement on the prisoners-of-war question, the essence of which was his proposal "that both parties to the negotiations should undertake to repatriate immediately after the cessation of hostilities all those prisoners-of-war in their custody who insist upon repatriation and to hand over the remaining prisoners-of-war to a neutral state so as to insure a just solution to the question of their repatriation". His statement also proposed that while prisoners were in the custody of the neutral state, representatives of the countries of their origin should be given the opportunity to make "explanations" to them. The President of the Assembly, when he distributed this statement to representatives of member governments, expressed his hope that it might provide a basis for peace in Korea. On April 16, the United Nations Command agreed to resume full armistice negotiations.

At the General Assembly in New York, a Brazilian resolution was introduced on April 14 which expressed the hope that further negotiations in Panmunjom "will result in achieving an early armistice in Korea consistent with United Nations principles and objectives" and requesting "the President of the General Assembly to



—United Nations

THE WAR IN KOREA

From the ramparts of a mountain bastion, troops guard the approaches of a Korean pass.

reconvene the present session to resume consideration of the Korean question (a) upon notification by the Unified Command to the Security Council of an armistice in Korea; or (b) when, in the view of a majority of Members, other developments in Korea require consideration of this question". This draft resolution, recommended by the First Committee on April 16, was adopted unanimously by the Assembly on April 18, 1953.

The armistice negotiations at Panmunjom were resumed with renewed optimism about ultimate success. Two main points of disagreement emerged — the question of what country should be the "neutral state" referred in Chou En-lai's proposal and the procedure to be followed in disposing of those prisoners who did not wish to be repatriated. After over a month of negotiation on these issues, the United Nations Command on May 25 presented further proposals. These proposals, which the Canadian Government fully supported as a basis for negotiations, led, after further consideration, to the initialling of an agreement on the repatriation of prisoners by the two sides on June 8, 1953 (Korean time).

POW Agreement Reached

The prisoner-of-war agreement reached on June 8, which followed closely the main provisions of the General Assembly's resolution of December 3, 1952, provided that, within two months after an armistice, both sides, without offering any hindrance, would directly repatriate and hand over in groups to the side to which they belonged at the time of capture all those prisoners who insisted on repatriation. Panmunjom was to be the exchange point. A Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, composed of Czechoslovakia, India, Poland Sweden and Switzerland, and established within the demilitarized zone in the vicinity of Panmunjom, would take custody of all prisoners held by both sides who did not exercise their right to be repatriated. Sufficient armed forces and any other necessary operating personnel would be provided exclusively by India, which country would also provide the Chairman of this Commission. Within 60 days of the effective date of the armistice, all prisoners not directly repatriated would be released to the custody of the Commission in loca-

tions in Korea designated by the detaining side. Provisions were included for explanations to be made by national representatives within 90 days to the prisoners regarding their rights to repatriation, after which the problem of the remaining prisoners who had not elected repatriation would be submitted to the political conference provided for in the draft Armistice Agreement. During the next 30 days, during which these prisoners would continue to be in the custody of the Commission, the Conference would endeavour to settle the question of their disposition. At the end of that period, the Commission would declare the release from prisoner-of-war status to civilian status of any prisoners who had not elected repatriation and for whom no other disposition had been agreed to by the political conference. Those thus released would be assisted by the Commission and the Red Cross Society of India, an operation which would be completed within 30 days, after which the Commission would be dissolved. (This prisoner-of-war agreement was later on duly incorporated by reference into the final armistice agreement.)

POW "Escape"

While the negotiations at Panmunjom were reaching an agreement on the prisoner of war problem, the government of the Republic of Korea showed increasing restiveness. In spite of a letter to him from President Eisenhower stating that the acceptance of an armistice was required of the United Nations and of the Republic of Korea, President Rhee emphasized his opposition to any military truce by allowing the "escape", between midnight and dawn on June 18, of approximately 25,000 anti-Communist North Korean prisoners-of-war. The United Nations Command, in a public statement of June 18, intimated that "there is every evidence of actual collusion between Republic of Korea guards and prisoners".

The United Nations negotiators immediately informed the other side of what had occurred. At a plenary meeting of the negotiators on June 20 the Communist negotiators read a letter of protest, which asked: "In view of the extremely serious consequences of this incident, is

the United Nations Command able to control the South Korean Government and Army? If not, does an armistice in Korea include the Syngman Rhee clique? If it is not included, what assurances are there for implementation of an armistice agreement on the part of South Korea?" The United Nations Command was asked to be responsible for recovering the prisoners and to give assurance that similar incidents would not occur in the future.

On June 22, the President of the seventh session of the General Assembly cabled President Rhee expressing his "shock" at the latter's "unilateral action", which had violated both the repatriation agreement and President Rhee's undertaking of July 1950 to place the Korean armed forces under the "command authority" of the United Nations Command. Mr. Pearson pointed out that Dr. Rhee's release of the prisoners "threatens the results already achieved" toward an armistice "and the prospect of a peaceful solution of remaining problems".

At a meeting of liaison officers on June 29, the United Nations Command replied to the Chinese and North Korean letter of June 20, pointing out that the proposed armistice was a military agreement between the military commanders, and that the United Nations Command did not exercise authority over the Republic of Korea Government, although it did command the Korean army. The letter, signed by General Clark, assured the other side "that the United Nations Command and interested governments concerned will make every effort to obtain the co-operation of the Government of the Republic of Korea. Where necessary, the United Nations Command will, to the limits of its ability, establish military safeguards to insure that the armistice terms are observed."

Co-operation Assured

Meanwhile, Walter S. Robertson, United States Assistant Secretary of State, as the personal representative of President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles, was conferring with President Rhee, in the hope of persuading him to adopt a more co-operative position regarding the armistice proposals. As a result of these meetings, the United Na-



—United Nations

CANADIAN FORCES IN KOREA

Canadian army personnel on parade in Korea with members of other Commonwealth forces.

tions Command was able to inform the Communists that the Government of the Republic of Korea had given the necessary assurances not to obstruct the implementation of the armistice agreement. At a meeting of the truce negotiators on July 19, General Nam Il, in effect, accepted these assurances by the United Nations Command. The negotiators then agreed to the designation of areas in the proposed demilitarized zone where prisoners not directly repatriated would be turned over to the custody of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission.

Armistice Agreement Signed

Liaison and staff officers completed their work in time for the signature of the Korean Armistice Agreement on July 27, 1953 (Korean time). The cease-fire took effect twelve hours later. Regarding the problem of prisoners-of-war, the agreement reached on June 8, 1953 (referred to above), supplemented by a further agreement dated July 27, 1953,

was attached to and incorporated by reference (paragraph 51(b) into the Armistice Agreement. These documents contained detailed terms of reference for the functioning of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission.

Demarcation Line Established

In addition to the provisions regarding prisoners-of-war, the Armistice Agreement established a Military Demarcation Line from which both sides would withdraw two kilometers, within seventy-two hours after a cease-fire had become effective. This line generally followed the line of battle and, though near the 38th parallel, added a small area to the territory of the Republic of Korea. Neither side might reinforce its military establishment in Korea, but provision was made for the maintenance of existing manpower and *matériel*. The Agreement also established a Military Armistice Commission of five senior officers from each side and a Neutral Nations Supervisory

Commission composed of two senior officers appointed by Sweden and Switzerland and two by Poland and Czechoslovakia. The "neutral nations" were defined as "those nations whose combatant forces have not participated in the hostilities in Korea". The Military Armistice Commission, which was to be assisted by ten Joint Observer Teams, was given the general mission of supervising the implementation of the Agreement and negotiating a settlement of any violations. The functions of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (which was to be provided with twenty Neutral Nations Inspection Teams under its sole control) included inspection and supervision of the permitted replacement of men and *matériel* (through ten designated ports of entry) and the investigation, at the request of the Military Armistice Commission, of reported truce violations outside the demilitarized zone.

Report Made Public

Subsequent to the signing of the Armistice Agreement on July 27, a special report of the Unified Command to the United Nations on the armistice in Korea, dated August 7, 1953, was made public. This report contained the text of a declaration signed in Washington on July 27, 1953, by representatives of Canada and of the fifteen other members of the United Nations whose armed forces were participating in the Korean action. In the declaration, these nations affirmed "in the interests of world peace, that if there is a renewal of the armed attack, challenging again the principles of the United Nations, we should again be united and prompt to resist. The consequences of such a breach of the armistice would be

so grave that, in all probability, it would not be possible to confine hostilities within the frontiers of Korea." This declaration also expressed the opinion "that the armistice must not result in jeopardizing the restoration or the safeguarding of peace in any other part of Asia". The Canadian position, vis-à-vis this warning statement, was given by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, in a speech delivered in Toronto on August 7, 1953:

If aggression were committed again by the Communists in Korea, the same obligation of resistance would remain, but next time after a truce had been broken it might be more difficult to limit the war. On the other hand, if anyone else in Korea made a peace settlement there impossible by breaking the truce, we, in Canada, would have no obligation to support such a breach or assist in any way in meeting its consequences.

Article IV, Paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement stated:

In order to insure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the military Commanders of both sides hereby recommend to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides that, within three (3) months after the Armistice Agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc.

Pursuant to this recommendation and in accordance with the Assembly's resolution of April 18, 1953, the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Pearson, has reconvened the seventh session of the General Assembly in order to consider problems relating to the proposed political conference, such as its composition. At the time of writing, the Assembly is discussing these matters, but as yet has not made any recommendations.

Sixty Years of Foreign Trade

BY J. P. MANION*

JUST over 60 years ago Canada's Department of Trade and Commerce came into being, and Sir Mackenzie Bowell, who was later to be Prime Minister, became the first incumbent of the new Ministry.

There had been scattered efforts to promote external trade in previous years. As early as 1885 the House of Commons had appropriated \$10,000 to establish commercial agencies abroad. By 1892, there were eight such agencies, five in the West Indies, two in Great Britain, one in France; there were somewhat similar to honorary consulates. It was only in 1895 that the first full-time salaried agent was appointed in Australia.

Gradually, other career agents were established — in France and South Africa in 1902, in Japan in 1904, Cuba in 1909, Germany and New Zealand in 1910.

In 1911, the agencies were transformed into the Commercial Intelligence Service, and the name of trade commissioner was substituted for that of commercial agent.

Trade Restricted at First

At first, the volume and direction of Canada's trade were fairly restricted. Total exports in 1892 amounted to \$99 million, as compared to \$4,300 million in 1952. Canada was a minor trading nation in those early days — its mines were barely tapped, what gold it produced was exported in the form of "gold-bearing quartz and nuggets", its paper industry was non-existent, and the golden stream of wheat was just beginning to pour out of the Prairie Provinces.

There were anomalies, too. At that time the country was exporting petroleum to the United States from its first deposit at Petrolia. Coal accounted for \$3.2 million of \$5.9 million of mineral exports; exports of copper, nickel, asbestos and "gold nuggets" were in their infancy.

The largest category of exports was animals and animal products, which accounted for almost 30 per cent of Can-

ada's trade. Surprisingly, in this category, furs amounted to only \$1½ million.

Forest products were the second largest category, but the \$22.3 million involved included no paper and only \$355 thousand of woodpulp. Agricultural products, at \$22.1 million, included wheat and flour worth \$8.7 million, of which only \$1 million came from the Prairie Provinces.

The export of manufactured goods, excluding household effects of emigrants to the United States, came to \$5.9 million, of which \$1.1 million was leather. The largest items thereafter were agricultural implements (\$403 thousand) and pipe organs! Other articles of some importance were cotton goods (nearly all for China), carriages and wagons, and (shades of the Yankee clippers) ice to the British and Dutch West Indies.

Canada was still trading at that time with the Spanish West Indies, which took a considerable proportion of its fish. (Cuba and Puerto Rico still do.)

Newfoundland was one of Canada's important foreign markets. The Sandwich Islands took \$150 worth of cotton goods and the Hapsburg Empire bought three Canadian wagons.

The United Kingdom took 55 per cent of Canada's exports, and the United States 32 per cent. The Spanish West Indies, British West Indies and Newfoundland combined took an additional five per cent. The remaining 8 per cent, worth \$8 million, was shared, in order of importance, by Germany, Holland, Australia, Brazil, France, Norway, Sweden and China, at which point the figure drops below the \$200 thousand mark for any individual country.

It is a matter of interest that, in 1892, Canada exported \$26,927 worth of goods to Japan, and that, 60 years later, the figure had grown to \$102,603,245, more than Canada's total exports to all countries in the earlier year. In the same years, Canadian exports to Mexico were worth \$4,549 and \$39,640,575 respectively.

* Area Trade Officer, Canadian Trade Commissioner Service, Department of Trade and Commerce.



TRADE PROMOTERS IN FOREIGN LANDS

Mr. G. H. Norman, Canadian ambassador to Venezuela, left, and Mr. J. A. Stiles, commercial secretary, study market possibilities for river boats and outboard motors.

The United States of Colombia 60 years ago took Canadian goods worth \$9,777 while the four succession states — Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Panama — bought \$62,828,338 of Canadian merchandise in 1952.

In 60 years, therefore, exports to the countries mentioned have risen from a total of slightly over \$40,000 to over \$200,000,000, or double the value of Canadian exports to the entire world in 1892.

An 1894 Report

The problems facing trade promotional activities in those days were very much the same as they are today, except for those presented by licenses, quotas and foreign exchange restrictions. In 1894, Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada in London wrote:

I am glad to find that I receive an increasing correspondence from Canada, relating to trade matters, and . . . I shall be glad at all times to receive, and to answer . . . any inquiries. I am generally able to secure valuable information as to the prospects of developing any new trade, or as to

the best means of extending branches of commerce . . .

In the case of such inquiries, it may often be desirable that small samples of the goods should be sent to me; it will be readily understood, however, that I have no accommodation for bulky articles. A few samples, however, placed at my disposal might often help in obtaining reliable information . . . I have endeavoured during the last year or so, to obtain lists of the leading firms engaged in different lines of much indebted for the valuable assistance rendered to me by your Department. I have also been able to obtain the names and addresses of the leading importers of different produce in different parts of the United Kingdom.

Other Early Reports

Mr. J. S. Larke, Canada's first salaried commercial agent for Australasia (1895), wrote in another vein about the self-inflicted troubles besetting exporters:

It is not pleasant to so frequently recur to the errors of Canadian exporters, but as they are all hindrances to the extension of our trade and can be corrected only by pointing them out as they occur, it is necessary to do so. I have reason to believe that

only a portion of these mistakes come to my notice, but those are numerous and often serious enough to induce more careful attention than they get, I fear, from Canadian firms. In my mail of last month there were eight letters with only a two cents stamp affixed, and all from concerns having a large and widely extended correspondence. I am told of a House in this city which has been doing business with a Canadian firm for four years and the letters come today without being properly prepaid as in the beginning.

A second grievance was the old one of delays in replying to correspondence. Fourteen months ago, at the request of a Canadian manufacturer I secured a commission agent to take up his business here. The agent wrote him as I also did. By last mail the reply came, just thirteen months after the letters were written. Another grievance is careless office work. The last to which I shall here call attention is the imperfect way in which goods are shipped.

Mr. Larke is full of little homilies on such subjects, first berating carelessness and then gracefully turning a compliment here and there. He talks about fish which is not properly refrigerated, and cheese arriving in bad condition. He admonishes machine-tool manufacturers for shipments which were not properly demonstrated by qualified technicians, especially unknown to the Australians. On the other hand, he concedes that Canadian agricultural machinery and bicycles are better serviced than those from other countries.

At about the same period, Mr. Tripp writes from Port of Spain: "A great deal of light wine is drunk here, and there is no reason whatever that Canada should not secure a fair share in the trade which is now principally held by France and Spain." Mr. Tripp indulges a taste for metaphor: "Before many years elapse we may with fair confidence expect that trade connections with Tobago will again assume something of the same importance which attached to them in the good old days before King Sugar was dethroned by the anarchist called bounty".

Two of the personalities of those early days bridged the transition of Canada to a position of importance in world trade. Mr. Harrison Watson started reporting on commercial matters from the Canadian section of the Imperial Institute in 1901, became a full-time trade commissioner in 1913, and ended his career as Chief Trade Commissioner in the United Kingdom in 1934. Mr. D. H. Ross was ap-

pointed in 1903 and spent most of his time in Australia until he retired in 1933.

Mr. L. D. Wilgress, the present Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, and the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, joined the Trade Commissioner Service in 1914. He was appointed to Omsk, Siberia in January 1916, and transferred to Vladivostok in August 1918. The latter office was finally closed in March 1920, but concurrently, from April 1915 to October 1919, a Canadian office was also maintained in Petrograd.

Only one trade commissioner, Mr. C. F. Just, was caught in enemy territory at the beginning of the First World War, and was under house arrest in Hamburg until exchanged in November 1914. Trade Commissioners abroad did not fare as well in the Second World War. Although the missions in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany and Italy were successfully evacuated, several officers were interned for considerable periods. These included Mr. Grew and Mr. Monty in Oslo, Mr. Stewart in Tokyo, Mr. Duclos in Shanghai and Mr. McLane in Hong Kong. A recent blow was the violent death of Mr. J. M. Boyer during the Egyptian uprisings of January 26, 1952.

Development of Service

During the years of its development, the Trade Commissioner Service has undergone many changes and its functions have naturally expanded. Its officers are now foreign service officers, graded in the same manner as External Affairs officers. The term trade commissioner has been discarded except in those posts where Canada has no diplomatic representation. The majority of officers are now commercial counsellors, commercial secretaries or assistant commercial secretaries, forming an integral part of the missions abroad. Their responsibilities are largely in the economic and commercial sphere; that is, they share the burden of a mission's work on a functional basis because of their more intensive training in this particular sphere of activities.

The original duties of Canadian trade representatives abroad were chiefly "pro-

motional" — the facilitation of contacts between Canadian exporters and foreign importers. The development of quota restrictions, however, and the dwindling of dollar reserves in many countries have given rise to a multitude of negotiations between governments on a day-to-day basis. When other countries plan industrial development, Canada's trade officers must keep themselves informed of the requirements for capital goods that will grow from these schemes. Is Saudi Arabia building a 150-mile railway? Then rails and railway ties, signalling equipment and rolling stock will be needed. Canadian producers are told of the potential demand for their goods, and they prepare to receive invitations to bid as soon as they are issued. Meanwhile, the trade commissioner responsible for the area is authorized to visit Saudi Arabia to try to "deliver the clincher".

Burma intends to set up a paper mill, well within the capacity of Canadian industry to produce. The trade commissioner obtains further details, but finds that the Burmese Government requires 50 per cent capital participation and a management contract on the part of the supplier. Canadian firms are unwilling to accept such long-term commitments; but at any rate they have had an opportunity to consider the business. Hydro-electric and steam-generating projects throughout the world are reported on continuously, and, where financial and technical conditions look attractive, Canadian engineers are advised to make an on-the-spot survey.

Direct Contacts

Everyday routine may appear less glamorous, but is challenging by reason



RAILWAY EQUIPMENT EXPORTED

A locomotive, part of a large consignment of rolling stock, being shipped to Southern Rhodesia.

of its diversity. *Any* producer or exporter in Canada has direct access to the trade commissioner. He may require a market survey, advice as to a suitable agent, help in collecting debts, confidential reports on present or prospective clients, or merely a collection of postage stamps for his son. Or he may arrive on the trade commissioner's doorstep without knowledge of the language, or of the market, or of the traditional methods of doing business, and expect to acquire a complete market survey *and* a suitable agent within 48 hours.

Because these direct contacts with Canadian businessmen are wide and varied, the trade commissioner maintains an intimate contact with the Canadian economy. He is one of the first to know when any particular industry is feeling the pinch on the domestic market, since the producer's first palliative will be to intensify his search for foreign markets. Contact with industry is further accentuated by means of the trade commissioner's periodic tour of Canada, in the course of which he has personal and group discussions with businessmen in all parts of Canada, visits new industrial developments, and has the opportunity, through interviews and speeches, of indicating the general trends of our trading relations with his area.

There are now 48 offices and over 100 officers in the service. This requires a far more complex organization than was formerly available. The Department publishes a weekly publication on foreign trade to present up-to-date information from officers in the field. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics issues a wide variety of publications devoted solely to foreign trade statistics. Through the Exporters' Directory, records are kept and are available in all offices, on some 4,000 regular exporting firms. The Commodity Index lists and cross-indexes every type of commodity produced in Canada, with the names of exporters. The Foreign Tariffs Division has at its finger-tips information on tariffs, import regulations and documentation required in 200 separate customs areas of the world. The Transportation Division furnishes information on shipping routes, rates, and regulations. A large Commodities Branch has specialist officers whose advice is available on every

type of commodity produced in Canada. And finally, the International Trade Relations Branch is in the background, ready to take every opportunity to break down impediments to trade and help to negotiate formal agreements with foreign countries for a downward revision of tariffs.

Import Division

One last word should be reserved for the Import Division. Canada is the only country in the world to have instituted a service whose sole function is to assist other countries in establishing a market within its own boundaries. Canada has long realized that "Trade not Aid" is an economic necessity, and all officers in soft-currency areas have as part of their job to try to help foreign exporters find a market here. Samples, price lists and detailed information are sent to the Import Division, which makes a complete survey in each case, and, when prospects are promising, indicates the best methods and channels of distribution.

This concern for balanced trade explains why the Department of Trade and Commerce has sponsored the Canadian International Trade Fair. In trying to make Canada an international marketplace, we must encourage foreign firms to exhibit and foreign visitors to attend. The onus of such promotion, as well as that of manning Canada's participation in various Trade Fairs abroad, falls on the trade commissioners.

The results of a trade commissioner's activities are often intangible. There are many cases on record where deals involving \$5 million or more are due solely to the initiative or perseverance of officers in the field. In the vast majority of cases, however, the results of new contacts provided, new agencies established can only be estimated to a very minor degree. It would be absurd to claim any stated proportion of our \$4,300 million trade as the direct result of the efforts of trade commissioners in the field. To the extent, however, that new products are introduced on new markets by the efforts of these officers, Canada's export trade broadens its base, gains fluidity and flexibility and can attain some greater degree of stability.

The Seventh Session of the Assembly of ICAO

THE Seventh Session of the Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) met in Brighton, England, between June 16 and July 6, 1953. A Specialized Agency of the United Nations, ICAO groups together 60 countries for the purpose of promoting the development of international civil aviation. Since it was established as a result of the International Civil Aviation Conference convened in Chicago in 1944 at the request of the United States Government, where the Charter of the Organization, "The Chicago Convention" was drafted,* ICAO has contributed substantially to the extraordinarily rapid growth of international air transport and to the improvement of flying safety which have characterized the post-war period.

"Major" Assembly

The Assembly of ICAO meets annually. However, at the 1950 Assembly it was decided that "major" assemblies empowered to deal with policy problems would be held triennially only, and that in intervening years "limited" assemblies dealing exclusively with administrative and financial matters would be convened. Accordingly the Brighton meeting gave member states their first opportunity since 1950 to express their views on major issues affecting international air

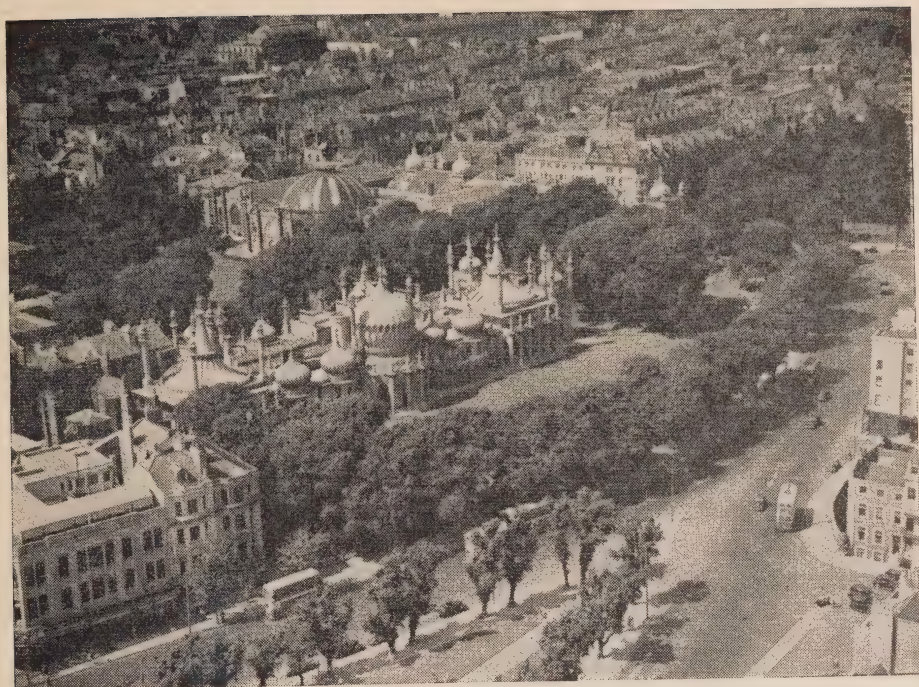
transport and was therefore particularly important. Included among the many significant items on the extensive agenda of the Conference were, the complex and vexing question of international operating rights for airlines, the possibility of simplifying licencing procedures for non-scheduled air services, the problem of securing implementation by Contracting States of ICAO Standards and regional air navigation plans and in this connection the determination of the proper role and importance of the regional offices set up by ICAO, the election of a new Council for a three-year term, the admission of Japan to the organization, and the provision of Technical Assistance to underdeveloped countries.

Opening of Conference

The Conference opened on June 8 with a Plenary Session under the temporary chairmanship of ICAO's President, Dr. Edward Warner. The sea-side city of Brighton had made available its magnificent Royal Pavilion and Corn Exchange Building in their arresting regency style. Fifty-two of ICAO's 60 contracting states were represented and five non-contracting states, the Republic of China, Ecuador, Germany, Japan and Yugoslavia, had sent observers. Observers from eight international organizations also attended. After listening to a message of welcome and good wishes from Her Majesty The Queen which was read by the Minister of Civil Aviation in the United Kingdom, The Right Honourable A. T. Lennox-Boyd and to the welcoming messages on behalf of the United Kingdom Government and of the city of Brighton, the Assembly heard general statements of policy from some of the contracting states. There was a general desire to proceed without delay to a discussion of the substantive issues before the Conference, and accordingly the Assembly quickly constituted an Executive Committee, an Economic Commission, a Technical Com-

* Article 44 of the Chicago Convention sets forth the aims for which signatory governments agree to cooperate in ICAO. They read as follows:

- (a) ensure the safe and orderly growth of international civil aviation throughout the world;
- (b) encourage the arts of aircraft design and operation for peaceful purposes;
- (c) encourage the development of airways, airports and air navigation facilities for international civil aviation;
- (d) meet the needs of the peoples of the world for safe, regular, efficient and economical air transport;
- (e) prevent economic waste caused by unreasonable competition;
- (f) ensure that the rights of contracting states are fully respected and that every contracting state has a fair opportunity to operate international airlines;
- (g) avoid discrimination between contracting states;
- (h) promote safety of flight in international air navigation;
- (i) promote generally the development of all aspects of international civil aeronautics.
(Italics ours)



CONFERENCE SITE

The Royal Pavilion, Brighton, England, centre foreground, site of the Seventh Session of the Assembly of ICAO.

mission and an Administrative Commission, and referred to them the relevant items of the agenda for their detailed discussion and report to the Assembly.

The Council's Report

The issues before the meeting were given perspective and added meaning by the report of the Council to the Assembly on the Activities of the Organization in 1952, which contained an enlightening survey of the progress of Civil Aviation since the end of the Second World War and of ICAO's contribution to it. It was apparent from this, that while a high degree of international co-operation had been achieved in technical matters, permitting the rapid improvement of international air navigation facilities, co-operation in the economic field, and in particular in the granting of commercial operating rights, had fallen considerably short of the aims set forth in the Chicago Convention.

Commercial Rights in Air Transport

Ever since it has been recognized in

International Law that national sovereignty extends to the air space over a nation's territory, the development of international air services has necessitated the agreement of the Countries to which or through which the services were to operate. The granting of commercial air rights was usually achieved by the conclusion of bilateral agreements between countries on a basis of reciprocal advantages. Before the war, this practice had often resulted in harmful and excessive competition in certain areas, and in artificial restrictions on the growth of international air transport in others, and it was with this experience very much in mind that the founders of ICAO wrote into the aims of the Organization, the prevention of "economic waste caused by unreasonable competition", the respect of the "rights of Contracting States", the provision of a "fair opportunity" in the operation of international airlines, and the avoidance of "discrimination" between States.*

* See note at bottom of preceding page.

It was generally believed at the Conference in Chicago that the conclusion of a comprehensive multilateral agreement on the exchange of commercial rights was the proper instrument for the achievement of these aims. The Organization made a major effort to achieve such an agreement in 1947 when it convened a special conference in Geneva for the specific purpose of drafting a multilateral agreement. The conference did not succeed, however, and it seemed evident that the differences of views were sufficiently deep to preclude any progress at that time. Perhaps the essential difficulty lay in the fact that two somewhat contradictory objectives were being pursued. The first was liberalization, that is the attainment of greater freedom in the use of the air space, and the second was protection and planning, to ensure "orderly growth", a "fair opportunity" and avoid "wasteful competition". In the absence of a multilateral agreement, world air routes have continued to be developed in accordance with bilateral agreements between states. The rapid post-war growth of civil air transport has necessitated the conclusion of several hundred of these.

No Early Solution

In the discussion of this problem most representatives expressed the view that the conclusion of a universal multilateral agreement must remain one of the fundamental objectives of the Organization. They recognized, however, that differences in viewpoint were still too strong to permit any early solution. Other representatives suggested that it would be possible to reach some degree of agreement now along more limited lines and that it was imperative that action be initiated without delay. Attention was drawn in this connection, to the increasing diversity of the clauses used in bilateral agreements and to the restrictive character of some bilateral agreements, particularly as regards the regulation of competition. It was suggested that one possible approach would be to achieve agreement on the form to be used for the most important clauses of bilateral agreements. Other possible approaches aiming at more limited multilateral agreements were discussed, such as a regional approach, a

common interest or group approach, a route approach, and a type-of-load approach. In its conclusions, the Assembly directed the Council to pursue actively the study of the problem and to give particular attention to the possibility of progressing along the more limited types of approaches discussed.

Conference of Western European States

The Council of Europe had requested ICAO to convene a conference of Western European States for the purpose of concluding a regional agreement on the exchange of commercial air rights and to agree on other measures to increase international co-operation in the economic field in that area. This request was examined in conjunction with the discussion on the broader problem of the exchange of commercial rights and the Assembly endorsed the action taken by the Council, which was to suggest that a preparatory committee be set up to prepare the agenda of the proposed regional conference. Several delegates indicated that it would be necessary to pay very close attention to the wording of any regional agreement to ensure that it would not result in discrimination against states outside the region.

Non-Scheduled Air Services

The Assembly decided that the time was not ripe to convene a conference for the purpose of reaching international agreement on this subject. It requested the Council, however, to undertake a study of the nature of the difficulties encountered by some states in the application of the definition of a non-scheduled air service which had been worked out by the Organization. The Assembly also directed the Council to continue and complete its study on airport charges as rapidly as possible and to communicate the results to the contracting states.

Air Navigation

The main emphasis was placed on the problem of fostering more rapid implementation by contracting states of the

international standards, recommended practices and procedures, as well as of the regional Air Navigation plans which had been developed by the Organization. For the last nine years a considerable portion of the work of the Organization in this field has been devoted to the task of developing international standards for the various kinds of equipment, techniques and procedures necessary to civil aviation. These standards had been incorporated into a set of 14 annexes to the Chicago Convention. While it was recognized that the continuing pace of scientific progress would necessitate fairly frequent revisions, it was pointed out that if ICAO standards were to be adopted by contracting states amendments should not be made too often. In its conclusions, the Assembly in general endorsed with satisfaction the technical programme carried out by ICAO during the past three years and adopted several resolutions designed to increase efficiency in this field and to promote the rapid implementation of ICAO standards and regional plans by contracting states.

Technical Assistance

The subject of technical assistance was discussed within the executive committee. Many recipient States reported in detail on the results achieved by the technical assistance projects undertaken in their own territories. They expressed general satisfaction with the nature of this assistance. Most representatives stressed the contribution which technical assistance was making to the economic development of under-developed countries and voiced concern at the curtailment of the programme threatened by the reduced amounts likely to be made available to ICAO in 1954 from the United Nations Technical Assistance Fund.

Financial and Administrative Questions

The budget of ICAO for the year 1954 was carefully scrutinized in the Administrative Commission of the Assembly which also decided on the new scale of assessments to be paid by contracting states. The majority of delegates showed strong determination to effect all possible

economies without, however, impairing the performance of the Organization in the accomplishment of its work programme. The Commission analyzed the budget in great detail and its failure to effect any really serious cuts in the proposed expenditures is a tribute both to the efficiency of ICAO and to the recognized importance of the work programme. There was lively debate in the Executive Committee on the question of suspending the voting power of contracting states having failed to discharge their financial obligations to the Organization. A number of Latin American and Arab representatives expressed their opposition to any form of sanctions on the grounds that arrears were due to circumstances beyond the control of defaulting states and that voting power was an inalienable right of all contracting states. The Assembly eventually adopted a compromise resolution on this issue. Consistent with its desire to effect all possible economies, the Assembly decided to direct the Council to conduct a thorough investigation of the Secretariat of ICAO in order to ascertain whether any reductions of staff or reallocations would be desirable.

Election of New Council

The election of the new Council of ICAO for its 3-year term took place at one of the closing plenary sessions of the Assembly. There were only 21 candidates for the 21 seats available and all candidates obtained the necessary majority of votes cast to secure their election. Elected were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Norway, Egypt, France, India, Lebanon, Ireland, Italy, Mexico, Netherlands, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States of America and Venezuela.

Admission of Japan

The application of Japan for admission to the Organization was approved by the Assembly and it was decided that the Japanese adherence to the Chicago Convention would become effective on the thirtieth day after it had sent formal notification to the depository power, the United States.

(Continued on page 281)

Canadian Films Honoured Abroad

IN the space of two months last spring, three major international awards were made to films produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

The "Oscar" of Hollywood's Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences for the best documentary short film went to Norman McLaren's experimental film *Neighbours*, a "parable" about peace (or about war).

Royal Journey, a film account of the visit to Canada and to Washington, D.C. of the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh, was named "best documentary film of 1952" by the British Film Academy.

Sports et Transports (French-language version of *The Romance of Transportation in Canada*) was named best animated short at the Sixth International Film Festival at Cannes.

Film Awards Won

These were the most notable among the some 30 national and international film awards won last year by N.F.B. productions. The awards won by the N.F.B. are by no means the only recognition given to Canadian film makers. Commercial producers consistently have won international awards with Canadian films sponsored by business, industry and governments. *Newfoundland Scene*, for instance, produced for Imperial Oil Limited, won favourable notice in the documentary class at the 1952 Edinburgh Film Festival. Such awards and critical recognition are gratifying testimony of Canadian film standards, and provoke valuable publicity for Canada. There are few other fields in which Canada has achieved such widespread international recognition.

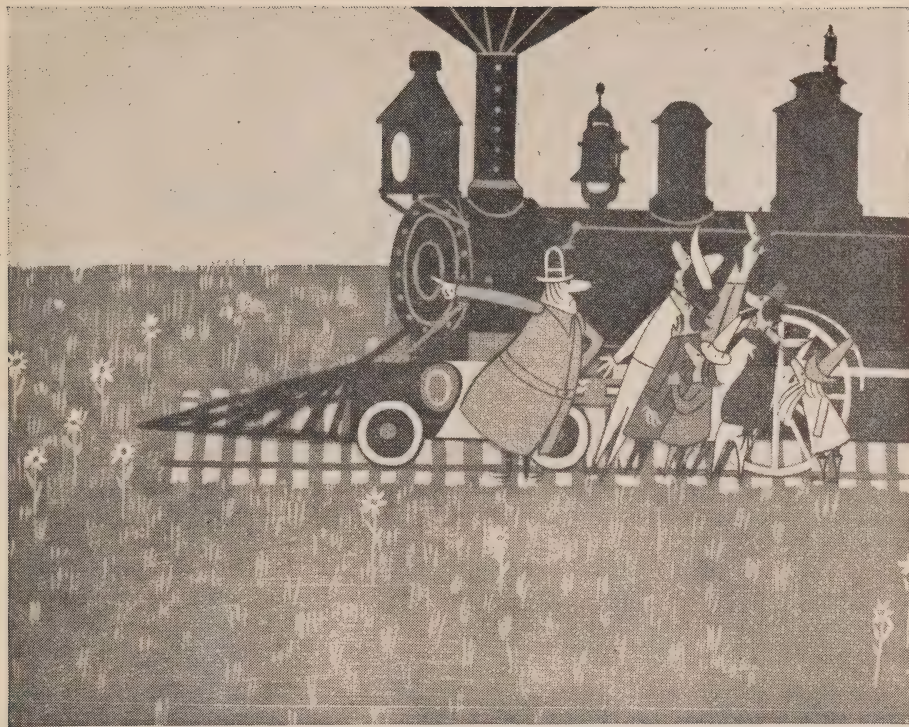
But films which win awards are not necessarily successful films. Films made for general distribution — as most Canadian films are — must be seen by many people if they are to be considered successful. If Canadian films are to be an effective medium for Canadian information abroad, other criteria than awards must be considered. Do Canadian films

appeal mainly to judges and film critics? Or do they also appeal to general audiences?

The audience reception and distribution records of the three prize-winning films above would give a fair answer for they are a mixed bag, a partial cross section of the types of films produced in Canada. *Neighbours* is a frankly experimental film, a category in which Canada is well-known; *Royal Journey* is a straightforward documentary report, another type with which Canada is closely identified; *Sports et Transports* was designed for general audiences but not for the "double feature" trade, a characteristic of most Canadian films, which, since they are produced chiefly for government or private sponsors, naturally cannot concentrate on entertainment values.

Wide Variety

Neighbours combines two techniques developed at the Board by Norman McLaren: single frame animation of real people which makes it possible, for instance, for an actor to appear to glide swiftly across a lawn on one foot and otherwise defy the laws of motion and gravity; and synthetic sound which, in simple terms, substitutes hand-drawn striations on a film sound track for those ordinarily produced electronically by actual sounds, thus eliminating musical instruments and natural sound effects. The "parable" which is presented, using these techniques, is at once whimsical and shocking. Members of the audience, according to reports, may walk out of the theatre in horror — or stay to the end and applaud wildly. Despite the unconventionality of its content and technique, *Neighbours* is being distributed in commercial theatres in Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Norway to date. In addition, 42 prints have been sent to Canadian diplomatic, consular and trade posts abroad for loan distribution and many prints have been sold. *Neighbours* will never be a draw at the "drive-ins" but, for an experimental



—NFB

SPORTS ET TRANSPORTS

A still from the animated colour film, "Sports et Transports".

film, it is being seen by a remarkably large general audience.

Royal Journey had an obvious potential for general audiences. The question in the case of *Royal Journey* was whether critical acclaim would parallel public popularity. The British Film Academy — and film critics in many countries — answered the question with enthusiasm. *Royal Journey* has been seen by more people than any other film ever produced in Canada. It was — and still is — distributed theatrically and non-theatrically in more than 40 countries.

Sports et Transports is a cartoon history of Canadian transportation using a somewhat stylized animation technique. The commentary is a parody of a travelling lecturer's vague wordiness, counterpointed, in an innocent manner, against appropriate, or suitably inappropriate, visuals. The humour is quiet, the music unusual and the visuals do not attempt any of Disney's "realistic" effects. But the film, which was released only recently, is already obtaining good distribution. It

is in general theatrical distribution in Canada. Distribution in the United States has been limited, to date, to specialty theatres but in these it has been very successful. It opened in a Broadway theatre on March 10, 1953 and at the time of writing (August 18) was still running in that theatre. It is to be featured this fall on the Ford Foundation television show "Omnibus". Commercial contracts have already been signed for France and Belgium. Other contracts are being negotiated. In addition, prints will be sent to Canadian posts abroad for non-theatrical use.

Broad Appeal

The records of these three films seem to demonstrate that Canadian films appeal not only to critics but to audiences. Admittedly these three were prize-winners, but two of them were films which were well off the beaten path of major studio mass appeal films. Distribution abroad of more conventional Canadian

films may be much wider. *Beyond The Frontier*, a film on the development of Canada's North, is being distributed by M.G.M. in the United Kingdom and by Columbia Pictures in most of the rest of the world, except for France, Belgium and the Netherlands. *The Man in the Peace Tower*, a film about the Dominion carillonneur is distributed by M.G.M. in the United Kingdom, by Belgavox in Belgium and by Universal in the United States, Central and South America and many other film territories.

Distribution System

The distribution system which brings these Canadian films to people in other countries is a joint effort of the National Film Board and the Canadian diplomatic missions and consular and trade posts. The N.F.B. handles theatrical and commercial distribution, including newsreels and most television contracts. In this it is assisted, in the United States, by the Can-

adian Co-operation Project of the Motion Picture Association of America. The C.C.P. also works with Canadian commercial producers and has helped to arrange U.S. distribution for many of their films in recent years. Non-theatrical distribution abroad is handled by Canadian posts in co-operation with N.F.B. officials in Ottawa, London, New York and Chicago.

The Government-operated distribution system is used to circulate films other than those produced by the N.F.B. *Packaged Power*, produced for Aluminium Ltd., for instance, is being distributed by Canadian posts abroad.

Distribution methods abroad were described in some detail in the March 1952, issue of *External Affairs* but there have been some significant new developments which are worth reporting.

Commercial — Bookings of N.F.B. films in commercial theatres abroad increased from 10,572 in the fiscal year 1950-51 to 16,159 in 1952-53. Thirty-eight commer-



THE MAN IN THE PEACE TOWER

Mr. Robert Donnell, Dominion Carillonneur, at the practice clavier of the Peace Tower, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.

—NFB

cial contracts for film distribution were completed last year.

Non-commercial — Non-theatrical audiences for N.F.B. films abroad increased from 9,700,000 in 1950-51 to 11,070,000 in 1952-53. The increase was made despite the closing down of the Central Office of Information distribution system in the United Kingdom, through which N.F.B. films were seen by more than 1,000,000 people yearly. This loss was more than offset by the increased film activity of Canadian posts which raised their audience figures 3,273,000 in 1950-51 to 6,238,169 in 1952-53.

Newsreels — Until last year, foreign distribution of N.F.B. newsreel material depended chiefly on its inclusion in newsreels produced in the United Kingdom

and the United States. Now the Board also works directly with newsreel producers in many other countries. The results demonstrate the wisdom of this policy. In 1950-51 N.F.B. newsreel material was included in 64 editions of foreign newsreels including television newsreels; in 1951-52, in 134 editions; and last year in 328 editions.

The foreign demand for Canadian films increases each year. The number of international awards won by Canadian films increases also. Apparently Canadian films are enjoyed by critics and audiences alike. In theatres and in 16mm community shows, in newsreels and on television, the face of Canada is exposed to foreign audiences. They seem to like it.



THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF ICAO

(Continued from page 277)

Frequency of Assemblies

The Executive Committee discussed at length the possibility of lengthening the intervals between sessions of the Assembly. Most states indicated that they would favour triennial meetings instead of the present annual meetings. In the interval between Assembly sessions major policy decisions are taken by the Council of ICAO on which only 21 of the 60 contracting states of ICAO are represented. Some states represented on the Council indicated that the change suggested could only be contemplated if there was general agreement to it on the part of states not represented on the Council. It was also agreed that the only way in which such a change could be effected was amendment of the Chicago Convention, which raised some practical difficulties. The Assembly noted the wish of the majority that some lengthening of the interval between Assembly sessions was desirable and directed the Council to ascertain the

views of all contracting states concerning the desirability of amending the Chicago Convention to this effect.

As the Assembly closed on July 6 with votes of thanks to the United Kingdom Government and the city of Brighton for the hospitality provided, delegates seemed to share a general feeling of satisfaction and optimism concerning the future. The friendly atmosphere of the discussions, the exceptionally high attendance, the evidence given of the efficiency and solidity of the organization as well as the progress achieved in many fields, undoubtedly contributed to this feeling. Even more important perhaps were the frankness and forthrightness of the discussions which had taken place on the controversial economic issues. They had revealed a sense of realism on the part of most delegates, a willingness to come to grips with the concrete obstacles to a wider measure of international co-operation which could perhaps warrant reasonable hopes of future progress.

CANADIAN POSITION ON KOREA

As expressed by the Canadian Representative to the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the Political Committee, August 19, 1953.

With the end of the fighting in Korea we can at last turn our attention to the more constructive task of peace-making. At this resumed session I think it is now generally agreed that questions of substance are not our present concern and that they should be left to the Political Conference. Our sole responsibility is to see that the Political Conference recommended in the armistice agreement gets off to as good a start as it is humanly possible to achieve. This is our new challenge, as Mr. Lodge has called it. We may indeed have reached a turning point, as Mr. Selwyn Lloyd put it yesterday morning, not only in Korean affairs, but in a much larger sense. It is our duty not only to effect the most practical arrangements for the Conference we can contrive, but at the same time to do our best, in so far as it lies within our power, to create the most favourable atmosphere for these important negotiations.

If we fail, or achieve anything less, our efforts will have been unworthy of those who served and died so that the United Nations might live.

I add here my tribute to the dead of many lands who fought for freedom. We begin our work of peace-making in the shadow of the sorrow and loss of those in Canada and in other lands who have been bereaved. History will also acknowledge the special debt that the Korean people and the United Nations itself owes to the United States, who of all the members of the United Nations led the way in providing the Korean armed forces with prompt and effective assistance and throughout bore, together with the gallant forces of South Korea, the brunt of the fighting. The courage of the United States Government in its initial reaction to the aggression of June 25, 1950 and its patience and persistence throughout the interminable armistice negotiations is renewed proof of the strength and greatness of this country we know as friend and neighbour.

Mr. Chairman, all that the United Nations ever undertook to do by armed force has been accomplished. The aggression has been repelled. But our success remains partial, for we also set ourselves the aim of achieving by peaceful means an independent, unified and democratic Korea. This has not yet been accomplished. But this fact does not mean that the armistice agreement is conditional, this period is not war's respite, but the necessary interval between the signing of the armistice and the commencement of the Political Conference provided for in the armistice agreement.

On the basis of the resolutions before the Committee the principle issue we face at this time is the composition of the Political Conference. My delegation's approach to this problem is a practical one. I agree with Mr. Schumann, who advised us yesterday not to

put too literal an interpretation upon paragraph 60 of the armistice agreement. That document is a recommendation of the military commanders to their respective sides. When paragraph 60 was first discussed, Admiral Joy made the following statement for the record concerning the United Nations Command's understanding of this proposal:

"First", he said, "we desire to point out that this recommendation will be made by the Commander in Chief, United Nations Command, to the United Nations as well as to the Republic of Korea."

Composition of Political Conference

So far as my delegation is concerned, therefore, our understanding of the position is as stated by Admiral Joy on behalf of the United Nations Command, that our "side" in this conflict is the United Nations itself. The central problem before us is the question of which countries should participate in the Political Conference. The resolution we have co-sponsored makes it clear that we feel that each member of the United Nations who has contributed forces to the Unified Command has earned its right to a place at the Conference table, should its government wish to exercise that right.

Our objective is to make sure — and how we do this is not the important point — that we get to the Conference those countries who should be there if the Conference is to have its best chance of achieving successful results in terms of the future peace and security of the area. As a matter of convenience we are proposing to do this by means of three resolutions rather than one.

So far as my delegation is concerned, we do not so much care whether you call it a round table or a cross table conference or a polygonal conference; the important thing is to get those who must be there *around* a table. The composition of the Conference is all the more important, in our view, because we now have, it seems to me, a unique opportunity not only for settling an issue which for the past three years has threatened at any moment to touch off a general conflagration, but for reducing, as a direct consequence of any success in Korea, dangerous tensions in Asia and other parts of the world.

It goes without saying, therefore, that my government thinks the U.S.S.R. should participate in the Political Conference because it would be quite unrealistic to hold a conference such as we have in mind without the Soviet Union which should take her full share of responsibility not only for peace-making but for peace-keeping.

My government also believes that the great and growing importance of India in Asian affairs and the leading role which she has played in and out of this Assembly in efforts

of conciliation, which have greatly facilitated the achievement of the armistice we are now celebrating, entitle her to participate in the Political Conference. I have no doubt that others were impressed, as I was, by the restraint of Mr. Nehru's statement reported in the press yesterday. As I understand the position, India, far from seeking to participate in the Conference, would only be willing to serve if the major parties concerned desire her assistance and if it is clear that she can perform some useful function in the interests of peace. We think it would be a mistake if Mr. Nehru's condition were not met — a mistake from the point of view of the success of the Conference.

My delegation will therefore vote for the participation of India. Without belabouring the point, however, I would earnestly appeal to, as the saying goes "absent friends" not to block the participation of any state whose presence is essential for the holding of an effective Conference. It is the responsibility of everyone of us to consider and urge the interests of our own government and people, but no one leader or nation today can, in this inter-dependent world, legitimately frustrate the will of most of its friends on an issue of not merely local but world-wide importance.

Rights Protected

The rights and the position of every government which will be represented at the Political Conference are surely sufficiently protected by the flat statement in the terms of the resolution which we are co-sponsoring that governments "shall be bound only by decisions or agreements to which they adhere". In my opinion that is an iron-clad and unequivocal guarantee to any of the participants that there is no question of their rights and interests being disregarded, nor for that matter any question of the Conference, as we see it, becoming involved in procedural difficulties over voting. There will either be agreement or there will be no agreement. No government is going to be bound by decisions to which it does not adhere. The language I have just quoted seems to me to give full protection not only to the Government of the Republic of Korea but for that matter to the other side. I can understand the Chinese Communists and North Koreans having some misgivings at the prospect of entering a conference in which their side might be numerically inferior to ourselves. It looks on the face of it as if there was a risk of being outvoted by the majority. I do not know whether or not these misgivings are present in the minds of the Chinese, the North Koreans and their friends, but if they are I hope that they will read carefully the language of paragraph 5 (I) of our resolution.

Turning now to the Soviet resolution which Mr. Vyshinsky presented yesterday morning, I see that he has agreed with us on at least 7 of the participants of the Political Conference: United States, United Kingdom, France, U.S.S.R., Communist China, North and South

Korea. That is already a modest step in the right direction. I would hope that as a result of our deliberation here, it might be possible to secure general agreement among all principally concerned that an eighth country, India, could also participate, in addition to those other members of the 16, not mentioned in the Soviet resolution, who may wish to come.

Two Objections

I find at least two major difficulties in the Soviet resolution in its present form and for these reasons, among others, I cannot accept it. The first major difficulty is that the final paragraph of the Soviet draft would seem to exclude the Republic of Korea from those whose consent must be given to all agreements reached at the Conference. As this is to be a Korean Political Conference, it is, I think, essential that the rights of the Republic of Korea should be protected and I have already shown how we on our side propose that this should be done.

My second objection is — if I may say so — that Canada is not included on Mr. Vyshinsky's invitation list. I should have thought that it was consistent with what has already been agreed by the Military Commanders and presumably, therefore, not unacceptable to the U.S.S.R., if it were admitted by the other side that any belligerent in Korea has the right to participate in the conference. Canada's role in Korea, on any yardstick of comparison, entitles us, I believe, to participate in the Political Conference. Allow me to remind the Committee that Canada has contributed to the Unified Command the fourth largest number of armed forces including Koreans and that we have made the third largest cash contribution to Korean relief and rehabilitation. If it is suggested that Canada is a long way away from Korea, let me say only that I never heard that argument used when the United Nations was appealing to all member states to help the hard-pressed Republic of Korea.

One more word and I have finished. In our proper and natural preoccupation with the immediate problems ahead, let us not lose sight of, nor allow anyone to obscure, the measure of the achievement marked by the armistice in Korea. The United Nations forces have done all they were ever asked to do by force of arms. It has been the first major application of the principle of collective security by an international organization, and it has been successful. We are thereby marking certainly one of the greatest achievements in human history.

Had the United Nations failed to act, or had it acted and failed, not only would a brave and ancient people have lost their freedom but the United Nations itself would, I fear, already have become the dead husk of another great idea unrealized, not for lack of resolutions but of resolution.

In the same spirit let us go forward to make peace.

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A SELECTED LIST

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St. Sophia of Ochrida - Preservation and restoration of the building and its frescoes (Museums and Monuments - IV). Paris 1953. Pp. 27. \$1.00.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

The Korean Question - Special Report of the Unified Command on the Armistice in Korea (including Text of Armistice Agreement); 7 August 1953. Document A/2431, S/3079.

Report on The Law of Treaties by H. Lauterpacht; 24 March 1953; document A/CN.4/63. Pp. 218.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, page 36.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

The West German Elections, 1953

IN no Western European country since the war's end have voters spoken more decisively than did the West German electorate on September 6. During the same period no European statesman has won a clearer vote of confidence from his fellow-countrymen than the West German Chancellor has just received. The cause of European unity, of which Dr.

Konrad Adenauer is one of the doughtiest champions, has received fresh impetus from this event, which has attracted much attention in Europe and throughout the world.

The final results of the elections, as compared with the last elections four years ago, are as follows:

Parties	Results 1949			Results 1953		
	Seats	Votes	% of Vote	Seats	Votes	% of Vote
<i>The Coalition</i>						
Christian Democratic Union..... (in Bavaria, Christian Social Union)—CDU/CSU	139	7,359,084	31.0	244	12,440,799	45.2
Free Democratic Party—FDP.....	52	2,829,920	11.9	48	2,628,146	9.5
German Party—DP.....	17	939,934	4.0	15	897,952	3.3
Coalition Totals	208	11,128,938	46.9	307	15,966,897	58.0
<i>The Opposition</i>						
Social Democratic Party—SPD....	131	6,934,975	29.2	150	7,939,774	28.8
Refugee Party—BHE.....	—	—	—	27	1,614,474	5.9
Centre Party—Z.....	10	727,505	3.1	3	217,342	0.8
Bavarian Party—BP.....	17	986,478	4.2	0	465,552	1.7
Communist Party—KPD.....	15	1,361,706	5.7	0	607,413	2.2
Economic Reconstruction.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
League—WAV.....	12	681,888	2.9	—	—	—
German Reich Party—DRP.....	5	429,031	1.8	0	295,615	1.1
South Schleswig Ass'n.....	1	75,388	0.3	0	44,633	0.2
Other Parties.....	3	1,406,489	5.9	0	389,355	1.3
Opposition Totals	194	12,603,460	53.1	180	11,574,158	42.0
Grand Totals	402	23,732,398	100.0	487	27,541,055	100.0

The West German Constitution, as set forth in the Basic Law enacted on May 8, 1949, provides for a bicameral federal Parliament. The Senate (Bundesrat) is composed of representatives of the governments of the nine Provinces (Länder). It was to renew the Commons (Bundestag) that the federal electorate was consulted on September 6.

The Pre-election Party Line-up

The strongest contender in the electoral campaign was the government coalition, of which Dr. Adenauer's own Christian Democratic Party is the principal mem-

ber. Formed in 1945, the CDU/CSU is an interdenominational centre party, basing its political, social and economic policies on Christian principles. In some measure it is the heir of the pre-Hitlerian Catholic Centre Party, with its platform extended to include Protestant elements, who nevertheless remain a minority, if a growing one, in the Party. Its traditional strongholds have been the Catholic rural areas, chiefly in the Rhineland and southern Germany. Its adherents range from Christian trade unionists on the left to far right of Centre conservatives.

Of the Christian Democrats' two coalition partners the Free Democrats are the



—Marvin Flatt

CHANCELLOR ADENAUER IN OTTAWA

Dr. Konrad Adenauer, left, Chancellor and Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, on the occasion of the Chancellor's visit to Ottawa earlier this summer.

more important because they are found throughout the whole country. Formerly the Liberal Democratic Party, the FDP is a descendant of German 19th century liberalism, but includes many supporters whose sympathies were a good deal further to the right during the Weimar Republic. The party could be said to represent the philosophy of "big business": it abhors socialization, favours free enterprise, emphasizes the sanctity of private property, and favours non-denominational education. It advocates a strong central government, and inclines to a markedly nationalist line. So does the smallest

coalition partner, the German Party, a primarily historical Hanoverian grouping which is the strongest advocate of a general pardon for war criminals. This Party is also strongly opposed to socialism and favours giving business a constitutional right to share in the formulation of national policies. In foreign policy, it has taken some interesting internationalist stands. The right wings of the DP and the FDP, but especially the latter, were compromised by the evidence brought to light some months ago when the neo-Nazi Werner Naumann was arrested by the British occupation authorities.

The government coalition's most serious challenger during the elections was the Social Democratic Party. Although the SPD includes a number of middle-class voters it has been essentially, since its foundation in 1875, a working-class party deriving its inspiration from Marxism. It therefore favours a strong federal authority, non-denominational schools, nationalization of basic industries and a planned economy.

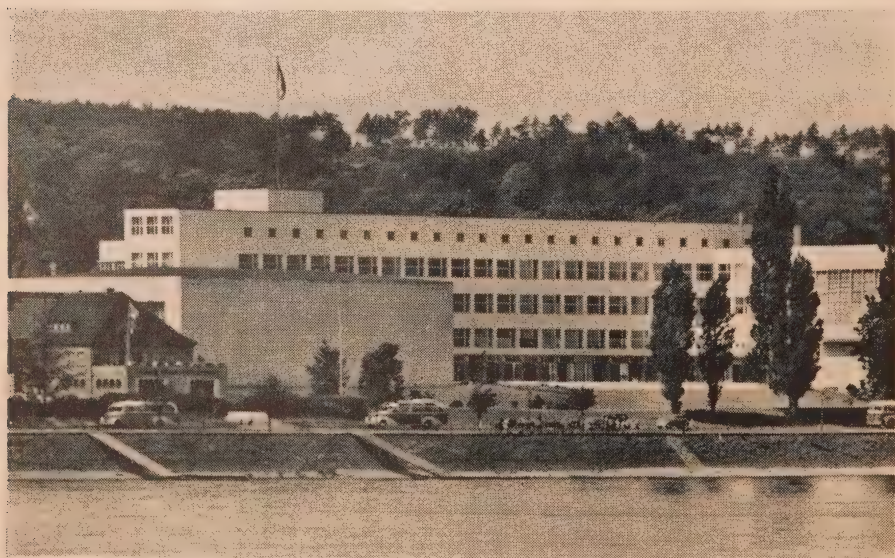
It was generally conceded before the elections that of all the other parties the BHE, a new party which aims to further the interests of the refugees from East Germany, would make the strongest showing. Although it had no seats in the Bundestag it had a decisively influential position in four Land governments, was represented in six Land parliaments and was steadily increasing its influence in municipal affairs. Strikingly enough, about one third of its members were not refugees but natives of West Germany. The probable explanation is that its avowed aim of recovering the lost territories of East Germany has a general appeal to German voters.

The influence of the Communists, who obtained only 15 of the 402 Bundestag seats in 1949, and 5.7 per cent of the votes, had been steadily declining throughout

West Germany since that time. This had been especially marked since the Berlin riots in June this year revealed the unpopularity of the Communist-dominated government of East Germany among the working class. The most threatening of the extreme right-wing parties was the German Reich Party, to which a number of leading Nazis had rallied, and which was bold enough to put up Herr Naumann himself as a candidate after his release from arrest. Also in the race was the GVP, a small neutralist party with worthy intentions but an unrealistic programme, which for tactical reasons allied itself with the fellow-travelling B.d.D. group headed by Dr. Wirth, the former Weimar Chancellor who negotiated the Rapallo agreement with the Soviet Union in 1922, and who seemed to wish to repeat that achievement.

The Issues

In domestic affairs the coalition was able to point to the really remarkable economic recovery of West Germany on the basis of free enterprise under the direction of Dr. Ludwig Erhard, the Federal Minister of Economics. The SPD claimed that the German working-class has not gained as much by this recovery



The German Parliament Buildings (Bundestag) at Bonn, as seen from the Rhine. The lower portion at the left houses the Commons (Bundestag).

as, for example, the working class has gained in the United Kingdom since the war. Nevertheless, the "German economic miracle" is so new that the general public is still dazzled by it, and the SPD, forced onto the defensive thereby on the domestic front, concentrated their attack in the field of external affairs.

Here the great issue was Dr. Adenauer's "European idea"—the integration of West Germany into a European economic, defence and ultimately political community together with France, Italy and the three Benelux countries. The Chancellor was able to talk of the real progress made by the Coal and Steel Community. He could also claim that the Defence Community, still unratified by any of its six signatories (although West Germany has completed the legislative part of the process), and the Political Community, still in the planning stage, would complete Germany's rehabilitation as an equal member of the new European community, in which German security, well-being and eventual reunification would best be achieved. The SPD chose rather to emphasize the need for immediate reunification, argued that this could best and most quickly be brought about by four-Power negotiations, and urged therefore that the notion of the Defence Community should be dropped forthwith. In the context of this general political debate an important constitutional point was also at issue: if the coalition could obtain two-thirds of the Bundestag seats, then, under the Basic Law, it could put through any constitutional amendments needed to clear ratification of the EDC through the Constitutional Court to which it had been referred.

Election Procedure

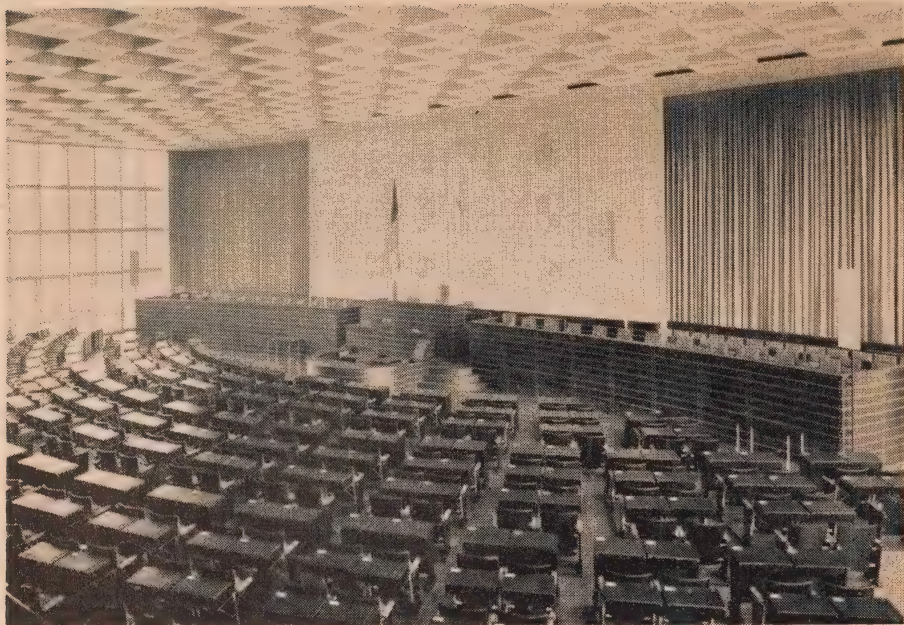
A new electoral law, enacted on July 10, greatly influenced the result of the elections. It increased Bundestag membership from 402 to a minimum of 484, of which half were to be elected directly and half indirectly. (In addition there were to be 22 non-voting "representatives" from Berlin instead of 19. The elections returned 11 CDU/CSU representatives and 11 SPD). Each elector was given two votes, one to cast for a candidate by name and one for a party list.

The votes cast for the lists were to be added together by Länder and seats then allocated to the parties on a proportional basis within each Land. The seats already won by each party in direct election in a Land would be deducted from the number to which they were entitled on that Land list. Should any party be so successful in the direct election as to win more seats than those to which it was proportionately entitled it would be, nevertheless, entitled to keep the extra seats so won. (It was the operation of this provision which raised the actual membership of the new Bundestag from 484 to 487, owing to the sweeping success of the coalition parties in Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg).

Special provisions of the new electoral law guarded against the recrudescence of the splinter parties which proved to be the bane of the Weimar Republic. New parties, not previously represented in the Bundestag by at least five delegates, were to have their nomination papers signed by at least 500 persons in each constituency where they put up candidates, and no party (except for national minority parties) would qualify for seats unless it obtained at least five per cent of the aggregate vote in the federal area. (The latter provision obliged the Christian Democrats to come to the rescue of one of its prospective victims, the tiny Centre Party, which otherwise threatened to break its coalition with CDU/CSU in North Rhine/Westphalia. This explains why this party managed to squeeze into the Bundestag with three seats).

The Election Results

Such was the background against which the election results, as given above, were announced on September 7. The most optimistic hopes of the Christian Democrats were surpassed, as they learned that they had won more than 45 per cent of all votes cast throughout West Germany. Moreover, they had won that kind of plurality in six of the nine Länder, proving their right to speak for the Protestant north as well as for the Catholic south. This gave them 244 seats out of 487 in the Bundestag, an absolute majority of one. The coalition as a whole obtained 307 seats,



An interior view of the Bundestag. The Government members and their advisers occupy seats on the raised portion at the left, with the members of the Senate (Bundesrat) sitting at the right.

only 18 short of the two-thirds majority needed for constitutional changes, and the possibility of that majority being obtained was opened by the success of the not-unfriendly BHE in winning 27 seats.

The domination of the coalition by the CDU/CSU was accentuated by the noticeable losses of the FDP (2.4 per cent of votes and four seats) and the DP (0.7 per cent and two). That these losses were partly at least explicable by the two parties having been compromised in the Naumann affair is shown by the fact that the heaviest losses were incurred by the nationalist, not the liberal, wing of the FDP. The credit for the coalition victory has therefore been generally conceded to the Christian Democrats, and more especially to their leader Dr. Adenauer. The strongest impression left by the elections, both in Germany and elsewhere, is that they were a personal triumph for Dr. Adenauer, a plebiscite endorsing his westward-looking policies, and giving him the kind of authority to carry them out that perhaps only Bismarck had enjoyed before him.

The Social Democrats, indeed, gained a million votes and 19 seats, but this was short of the proportional increase both of

votes and of seats, reflected in the drop of their share of the total vote from 29.2 per cent to 28.8 per cent. These results, contrasted to the increase in the Christian Democratic share from 31.0 per cent to 45.2 per cent, clearly amounted to a serious defeat. Nevertheless, it remains the second party in the Bundestag, and quite strong enough to maintain effective opposition.

The second impression left by the elections, indeed, is that parliamentary democracy has emerged from them greatly strengthened. The trend away from a multiplicity of parties towards the two-party system has been confirmed, by the reduction of the number of parties represented in the Bundestag from the "baker's dozen" of 1949 to the present six, of which three certainly and perhaps four or five are to be associated in the government coalition. Even more important in this respect is the crushing defeat of the extremist parties, both on the left and on the right, with the Communists picking up a mere 2.2 per cent of the total vote, and the neo-Nazi DRP 1.1 per cent. Even the neutralists and fellow-travellers disappeared: Dr. Wirth, the man of Rapallo,

(Continued on page 295)

The CBC International Service Today

CANADA entered the field of international shortwave broadcasting a little more than eight years ago, on February 25 1945. At the outset the CBC International Service was designed primarily to provide programmes for Canadian troops overseas, and broadcasts to Germany, Czechoslovakia, Holland and France. Since then it has grown into an organization projecting Canada abroad in 16 languages to more than 30 countries. Like many other institutions of the free world, it has also assumed an active role in the struggle against tyranny and aggression by transmitting objective news and counteracting malicious propaganda. But the essential purpose of Radio Canada remains the same — to make Canadian life and ways known to the world, to encourage the exchange of ideas and information, and to promote the ideals of freedom, security and peace.

Twenty Million Listeners

The achievement of the International Service, with its two 50-kilowatt transmitters in Sackville, New Brunswick, has been impressive by any standard of comparison. Starting from nothing in 1945, Radio Canada has gained a world audience of regular listeners totalling close to four million at a conservative estimate. Including those who occasionally hear Canadian programmes by shortwave, the total comes to almost 20 million persons in Europe, Africa, Latin America, Australasia and the Far East.

These figures were calculated by the tested and generally accepted methods of audience research used by the BBC and the Voice of America. The statistical material came from questionnaires sent out by the CBC-IS, from special surveys conducted by public opinion organizations and from analysis of mail received — 32,366 letters in 1952. Another indication is the circulation of the monthly Programme Schedule: 112,000 for the European Edition and 25,000 for the Latin American, which is always on the increase.

On this basis, CBC-IS programmes are

reaching, at present, 38.5 per cent of the shortwave receivers in the countries to which they are broadcast.

Relays and Transcriptions

But this is not the whole story. In addition to shortwave listeners, Radio Canada occasionally reaches still larger audiences through the medium of relays and transcriptions. Relays are programmes recorded by foreign radio organizations from IS shortwave transmissions and re-broadcast over their own wave-lengths. Transcriptions are recordings made in IS studios and airshipped overseas for use by other networks and stations.

Re-broadcasting in these ways has certain qualities that make it a useful supplement to IS shortwave operations. They reach large, regular radio audiences, including listeners who do not own shortwave receivers. Transcriptions have the additional advantage of high fidelity of the reproduced speech or music and freedom from static and other atmospheric interferences that occasionally disturb direct transmissions.

Relays and transcriptions are, of course, subject to severe limitations. They can never be considered a satisfactory alternative to shortwave broadcasting. In the first place, the time element is against them. Relays are delayed by the process of recording, and they must then await a suitable place in the schedules of the re-broadcasting station. Transcriptions take days or weeks to reach destination. The time loss restricts the content of such programmes to material that is more or less timeless — music, talks of a non-topical nature, documentaries and educational features.

There is another limitation imposed on these programmes by the fact that they must be shaped to the policies and taste of the foreign broadcasting agency and its following. Moreover, the total amount of broadcasting time that Radio Canada can hope to be given in the schedules of any foreign station or network can never be large, even with superlative programme.



CBC INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Trainees under the Colombo Plan recording a Dominion Day feature through the facilities of the International Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The programme was broadcast over the National Service of Radio Ceylon on July 1 last. Standing, left, Nadaraja Rajaratnam and Ananda Abeyaratna; seated, left to right: Dick Halhed, of the CBC International Service, Miss Pat de Saram, and Livy Wijemanne, Programme Organizer, Radio Ceylon.

Nevertheless relays and transcriptions are particularly important at the present time, for they represent the principal means of increasing the influence abroad of Radio Canada. The present shortwave transmission facilities of the IS cannot carry more programmes or more languages.

Canadian Position

In his testimony to the External Affairs Committee of the House of Commons earlier this year, the former Director-General of the International Service, Mr. Jean Désy, outlined Canada's position in the field of international broadcasting:

With respect to the time used in external broadcasts, we now come after the BBC, the U.S.S.R., the satellites, the "Voice of America," France, Italy, Australia, Yugo-

slavia, and we are followed only by Holland, Spain, Portugal and Turkey.

It may be useful to point out also that the British Broadcasting Corporation operates 37 transmitters, using approximately 85 frequencies. Its general overseas programmes are prepared in some 40 languages and its simultaneous beams are usually carried by no less than five frequencies. The "Voice of America" operates approximately 38 transmitters (in North America) and uses approximately 90 frequencies. It broadcasts in some 30 languages simultaneous programmes usually carried by no less than five frequencies.

The International Service of the CBC operates two transmitters, and broadcasts in 15 languages . . . using a maximum of two frequencies at one time.*

It is obvious from these figures that facilities of the International Service are overtaxed, and that as a result it is difficult

* Since Mr. Désy's testimony, a 16th language, Polish, has been added to IS schedules.

to give adequate service to countries in Eastern or Western Europe.

The daily operation of the two Sackville transmitters involves 23 changes of languages, six changes of frequency and six slewings (directional alterations of antennae). With such short periods of transmission in each language, there is little opportunity to develop the habit of regular listening among a prospective audience in any particular country.

Until additional transmission facilities are available, the difficulty can be partially overcome by the use of relays and transcriptions.

The effectiveness of these programmes when they are successfully placed for re-broadcast, is sometimes remarkable. Last spring IS prepared a 15-minute feature on the coronation celebrations in the small farming community of Coronation, Alberta. The programme was distributed in transcription. It was re-broadcast in New Zealand, Australia, Jamaica, Hong Kong, Barbados, Ceylon, Bermuda, and by the Home Service of the BBC. A total of 17,000 persons wrote to the town from all over the world, indicting that the programme has an audience many times that figure.

In this case, the intense interest throughout the world in everything to do with the coronation of Queen Elizabeth assured widespread use by other stations and networks of a Canadian programme. Ordinarily, however, the successful "selling" of transcriptions and broadcasts for relay demands constant and detailed contact with radio organizations all over the world. The heads of the language sections maintain productive relations with the countries to which they broadcast through periodic visits and by correspondence. But the IS also needs the assistance of Canadian diplomatic missions abroad in making arrangements and delivering broadcast material.

Assistance from Missions Abroad

The effective assistance the missions are able to give has been shown particularly in Latin America, where Canadian representatives have helped both in publicizing shortwave broadcasts and in dealing with local stations for re-broadcasts. The result is a comparatively large and

responsive audience for the Voice of Canada.

One of the most important transcriptions prepared by the IS is the annual half-hour Dominion Day Programme. This is distributed mainly through the missions abroad. A programme of music by Canadian composers, it is made available by the missions to local radio stations. Similarly, the missions act as distributors for the 90 or so transcriptions of works by Canadian composers and musicians included in the general IS Transcription Service catalogue.

Musical programme constitute the bulk of the material available from the Transcription Service. All of the language sections rely partly on transcriptions as well as relays, however, the IS broadcasts to the people of two important countries, Austria and Greece, are handled entirely by transcription for the local radio systems.

Types of Programmes

The programmes generally most acceptable to foreign radio for re-broadcasting fall into three main categories: musical, educational, and news when it involves an event of either international significance or special interest to the people of another nation.

From the "Canadian Chronicle" programme prepared by the English Section of the IS, the BBC picks up an average of six to eight news-feature items per month. Most of these are used on the BBC Home Service, but a few are carried on the Overseas Service as well. In addition, the English Section prepares monthly newsletters for the Scottish and Welsh Home Services, occasional documentaries and talks.

Chiefly for Canadian Forces in Germany, the British Forces Network carries five to six hours a week of CBC recorded material, mostly entertainment, together with daily transmissions of Canadian news and weekly sports hour. Similar programme are relayed in Korea for the Canadian Forces there.

There is also a weekly summary of Canadian press comment on Canadian-American affairs prepared for release through the 65 stations and state-wide networks operated by universities and

educational organizations belonging to the National Association of Educational Broadcasters of the United States.

The IS French Section has two regular relay features to France, a weekly political commentary from Ottawa and a travelogue titled "Un Petit Voyage au Canada," and another weekly programme of folk songs for the Belgian National network.

The German Section's half-hour broadcast on Sunday is relayed regularly by the BBC to Germany at the same time as it is broadcast from Sackville. The special advantage of this relay, apart from the obvious one of closeness to the receiving area, is that the half-hour of Canadian material becomes part of a full two-hour BBC programme in German, at the peak listening period of 9 to 9.30 p.m.

There are all regular relay features. In addition, all the language sections of the IS supply material of all kinds for the

national programmes of the countries with which they are concerned.

In Holland, the government-sponsored Saturday night programme "Spotlight on Western Defence" is open to contributions from other countries. In March, April and May of this year, the bulk of the programmes described Canada's contribution to NATO. All this material was supplied in transcription by the Dutch Section of the IS.

Transcribed educational programmes for schools and adult education projects are constantly being prepared for overseas use. This year, Radio Frankfurt, Germany, scheduled a whole "Canada Week," a series of five half-hour documentaries on various aspects of Canadian life, and one programme of folk songs from all parts of Canada.

The various Scandinavian radio systems also use considerable material supplied by IS. Last year, for example, the



THE CBC IS AT THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR

Ton van Alphen, centre, of the International Service Dutch Section, interviews Dutch representatives at the International Trade Fair in Toronto.

Norwegian State Radio relayed four talks on Canada and Canadians as well as a half-hour school broadcast, which was also carried by the Swedish School Broadcast Service. The Swedish Radio also relayed a broadcast on the visit to Canada of the Swedish cruiser "Gotland," reports of the Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization in Montreal and the International Red Cross Conference in Toronto, and a documentary on the trip of the Swedish "Monica Smith" from Kingston to Montreal. Denmark also was interested in the Red Cross meeting as well as interviews with Danish visitors to Canada, items on the International Trade Fair in Toronto and the graduation of Danish air cadets in Winnipeg.

Radio Italiana last year carried an IS programme on Premier Alcide de Gasperi's visit to Canada and several others on the training of Italian NATO officers and the graduation of NATO pilots.

The Latin American Service in Spanish and Portuguese also supplies transcriptions to the countries of South and Central America. In 1952, special half-hour programmes were prepared for the Independence Day celebrations for most of the republics of Latin America.

In its relations with foreign radio organizations regarding relays and transcriptions, the International Service sub-

ordinates its own broadcasting function and becomes in a sense a producing organization for them. This relationship is occasionally made to work both ways, and IS obtains material from overseas for broadcast on the CBC national network. Two outstanding CBC concert series this summer were made up of recorded music obtained from European and South American radio systems by the IS.

After more than eight years of broadcasting, the direct shortwave transmissions of the CBC International Service have attained a substantial audience in Europe and South America. With present technical facilities, however, the limit has been reached.

But the International Service has the continuing objective of making Canada known as widely as possible throughout the world, and there are many areas yet to be reached. Attention now is turning toward the Far East and toward India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Relay arrangements and the transcription service are the only means of reaching these countries at present.

Close relations with local radio systems will continue to be developed. Here, as elsewhere, the International Service will seek the help of Canadian missions in making the voice of Canada effective in constantly widening areas of the world.



THE WEST GERMAN ELECTIONS, 1953

(Continued from page 290)

got only 833 votes out of the 112,000 cast in his constituency. Best of all, these results were achieved, not by a democratically-minded minority, but by 86 per cent of the electorate, and in some Länder by over 90 per cent, voting in a completely calm and orderly atmosphere.

Canadian opinion has welcomed the emergence and consolidation of a stable government in West Germany, dedicated to the peaceful integration of that country into the framework of the new Europe

that is now a-building. This welcome is all the more sincere because the new West German government will be exposed to the parliamentary criticism of a responsible opposition, and because both government and opposition have proved their respect for the principles of democracy as they are understood throughout the free world. Clearly, the seeds of Western democracy have taken an encouraging hold on life in the soil of Germany.

Canada and the United Nations

Korean Question and the Reconvened Seventh Session of the United Nations General Assembly

On August 17, the seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly reconvened, pursuant to the call of its President, to resume consideration of the Korean question. In his opening statement the President noted that the task of the Assembly was to provide for United Nations machinery to bring about a peaceful settlement in Korea.

Korean Resolutions Adopted

As a result of its deliberations the Assembly adopted four resolutions relating to Korea. The first resolution was sponsored by 15 countries (including Canada) which had contributed armed forces to the Unified Command, and had as its purpose the implementation of Paragraph 60 of the Korean Armistice Agreement. In this resolution, the General Assembly reaffirmed "that the objectives of the United Nations remained the achievement by peaceful means of a unified, independent and democratic Korea, under a representative form of government, and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area." The Assembly recommended that the side contributing armed forces under the Unified Command would have as participants in the Political Conference those member states which contributed armed forces and which wished to participate, together with the Republic of Korea. Participating governments would have full freedom of action at the Conference, and would be bound only by decisions to which they adhered. The United States, after consultation with these participating countries, would arrange with the other side for the Political Conference to be held no later than October 28, 1953, at a time and place satisfactory to both sides. Member states participating would inform the United Nations when agreement was reached at the Conference, and keep the United Nations informed at other appropriate times. Finally, by this resolution

the Assembly reaffirmed its intention to carry out its programme for relief and rehabilitation in Korea, and appealed to all member governments to contribute to this task. The Assembly adopted the resolution on August 28 by a vote of forty-three in favour, (including Canada), five against, and ten abstentions.

The Assembly also approved a resolution recommending the Soviet Union as a participant in the Conference, "provided the other side desires it", by a vote of 55 in favour, (including Canada), 1 against, and 1 abstention.

Question of Indian Participation

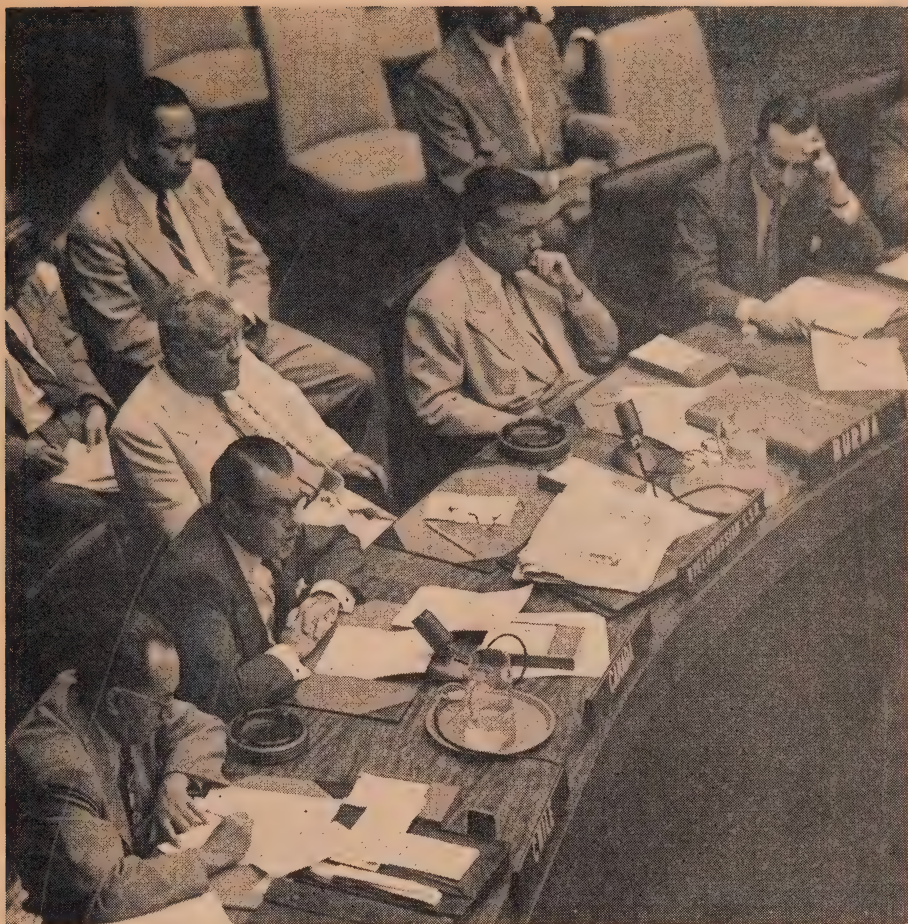
A great proportion of the Assembly's time was devoted to consideration of a resolution sponsored by Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, recommending without qualification the participation of India in the Political Conference. In the First Committee, where only a simple majority is required, this resolution was approved by a vote of 27 in favour (including Canada) 21 against and 11 abstentions.

The following countries supported the resolution: Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Byelorussia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, U.S.S.R., Ukraine, United Kingdom, Yemen and Yugoslavia.

Against the resolution were Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Nationalist China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, United States, Uruguay and Venezuela.

Those abstaining were Argentina, Belgium, France, Israel, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey and South Africa.

India did not participate in the vote.



—United Nations

KOREAN POLITICAL CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS DEBATED

Mr. Paul Martin, of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations, addressing the Political Committee during the debate on the arrangements for the Korean political conference.

The vote indicated that in Plenary Session the Resolution would be defeated since it would fail to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority. The Indian representative requested in Plenary Session that no vote be taken on the resolution and in the absence of any objection the President complied.

Communist Regimes Notified

By a third resolution the Assembly, by a vote of 54 in favour (including Canada), 3 against, and 2 abstentions, requested the Secretary-General to communicate the proposals on the Korean question, together with the records relevant thereto to the Peking and North

Korean regimes, and "to report as appropriate".

Finally, the Assembly, by another resolution, saluted "the heroic soldiers of the Republic of Korea and of all those countries which sent armed forces to her assistance"; paid tribute to all those who died in resisting aggression, and expressed its satisfaction "that the first efforts pursuant to the call of the United Nations to repel armed aggression by collective military measures has been successful . . ." This resolution was approved by 53 (including Canada), to 5. The vote on this resolution concluded the consideration of the Korean agenda item and finished the work of the seventh session.

The Opening of the Eighth Session of the General Assembly

The President of the seventh session of the General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, presided over the opening of the eighth regular session which took place at United Nations headquarters in New York on the afternoon of September 15.

Mr. Pearson made a brief address and the Assembly was just about to proceed with the election of the President of the eighth session when the representative of the U.S.S.R. proposed that the Assembly consider inviting the "government of the People's Republic of China to occupy their legitimate seats in the General Assembly and the other organs of the United Nations." After a protracted debate, the Assembly approved a United States motion to postpone for this year any consideration of proposals to change a Chinese representation. The vote on this motion was 44 in favour (including Canada) 10 against (the Soviet bloc, the Scandinavian countries and India) and 2 abstentions (Israel and Afghanistan).

New President Elected

The Assembly immediately proceeded to the election, by secret ballot, of a new President. On the first ballot, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit of India received 37 votes and Prince Wan Waithayakom of Thailand received 22 votes. As only a simple majority was required, Mrs. Pandit was elected President of the eighth session of the General Assembly. On her election, Mrs. Pandit addressed the Assembly in part as follows:

I should like to express my deep appreciation to my fellow representatives for the great honour they have just conferred upon me. They can be certain that I shall do my best to justify their confidence and to discharge impartially the responsibilities of this high office. I regard your choice as a tribute to my country and a recognition of her profound desire to serve the purposes of the United Nations and through them the paramount interests of world peace. It is also a recognition of the part that women have played and are playing in furthering the aims and purposes of this great organization . . .

The Assembly then elected seven vice-presidents and the chairmen of the seven committees. A Canadian representative, Dr. George Davidson, Deputy Minister of Welfare, was elected chairman of the Third (Social) Committee. Debate then

took place on the agenda, which contained a total of 72 items. Inclusion of most of these items was approved without objections, votes being required on only five of them. Two of the five items concerned racial questions in South Africa and their inclusion was contested by the South African representative. Two new items which related to preparatory work looking to the possible revision of the United Nations Charter were opposed by the Soviet bloc members. (The Soviet bloc also objected to inclusion of an item relating to the problem of prisoners-of-war from the Second World War who have not yet been repatriated. All of the items were, however, finally approved by large majorities. The Assembly will consider two items on Korea, including the report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the report of the United Nations Agent-General for Korean Reconstruction. Other political items include the questions of Morocco and Tunisia, which have again been placed on the agenda by the Arab-Asian group, the work of the Disarmament Commission, and the problem of Chinese Nationalist Forces in Burma. Of special interest are several economic items including the proposed establishment of an International Finance Corporation, a special fund for grants-in-aid to under-developed countries, and the report of the Economic and Social Council on the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

Canadian Delegation

The Canadian Delegation to the eighth session is as follows:

Representatives:

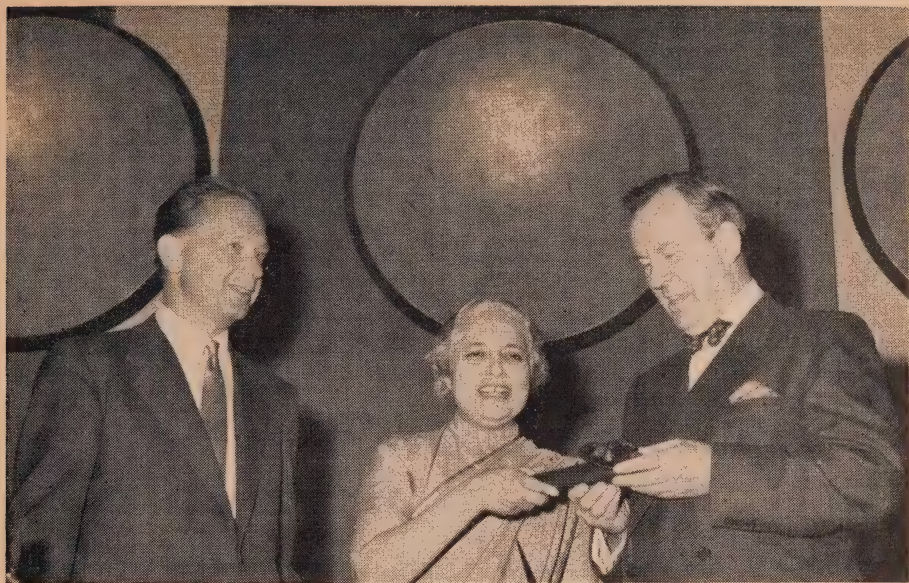
The Hon. L. B. Pearson, M.P., Secretary of State for External Affairs (Chairman of the Delegation).

The Hon. Alcide Côté, M.P., Postmaster-General (Vice-Chairman of the Delegation).

Senator Stanley S. McKeen.

Mr. D. M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York.

Dr. George F. Davidson, Deputy Minister of Welfare.



—United Nations

NEW PRESIDENT ELECTED FOR THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, of India, elected President of the eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, receives the gavel from Mr. L. B. Pearson, the retiring President. Standing at the left is Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Alternate Representatives:

Mr. Alan Macnaughton, M.P.

Mr. G. S. Patterson, Consul General of Canada, Boston.

Mrs. A. L. Caldwell, Member of the Board of Governors of the National Film Board.

Mr. Stuart Hemsley, Department of

External Affairs.

Mr. G. B. Summers, Q.C., Department of External Affairs.

Advisers to the Delegation have been drawn from the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa and from the Canadian Permanent Delegation to the United Nations in New York.

Canada and the United Nations 1952-1953

Canada and the United Nations 1952-53 is the seventh in the regular series of reports issued by the Department of External Affairs. They deal with all aspects of the activities of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, but naturally devote special attention to Canadian participation in these activities. The present volume as a whole covers the period from July 1, 1952 to June 30, 1953, though the article on Korea has been extended to include the events up to the signing of the armistice on July 26.

In a brief foreword, the Secretary of State for External Affairs emphasizes that the success of the United Nations action in Korea has more than a purely military importance and that it "does not itself

mean peace; it merely gives us the opportunity to make peace."

Other questions of far-reaching importance have arisen during the period under review and are dealt with fully in the book. They include the choice of a new Secretary-General to succeed Mr. Trygve Lie and the discussion of personnel policies in the Secretariat, and the racial and colonial problems which received much attention at the seventh session of the General Assembly. In addition, the most recent developments in the continuing work of the United Nations in the economic, social, legal and cultural fields are concisely described and a section is devoted to the financial and budgetary arrangements of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies.

Commonwealth Index of Scientific Translations

AT a Commonwealth Scientific Official Conference held in London in 1946 consideration was given to means of improving the distribution of scientific information within the Commonwealth. Scientific literature in foreign languages is an important source of such information, but many scientists are not able to use articles in the original languages and consequently require translations.

Translators of such languages as Russian and Japanese are few, and those who can translate scientific literature with accuracy are even fewer. Consequently, many scientists have either to do without these sources of information or to use the brief outlines that appear in abstracting journals. On the other hand, it is known that many papers in foreign languages may be translated several times, sometimes in the same country and even in the same city. This, of course, is a waste of scarce translating talent.

List Set Up

It was therefore decided that some means was required of providing information about translations already available. The obvious method was to set up a list of translations available within the Commonwealth. As a first step, it was decided to arrange for the collection of the titles of all translations held in each country. Arrangements were made to set up an agency in each country to collect titles, which would eventually become the source of information on the location of translations. The Scientific Liaison Office of the National Research Council in Ottawa became the Canadian agency and proceeded, as comprehensively as possible, to collect titles of translations available in Canada. The same procedure was followed in other Commonwealth countries.

Lists of the collected titles were forwarded to a centre in London, which undertook to set up a card index including titles from Canada and the other

Commonwealth countries. The agency in each country now receives copies of the index cards for the whole Commonwealth as they become available. These cards constitute the Commonwealth Index of Translations.

The success of this venture depends on the co-operation of those organizations that have translations made in the course of their normal operations. These include government departments, universities and industrial concerns, each of which has agreed to list its translations and, if necessary, to supply copies free or at cost or to lend them for reading or copying. A Canadian borrower has merely to write to the Liaison Office of the National Research Council, supplying a reference including, if possible, the names of the authors, the complete title, and the name, number and date of issue of the journal in which the article appears. If the translation is listed in the index, the Liaison Office will either undertake to secure a copy for the borrower or supply information as to where and under what circumstances a copy may be obtained.

Never Complete

Obviously, this index will never be complete, since it is being added to as rapidly as translations are being made. Neither will it contain at any time the titles of all translations available. Many agencies outside the Commonwealth are translating articles from the more difficult languages into English, French and German, and indexes of available translations are kept by various organizations in some European countries and in the United States. The Liaison Office is gradually acquiring contacts with these agencies and it is hoped that these will provide a useful supplement to the Commonwealth Index. The United States particularly is a potential source of many translations.

The work of commercial translation agencies cannot be overlooked and lists

from these are also being used as sources. Possibilities of borrowing, exchanging, and lending among non-commercial agencies are continually being investigated. If the only known translation has been made by a commercial organization, the enquirer will be directed to the agency and given whatever information is available on prices. Contacts with all of these organizations will broaden the field of available translations and should increase the likelihood of a borrower being able to secure a given title.

Since scientists are most keenly interested in recent literature, the efficiency of the index can be increased if organizations having translations made would notify the Liaison Office at the earliest possible time, preferably as soon as the

decision to undertake the translation is made. Many organizations already make a practice of checking with the index before undertaking a translation and some of them have been able to secure translated papers quickly enough to save unnecessary work. An additional advantage of any enquiry is that the Liaison Office knows that a translation is likely to be made or that the enquirer will still be interested when the office is notified that the translation in question has become available in one of the reporting agencies.

At present the Liaison Office has a record of nearly 13,000 translations, including the Commonwealth Index and information from other non-commercial and commercial sources.



Demonstration Centre for Rehabilitation of the Blind

Arthur Napier Magill, a Canadian, himself sightless, is the director of Egypt's new Demonstration Centre for Rehabilitation of the Blind. El Zeitun, about six miles outside of Cairo and near the Sphinx, is the site of the Centre which will open this autumn with a staff supplied by the Technical Assistance Administration. The Centre will serve as a rehabilitation and training centre for the Middle East.

Because there are more than 10,000 blind children under age of eighteen in Egypt, a large section of the Centre is devoted to a school and a vocational training centre. For children from 6 to 8 years, the Centre provides a regular primary education, while those in older age groups who have never been to school before, will take a course designed to give

them as much schooling as possible along with practical vocational training.

For the many blind unable to come to the Centre, Mr. Magill has instituted a home-teaching program under the direction of Miss Miriam Wallis, of London, England. Home teachers will give lessons in braille reading, and advise on finding a pastime, occupation or handicraft. The teachers will also aid blind children during their school vacations.

Located in a modern three-story building, the Centre includes dormitories, class-rooms, a dispensary, a floor for braille printing, and administrative offices. The Centre has another smaller building for industrial training, as well as a small mosque. All buildings are equipped with modern furniture designed specifically for use by the sightless . . .

Indian Heads Canadian Student Federation

MR. Raghbir Singh Basi, President of the National Federation of Canadian University Students (N.F.C.U.S.) for 1952-1953, visited the Department of External Affairs in September to discuss interests of university students in the international sphere. Mr. Basi, accompanied by Mr. Yves Pilon, Secretary-Treasurer of the N.F.C.U.S., conferred with Mr. R. M.

Macdonnell, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, and outlined for him the activities of the Federation in scholarship and seminar projects.

The National Federation of Canadian University Students was founded in 1926, and now represents the students of twenty-three Canadian universities and colleges. Amongst its affiliations is mem-



Left to right: Mr. Raghbir Singh Basi, President of the National Federation of Canadian University Students; Mr. Yves Pilon, Secretary Treasurer, N.F.C.U.S.; and Mr. R. M. Macdonnell, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

bership in the Co-ordinating Secretariat of the National Unions of Students, which maintains offices in Leyden, the Netherlands. This Secretariat, established during the past year by the student associations of thirty-five countries, is preparing the Fourth Annual International Student Conference which representatives of the N.F.C.U.S. will attend in Istanbul early in January, 1954.

Mr. Basi's election as President of the N.F.C.U.S. at the annual meeting held in October, 1952, at Laval University, Quebec City, marked the climax of his active participation in Canadian undergraduate life. Born in Kharoudi, East Punjab, India, twenty-three years ago, Mr. Basi studied at the Sikh National College, Punjab University, Lahore, from 1946 to 1947. He then attended Khalsa College, Mahilpur, East Punjab, India, and entered the University of British Co-

lumbia, Vancouver, in 1949. He received an honours B.A. in sociology in June of this year, and will enter Harvard University Graduate School of Public Administration this autumn on an Administration Fellowship to study for a Master's degree.

While attending U.B.C., Mr. Basi was a leading figure in student government, serving on the executive of the United Nations Club, on the International House Committee, and as President of the Alma Mater Society (student council). Among his achievements, Mr. Basi also counts a number of scholarships.

The N.F.C.U.S. will elect Mr. Basi's successor for 1953-1954 at its annual meeting this month at McGill University, Montreal. However Mr. Basi says his interest in Canadian, Commonwealth and international student affairs will always remain lively as a result of his service with the N.F.C.U.S.



Mr. Jean Désy Surveys Overseas Awards

At the request of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Jean Désy, Q.C., is surveying the operation of the Canadian Government Overseas Awards. His mission will take him to France, the Netherlands, and Italy, where blocked funds owing to Canada have been set aside for educational purposes.

The Overseas Awards programme was approved by the Canadian Government in June 1952. It provides scholarships for advanced academic study and fellowships, for both advanced study and creative work, to candidates selected by the Awards Committee of the Royal Society of Canada. Overseas the programme is administered by the Canadian diplomatic missions in the countries concerned.

In France and the Netherlands, where the programme is in its second year of operation, Mr. Désy will study existing arrangements and liaison with local educational and cultural authorities. In Italy,

where the programme is still pending, he will take part in the negotiation of a cultural agreement as provided for under the Civilian Relief Agreement between Italy and Canada which was ratified by the Italian Parliament in April, 1953. Mr. Désy will be able to draw on his experience as former Canadian Ambassador to Brazil (where he negotiated a cultural agreement with Brazil), The Hague, and Rome.

Mr. Désy joined the Department of External Affairs in 1925. During the past year he served on loan from the Department as Director-General of the International Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

The Canadian Government Overseas Awards for 1953-54 consist of twelve fellowships valued at \$4,000 each, and sixteen scholarships worth \$2,000 each; the scholarships are renewable. About fifty awards have been made to date under the programme.

STATEMENT BY MR. L. B. PEARSON

Chairman, Canadian Delegation to the eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, September 23, 1953.

May I, in the first place, offer you, Madame President, my sincere congratulations and those of my delegation on your election as President of the Assembly, an honour well-deserved by the services that you and your country have given to the United Nations. As the President of the preceding Assembly, and for two long hours and 6 minutes the presiding officer of this one, I can assure you that my congratulations and good wishes are not coloured, even faintly, by envy!

The eighth Assembly meets at a time when many think that the successful negotiation of some of the outstanding differences between the two major power groupings may be possible.

Belief in Freedom

If there is any such happy possibility, it would be due, I think, not only to the armistice in Korea, or to changes on the other side of the Iron Curtain, but even more to the fact that in recent years a large part of the free, democratic world has learned to co-operate in purpose, policy and action for the defence of peace. Gradually, and not without difficulty, because we are speaking now of free and independent sovereign states, a unity and strength is developing, which is based on more than economic and military power. It is based also on a common belief in freedom and a determination to defend it against any reactionary and subversive forces which may threaten it.

Our co-operation is not synthetic; our unity is not imposed, nor is it of that monolithic type that Mr. Vyshinsky proudly ascribed yesterday to Soviet society. Honest differences, openly expressed, are bound to exist within and between free governments. Not only do we acknowledge them. At times we seem glibly to advertise them. But anyone who seeks to divide us, in the United Nations or elsewhere, by misinterpreting or exploiting these differences will soon find that the things that hold us together are far stronger and more enduring than those which, at times, seem to divide us.

If there are opportunities now for easing in some degree international tension, I hope that the eighth Assembly will use them to the full. We may not be able to change the facts of international life by resolutions in our Assembly. But by commission or omission, by what we say or do not say, we can lighten or darken the international atmosphere in which our problems must be solved.

The spirit of reason and conciliation which has for long animated the free peoples in approaching these problems was given eloquent and sincere expression in this Assembly last Thursday by the Secretary of State of the United States. He reaffirmed our will to peace which is deep and abiding. On our side, that will to peace exists. Does it co-exist?

The Soviet bloc deny that our policies make for peace. They claim that our coalitions and our associations, particularly what they call the "aggressive North Atlantic bloc", are a menace to their security and are designed for aggressive war. Nothing could be more remote from reality than that charge.

It may be that their fear on this score is merely manufactured by propaganda as a cloak for plans and policies of their own, which in their turn rouse deep and anxious fear in us. But even if the Communist fear were genuine, it is unfounded. The peoples of our free coalition are passionately pacific, and its leader, the United States, as Canadians have special reason to know and appreciate, is one of the least imperialistically minded powers that ever had world leadership and responsibility thrust upon it. But even if anyone were tempted to believe these untrue communist charges of American warmongering imperialism, does anyone really think that the United States could decree aggressive or provocative collective action by, say, the North Atlantic, the Inter-American or the Anzus groups?

A Reassuring Fact

Furthermore, this friendly association of other countries with the United States, some of which have had as tragic an experience of the miseries and destructions of war as the Soviet Union itself, should be a reassuring rather than a disturbing fact to all those who seek peace. As Mr. Dulles put it last Thursday:

The Soviet leaders . . . should know, and probably they do know, that community arrangements are the least likely to be aggressive. Military force which is within a single nation can be used offensively at the dictation of one government alone, sometimes of one man alone. Military force which is distributed throughout several countries cannot be used effectively unless all of the countries concerned are in agreement.

Then he added, and his words, I assure you, apply to my country:

Such agreement would be totally unattainable except for operations responsive to the clear menace of aggression.

We of the free democratic countries must not and will not adopt any policy or take any action which could give any other state valid reason to fear for its security or for its legitimate national interests. Such interests however, do not include, as making for peace, (and here I quote with complete agreement from Mr. Vyshinsky's speech of Monday last): "a policy which professedly is designed to explode the social or political structure of any other country".

But Communist doctrine, in our eyes, professes just that. That is one reason why we feel a deep, genuine fear—not a fear as Mr.

Vyshinsky said "artificially stimulated by the Pentagon. That fear flows also from the loss of freedom in Eastern Europe, from the Berlin blockade, from Korea, from the awful dangers of totalitarian tyranny, and from 175 Soviet divisions—if that's the figure—ready to march.

Mr. Spaak's Statement

Mr. Spaak of Belgium put our feelings as eloquently and succinctly as they have ever been put when he said to the General Assembly in 1948:

The Soviet delegate need not look for complicated explanations of our policy. I will tell him what is the basis of our policy—in terms, perhaps slightly cruel, but which only the representative of a small nation could use: Do you know what is the basis of our policy? It is fear of you, fear of your government, fear of your policy!" Then he went on:

I use the word 'fear' but the fear I have in mind is not that of a coward or of a minister representing a frightened country, a country ready to ask for mercy and beg for pity. No, it is not that kind of fear. It is the fear which should be felt by a man when he peers into the future and realizes all the possible horror, tragedy and terrible responsibility held in store by that future.

Does the U.S.S.R. Delegation know why the Western European countries are afraid? They are afraid because the U.S.S.R. Delegation often speaks of imperialism.

What is the definition and current notion of imperialism? It is usually the notion of a nation—generally a great Power—that effects conquests and increases its influence throughout the world.

What is the historic truth that has emerged from the recent years? It is that one great country alone has emerged from the war having conquered other territories—and that great country is the Soviet Union . . .

The empire of the U.S.S.R. stretches from the Far East to the Baltic Sea and from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, and is now also felt on the banks of the Rhine . . . and then the U.S.S.R. wonders why the other nations feel anxious!

The echo of those words of Mr. Spaak, spoken five years ago, has not faded from our minds.

With these fears still haunting us, and with the sure knowledge that weakness in this world is a provocation and not a protection, we intend to become strong and remain strong, until security can rest on a better and more lasting foundation even than strength.

I am aware, of course, that fear on one side often results in action which causes new fear on the other side; and that this provokes counter-action, which in its turn brings about even greater fear. So a vicious circle is begun, which goes on and on until it is either cut through in the right way, by sincere negotiation and wise political decisions, or in the wrong way, by war; which now means atomic annihilation.

If these are, then, the alternatives, and if by our policies we make the latter choice inevitable, then George Bernard Shaw was certainly right when he said: "If the other planets are inhabited, the earth is their lunatic asylum."

Yet, it is all too apparent that the tide of world affairs, for the past seven years have been flowing in one direction—sometimes faster, sometimes slower, but always, unhappily in the direction of a possible catastrophe that might leave in the rubble little worth salvaging of what we are still able to call civilization.

The growing unity and strength of the Western democracies, however, and the confidence that is beginning to come from this; the events of the last few months, and in particular the conclusion of an armistice in Korea, may give us now a chance to move away from possible co-destruction and toward a co-existence which will be more than a word.

Hope for Progress

I do not mean to suggest of course that an era of sweetness and light is just around the corner. Nor will it be ushered in merely by changes of tactics or by paper promises of peace. But it does seem that there is at least more hope now for progress towards real peace than there was when the Seventh Assembly opened almost a year ago. Whether this is wishful thinking or not, such progress is the fundamental purpose to which our United Nations is dedicated. We are, in all conscience, bound to keep everlastingly trying to bring about a better state of international relations; for if we fail in this we fail, sooner or later, in everything.

Faced with this task then, we should ask ourselves among other things if our present methods of diplomacy, inside or outside the United Nations, are adequate and effective enough for the purposes of negotiating differences, when the opportunity for such negotiation presents itself.

The United Nations is a place where we can meet either to settle problems or make settlement more difficult. It is a place where we can try to find collective solutions, or one which we can use to get support and publicity for purely national solutions. It is a place where we can talk to each other with a view to securing general agreement, or to the television and radio audiences in order to explain that disagreement is the fault of somebody else.

In any event, whatever face the United Nations now presents to the public is enlarged to alarming proportions by all media of information which now carry our words, our attitudes, even our appearances to the ends of the earth.

I know that without the active participation of world agencies of communication and information, this experiment in world organization could not succeed, because it would not be able to secure popular support. But the United Nations has, or should have, a private as well as a public face. There should be

opportunities here for other than public appearances. A television panel discussion can be instructive and entertaining, but it is no substitute for direct consultation or for that old-fashioned diplomacy which is becoming more respectable by comparison with some of its gaudier, but not always more responsible or restrained successors.

It is, of course, essential that all free peoples should know and understand the great issues of policy which may mean life or death for them. But it is not essential, as I see it, indeed it is often harmful, for the negotiation of policy always to be conducted in glass houses which are often too tempting a target for brickbats. It is all too easy to strike attitudes in public, only to find later that we are stuck with them. Open diplomacy now tends to become frozen diplomacy.

Need For Quiet Discussion

I'm sure that we can all think of subjects that have come before us in recent Assemblies that could have been more constructively discussed and more easily settled if previously there had been quiet and confidential discussion of them between delegations and governments, especially between those which were in disagreement over the matters in question.

And it is my feeling that the opportunities for such consultation at United Nations meetings seems to be diminishing, and a kind of "bloc" or "group" discussion is on the other hand increasing, the results of which are often in one form or another made public almost before the discussions have taken place. If we are not careful, useful as these discussions are, these publicly confidential discussions may cause the United Nations to lose in prestige as a place where opposing views can be constructively considered, and where their reconciliation can at least be attempted in an efficient and businesslike way.

But whatever methods we adopt, the fear and tension which now grips the whole world will not be reduced until some of the current international issues which divide us are successfully resolved; either by the United Nations, or by those states, acting, if necessary, outside the United Nations, who have the main share of responsibility for international peace and security.

In his penetrating address last Thursday, Mr. Dulles pointed to certain of these problems. If concrete progress and not mere talk about peaceful intentions can be achieved in solving some of these problems, here in the United Nations or elsewhere, we will then, but only then, have any real ground for hope; for only then will our words have been confirmed by actions.

The two principal issues which will test the reality behind the talk, are Germany and Korea. The latter issue, which is before us, Korea, has now narrowed down to the political conference to be held under paragraph 60 of the armistice agreement.

The countries which fought in Korea on the United Nations side sent their troops there for no other purpose than to help repel aggres-

sion, declared as such by a United Nations decision.

So far as the Canadian Government is concerned, we will not support any military action in Korea which is not United Nations action, and we would be opposed to any attempt to interpret existing United Nations objectives as including for instance the unification of Korea by force. On the other hand, we are aware that the signing of an armistice does not discharge us from obligations we have already undertaken in Korea as a member of the United Nations.

Political Conference Must Meet

To convert this armistice into peace, the Political Conference must meet. There is no other way. Less than a month ago the Seventh Assembly made provision for the United Nations side of this meeting. True, this was done in a way which did not meet the full wishes of certain delegations, including my own. But the decision was made, and, after long and exhaustive debate, the composition of the Conference on the United Nations side was decided, which, if not perfect, should be satisfactory for the purpose we have in mind; making peace in Korea. Surely it would be wrong merely because the Communist Governments of Peking and North Korea demand it, to reopen at once the whole matter and try to reverse our decision after such a short interval.

Insistence, for instance, by the Communist side that the Korean Conference cannot convene unless the United Nations agree that the U.S.S.R. be present as a "neutral" member would surely throw serious doubt on their desire to have the conference meet at all.

We have the right to expect that the Communist Governments to whom our resolutions have been forwarded should now without delay designate their own representatives, and express their views regarding time and place.

Once the conference meets there will be ample opportunity to iron out other difficulties which may arise. But are these of sufficient consequence to justify the other side in boycotting this necessary first step in peacemaking, not only in Korea, but perhaps over a broader area?

For it is surely not too much to hope that if we are successful in negotiating on a specific and defined range of questions, we may succeed also in strengthening the prospects for the settlement over wider Asian issues; not necessarily through the same mechanism which we have recommended for the Korean Conference.

But for this wider objective to be achieved, or even approached, we must first succeed in making peace in Korea. If—and this is a big "if"—there is good faith and good will on both sides, a settlement here should be possible. I suggest that any such settlement must provide for a free and united Korea, with a government resting on the will of the Korean people freely expressed through elections held under United Nations supervision. All foreign forces should, of course, be withdrawn, and

Korea's security might be provided for under an international and supervised guarantee.

The Korean problem is certainly not an insoluble one. If a fair and lasting solution is desired it can be found. It is certainly desired by the vast majority of the members of the United Nations, I am sure. If the communist side, or anyone else, by obstruction and inadmissible demands make a peaceful solution impossible, then the responsibility for failure will be made clear, and the United Nations, at least, will have done its duty.

Korea, in short, will provide an acid test for the hope and claim that successful negotiation can and must be conducted now, not only on the future of Korea but on European and cold war problems generally, in order to bring about an easing of fear and tension, and a peace which will be something better than cold war.

There is another respect in which Korea is an acid test; in the assistance we give the Korean people to restore and rehabilitate their country, ravaged and devastated by war.

I am certain this Assembly will agree with the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, that it is of high importance that this collective responsibility for reconstruction and rehabilitation in Korea "should be carried out honourably, vigorously and generously by the United Nations and with the widest possible participation of its members."

In referring to Korea as a supreme test, I am well aware that the obstacles to agreement, like the present divisions in our world, may seem great. Yet we can remind ourselves that, as it has been said, the longest journey must begin with a single step. It is the belief of the country which I represent, and I am sure of the overwhelming majority of the countries represented here, that, if this all-important first step—to co-operate in bringing peace to Korea—is taken by those who speak in the name of the world community in this Assembly, the long journey towards a wider peace will have begun.

Madame President, this is a general debate, but I do not propose to comment on other issues, many of them very important, which will come before us. There will be time enough for this in the weeks ahead.

This eighth Assembly, like its predecessors now faces a long and complex programme of work. The problems before the eighth session, in the formal enumeration of our official agenda, reflect the basic conflicts and high tensions of our divided world. Ultimate judgments on the utility or the futility of this Organization will be based on the extent to which we make these items on our agenda the signposts to action and practical achievement.

The Canadian delegation will do its best to make a worth while contribution to this essential result, and thereby serve the high purposes of peace that bring us together.



STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- | | |
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| No. 53/32— <i>Water Problems on the Canadian Boundary</i> , an address given to the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, Toronto, by General A. G. L. McNaughton, May 28, 1953. | ter of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, made at the eighth session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, at Geneva, Switzerland, September 18, 1953. |
| No. 53/33— <i>Canadian Development and Productivity</i> , an address by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Milton F. Gregg, delivered at a plenary meeting of the 36th Session of the International Labour Conference, at Geneva, June 8, 1953. | No. 53/36— <i>Canada - United States Trade Problems</i> , an address by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, made at the International Municipal Congress, Montreal, September 23, 1953. |
| No. 53/34— <i>Canadian Position on Korea</i> , as expressed by the Canadian Representative to the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, in the Political Committee, August 19, 1953. | No. 53/37— <i>Canadian Statement in the Opening General Debate of the Eighth Session of the United Nations General Assembly</i> , delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the Eighth Session, Mr. L. B. Pearson. |
| No. 53/35— <i>The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade</i> , an address by the Minis- | |

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. L. D. Wilgress, Ambassador, was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Permanent Delegation to the North Atlantic Council, effective August 7, 1953.
- Mr. S. D. Pierce, Ambassador, was posted from temporary duty in Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, effective September 16, 1953.
- Mr. W. E. Bauer was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Warsaw, effective July 31, 1953.
- Mr. G. H. Southam was posted from home leave (Stockholm) to Ottawa, effective August 13, 1953.
- Mr. H. M. Robertson was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective August 14, 1953.
- Mr. S. M. Scott was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective August 25, 1953.
- Mr. P. T. Molson retired from the Foreign Service effective August 25, 1953.
- Mr. J. P. Erichsen-Brown was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective August 26, 1953.
- Mr. A. R. Menzies was posted from home leave (Tokyo) to Ottawa, effective August 26, 1953.
- Mr. L. V. J. Roy was posted from Ottawa to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 1, 1953.
- Mr. D. Stansfield was posted from Ottawa to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 1, 1953.
- Mr. A. Rive was posted from Home Leave to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 1, 1953.
- Mr. M. A. Crowe was posted from the National Defence College, Kingston, to Headquarters in Ottawa, effective September 1, 1953.
- Mr. P. Dumas was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to home leave, effective September 3, 1953.
- Mr. C. H. West was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Seattle, effective September 6, 1953.
- Mr. C. M. Senior was posted from Ottawa to Seattle, as Consul General, effective September 7, 1953.
- Mr. J. W. Holmes was posted from the National Defence College, Kingston, to Ottawa, effective September 8, 1953.
- Mr. J. E. Thibault was posted to the Canadian Permanent Delegation to the United Nations, New York, effective September 9, 1953.
- Mr. H. R. Horne retired from the Foreign Service, effective September 10, 1953.
- Mr. J. A. Chapdelaine was posted from home leave (Bonn) to Ottawa, effective September 14, 1953.
- Mr. A. F. Hart was posted from the Canadian Legation to home leave, effective September 17, 1953.
- Mr. R. Duder was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, effective September 18, 1953.
- Mr. L. G. Chance, Consul General, was posted from Ottawa to Los Angeles, effective September 26, 1953.
- Mr. J. D. M. Weld was posted from Ottawa to the Consulate General, New York, effective September 30, 1953.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

A Tour of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic

BY ROBERT A. D. FORD*

IN June I made a ten-days' tour of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic in the company of the Australian Chargé d'Affaires and his wife and the Canadian Chargé d'Affaires to Poland, Mr. Carter. We travelled to Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia, by train, a journey of three days and three nights but one well worth doing because of the excellent picture it gave of the immensity of the Soviet Union and the variety of its landscape and peoples. In this three-days' trip, travelling almost due south most of the time, one passes from the wooded, slightly undulating country around Moscow to the edge of the Ukrainian steppe, then through the great industrial complex of the Donetz Basin which at night looks not unlike the British Midlands with the fires in the furnaces of the smelting plants burning brightly on the horizon, through the ancient city of Rostov-on-Don, into the Kuban steppe, famous for its horses and the Kuban Cossacks, and finally into the foothills of the Caucasus.

Landscape Changes

Here the railway turns sharply west and follows the line of the mountains to Tuapse on the Black Sea. As far as the junction from Maikop, which was the furthest spot reached by the Germans in their invasion of the Caucasus, the Kuban steppe remains unchanged. From then on the line of the mountains on our left became sharper and we were soon well into the foothills. From Tuapse the railway proceeds along the Black Sea coast as far as Ochetchiri but we only saw the part as far as Sochi in daylight. The landscape changes with incredible speed from the flat, colourless plain of Russia to the brilliance of a Mediterranean landscape. The houses are white and clean, the foliage is lush and the trees are mostly junipers and cypress. On one side are the

green hills and on the other the blue sea. As the train wound around the indentations of the coast the scene ahead looked very much like some parts of Italy, with white villas clinging to the edge of a sandy beach between the mountains and the sea.

Into the Mountains

When we awoke the morning of the third day we were already some distance up into the mountains having turned directly east again on the long climb up to Tbilisi, the train following the course of the small river, the Rioni. The landscape was still quite Mediterranean with the flat fertile valley around us and snow-capped hills in the background. The towns seemed relatively modern but in the countryside the normal transportation appeared to be high two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen which also provided the motive power for plowing. Occasionally one saw men on horseback, their faces protected by a kind of burnoose. The women, even in the towns, wore black dresses with the black kerchief or hood of the Georgian women, so different from the white or coloured kerchiefs of the Ukrainians and Russians. In the valley the houses were mostly built on stilts, their tiled roofs and pink and white stucco making a distinct contrast with the houses of Russia and the Ukraine.

As we proceeded up the valley of the Rioni the hills pressed in closer on us. Presently the valley became very wild and was little more than a gorge. It was crossed at strategic points by foot-bridges. The conglomeration of very green, almost sub-tropical foliage, the hills and the stucco houses with tile roofs, reminded me very much of some parts of Brazil which I visited in 1942, particularly the interior of the state of Espirito Santo.

After we crossed the pass the landscape began to open out again. It had less of the lush Mediterranean atmosphere and

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more that of a plateau. The hills are brown rather than green and in some places the landscape looked not unlike the Badlands of Dakota. The hills themselves are completely bare of trees or even shrubs, and when I asked a Georgian later why the country around Tbilisi was so "shaven", resulting in bad erosion, he replied that it was the work of Batu the Terrible, the Mongol leader who sacked Tbilisi in the 14th century. Up until then the hills of the Tbilisi Valley were covered with rich forests but the Mongols, to punish the Georgians for their fierce resistance, burned them down and until recently no serious attempt has been made at re-forestation. We discovered later that this is now seriously in hand and at many spots around the city we saw nurseries and the results of the first attempts at re-foresting the slopes.

As we approached Tbilisi we noticed at Kharagauli an old castle perched above the river looking very much like the castles on the Rhine belonging to the medieval robber barons. These became more numerous as we approached Tbilisi but curiously enough the countryside became much less cultivated.

The City of Tbilisi

The first impression of the city is one of the grace and charm of its broad main streets lined with trees, its dark and narrow shaded side streets, and the ever present hills which completely surround the city. It is a curious combination of the new and the old. It was founded in the 5th century and some of the churches go back as far as the beginning of the 6th century. At the same time a great attempt has been made at modernizing, on the whole with good taste. Some of the modern buildings, particularly those put up in the late 30's and just after the war, reflect the Moscow style; some of the more recent buildings are very fine. The government building facing the Hotel Orient on Rustaveli Prospect, for example, is an excellent attempt to draw inspiration from old Georgian styles, using native Georgian stone. Some of the other good modern buildings are the Tea Institute and the seat of the Coal Trust. An attempt is apparently being made to give the present buildings a more Georgian

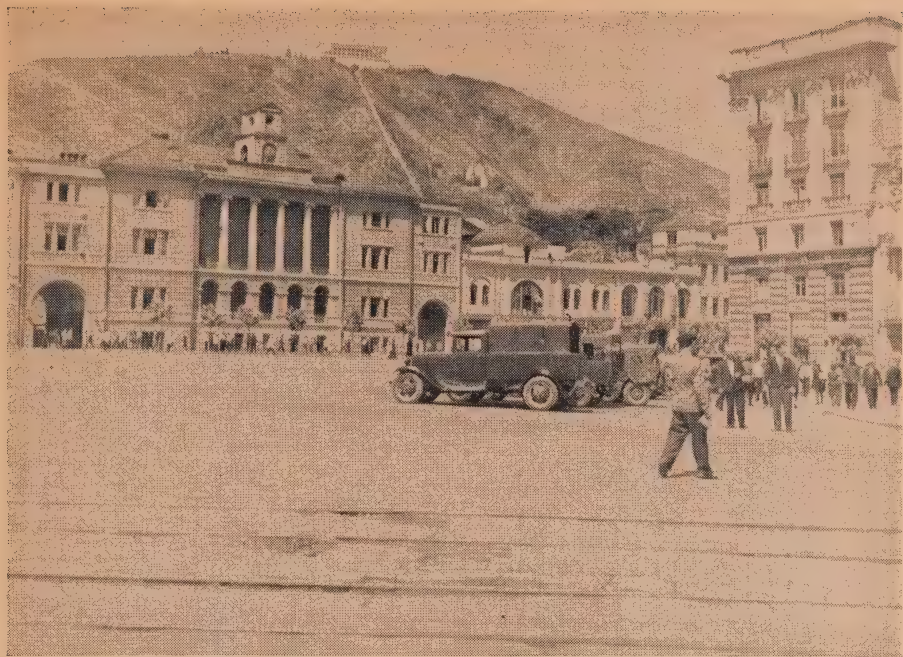
character and they certainly are far more distinct in their style than, for example, the Marx-Engels Institute put up about 1937.

Large Construction Programme

Apart from public buildings there is a great deal of construction going on. We examined the outside of the Railway Engineering Institute, which has just been completed, and several blocks of flats. Rustaveli Prospect, which is now a rather stylish avenue, is being broadened at its western end to extend all the way past the University to the outskirts of the city. At the far end of it there is a fine new park which blends very skilfully with the natural growth on a neighbouring hillside. The city is dominated by the modern pavilion and restaurant built about 1939, which is reached either by a funicular railway or by an excellent road which twists and turns up through the hills much like the highway to the top of Corcovado in Rio de Janeiro. The excellent maintenance of the road and the neatness with which it is lined by shrubs and flowers, makes it quite unique in the U.S.S.R. The building itself is not a great gem of architecture but it has a certain airiness about it. The restaurant is superbly situated on the edge of a terrace overlooking the whole city. We viewed it just at dusk and it reminded me of Florence seen from the Michelangelo Square—the Kura winding through the city, the red-tiled roofs, the domes of the many churches and in the distance the brown and green hills.

There is another side to the city, of course—that is the old town and the slums. Here the streets are narrow and cobble-stoned but the south seems to deprive them of that air of stark poverty which you find in the north. There is a distinctly oriental air about these quarters with their bazaars and little workshops open to the street. There seems to be a good deal of private enterprise going on in these small shops but I imagine most of them are controlled through *artels*.

The city is dominated by the old fortress of Narikara. While it was first built in the 5th century most of the present fort dates from the 15th century. It looks very much like the remains of a Norman



THE CITY OF TBILISI

The main square, Tbilisi. In the background, on top of the hill reached by a funicular railway, is the pavilion and restaurant.

castle in England or France and the walls are in a good state of repair. On the other side of the Kura River at a point where it rushes through a narrow gorge is situated the former royal palace and church of Metekhi. Most of the palace, apart from the walls, has disappeared, but the outside of the church is still in a fair state of preservation. The interior is closed, however, since it was used during the Tzarist regime as a prison and in fact it was here that Stalin was first incarcerated. The only other traces of Stalin's residence in Tbilisi are the house in the suburbs where he lived for a short time and operated a clandestine printing press, and the seminary where he studied for the priesthood.

The only other old building of great interest in Tbilisi itself is the Sionsky Cathedral which dates from the 7th century though a great deal of it was restored in the 11th century. Among other curiosities it contains the cross of St. Nina, the Greek merchant's daughter who converted the Georgian royal family to Christianity in 326.

The People

The Georgians are, of course, an entirely different race from the Russians and this is immediately obvious from the swarthy skins, black eyes and hair and lithe figures of both the men and women. One is almost in the sub-tropics here, and this is reflected in the light summer dresses of the women and the linen suits of the men, many of whom also wear a very sensible and rather attractive short coat of white linen or silk. Some of the younger men wear black sport shirts. The atmosphere on the streets is one of gaiety on the whole and wherever two or three Georgians are gathered together you can hear the ripple of conversation and laughter.

Tbilisi is a city of many races and while the Georgians of course predominate, there are also a great number of Russians resident in the city as well as Armenians, Jews, Azerbaijanians, Kurds (their women make a colourful figure as they still wear their national dress), Tartars and many of the other minor races of the Caucasus. When we took our trip on the Georgian

Military Highway we stopped at a spot in the Ossetian A.S.S.R. An Ossetian shepherd who was tending his flock came down to talk to our drivers. Curiously enough he preferred to speak in Russian to them rather than in Georgian. He looked quite different from the Georgians in race. His appearance was much like that of a North American Indian and he was taller in stature than the average Georgian. The Caucasus is, of course, one of the most extraordinary melting pots of races in the world and it was curious to identify the various peoples in the streets of Tbilisi.

The Environs of Tbilisi

One day we made an expedition to Mtskheta, the ancient capital situated about 20 kilometres away on the Black Aragvi River. It is a truly ancient town, its beginnings dating back to some 4000 years before Christ. On the hills near Mtskheta can be seen troglodyte caves of the Stone Age. However, the remains of the old city now date mostly from the 11th century though a church and fortress situated on one of the neighbouring mountain tops dates from much earlier. Sveti-tskhoveli, the cathedral of Mtskheta and the shrine of Georgian orthodoxy, was built around a chapel dating from the 5th century. The cathedral itself dates almost entirely from the 11th century. It is one of the most perfect architectural gems of Georgia and is a magnificently preserved example of the Georgian genius for building. From the outside it is not dissimilar to Romanesque churches of northern Germany, France or England. The octangular dome is distinctive, however, as well as some of the semi-heathen carvings on the sides of the church which were intended to explain graphically to the natives the significance of their change in religion. The cathedral is built within a large courtyard surrounded by an almost perfectly preserved 12th century fortress, the only portion of which has largely disappeared being the old royal palace. The interior of the church is extraordinarily tall with clean-cut lines and beautiful cupola and excellently preserved frescoes. It is interesting to note on many of the frescoes that the eyes of the saints have been gouged out of the stone, according to the guide, by the Mongols. The tombs

of most of the Bagratians, former kings of Georgia, are also located in the cathedral.

The other church of interest in Mtskheta is the Convent of Santauro which is older but has been restored more often and has not the same architectural interest as Sveti-tskhoveli. It contains the tombs of King Miriam and Queen Nana, the rulers of Georgia who were converted to Christianity and in turn converted their people. In the courtyard is the tiny house in which St. Nina is supposed to have lived.

On our way to Sveti-tskhoveli we were forced to take a long detour because of work being done on the highway. It proved rather interesting, however, as it took us through some typical countryside and through a "non-tourist" village. At first sight the village looked immensely old, the houses being solidly built of stone and seeming to grow almost out of the ground. The women wore exclusively black with snoods over their heads and a piece of cloth drawn up over their mouths. In one corner of the village was a waterhole in which a great number of water buffalo were cooling themselves in the mud. Half-way between this village and Sveti-tskhoveli is the tiny 5th century chapel of St. George, the patron saint of Georgia. Near it is a large statue of Lenin pointing symbolically to a hydro-electric power station on the Aragvi—the first to be built in Georgia.

Georgian Military Highway

I asked permission to travel on the Georgian Military Highway to Kazbek and back, a matter of about 350 kilometres. As the trip normally takes a minimum of 12 hours we left early in the morning taking food with us. The first part of the highway is asphalted and follows the valley of the Black Aragvi to the town of Pasanuri where it is joined by the White Aragvi. The difference is immediately noticeable since the waters of the former are of a definitely dark colour and of the latter quite white. We were already deep in the mountains by the time we reached Pasanuri and from then on the highway began to mount slowly, still following the valley of the river. By this time it was gravel and very narrow and at many places completely washed out. I noted at least six spots in



SVETI-TSKHOVELI

Sveti-tskhoveli, the cathedral of Mtskheta and the shrine of Georgian orthodoxy.

which water covered the road for a depth of a foot.

Perhaps 20 kilometres beyond Pasanuri the road suddenly began to climb very rapidly making some of the most hair raising twists and turns I have ever seen on a mountain highway. At one point near the top of the pass there is a sheer drop of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the river bed, no

barricade on the road and the latter only just barely wide enough for two cars to pass. As we were continually encountering buses and trucks I can only consider it remarkable that accidents are not more frequent. Added to this, our Georgian driver seemed to think it was his duty to reach Kazbek in the shortest possible time and the journey was anything but comfortable.

At the top of the pass, about 8500 feet up, we stopped to admire the mountain wild flowers and to breathe in the clear air. Around us were the snow-capped peaks of the Caucasian range and in the ditch by the roadside still lay great patches of snow. As we stood there a herd of sheep came down the steep mountainside watched over by an Ossetian shepherd who attempted to sell one of his lambs to our driver. Fortunately the deal fell through. All the way through the gorge we met Ossetians and other natives of the parts wearing the curious wool hats of the region—rather elegantly shaped hats made of waterproof wool. Further back we encountered many Georgians wearing their traditional dress and the heavy wool headgear which they cling to summer and winter.

Shortly after leaving the shepherds we started to descend on the other side of the pass. At one point a minor glacier had enveloped the road which was cut through the middle of it. The melting snow filled the road with about a foot and a half of water. The descent was much more rapid than the ascent and we were presently down in a valley quite unlike the country on the other side of the pass. It was barren and brown and with the tiny villages perched half-way up the mountainsides reminded me of the Bolivian Andes between Cochabamba and La Paz.

The town of Kazbek itself is small but very clean and neat, the mountains pressing right down almost to the back doors of the houses. We had our sandwiches in the local "traktir" from which we got a look at the snow-covered might of Mount Kazbek, 16,000 feet high. At its foot flowed the Terek, the river made famous by Lermontov, and by Tolstoy in "The Cossacks".

We had to leave this wild and romantic scenery all too soon in order to get over the mountains before nightfall. After another hair raising dash over the pass, complicated this time by a blinding rain storm, we took it more easily back down the valley, again stopping at Pasanuri for tea and reaching Tbilisi in time for a late dinner.

The Georgian military highway dates back to the early days of the Russian conquest and it is the only direct motor

communication across the central range of the Caucasus. Shortly beyond Kazbek the mountains come to an end and from there to the end of the highway at Dzau Dzhikau the scenery is quite uninteresting. The course of the road has been changed three times and we could see at various places where the original road had gone. A good deal of work is being done on the highway, and over the pass tunnels are being made to prevent the washing out of the road every spring, and to make maintenance of the highway a less formidable task.

Georgian Art

Before returning to Moscow I wished to see the museum of Georgian art which is now housed in the seminary where Stalin passed a short time as a student. More particularly I wished to see the treasures of the museum which are not open to the general public and contain a very rich collection of Georgian antiquities. Intourist arranged for us to see them and we were fortunate in having as our guide Professor Songo-Olashvili, a man of about 70 who has spent his entire life studying Georgian art. He received us very politely and proceeded at once to unlock the treasure rooms. The latter were for me a revelation of the richness of Georgian medieval and renaissance art. The beaten silver and gold work of the 11th century, the golden age of Georgian art, are the equal of similar work done two or three centuries later in England and France. One large piece of beaten silver representing scenes from the life of Christ reminded me somewhat of the doors of Ghiberti in Florence though if anything the Georgian work is finer in detail. One magnificent piece of solid gold work at least two yards by one and one-half yards in size is said to be worth seven million dollars. A pectoral cross belonging to the famous Queen Tamara is also practically invaluable. It has a curious inscription on the back proclaiming her both king and queen of Georgia in view of her tremendous power.

The museum reflects the rich and colourful past of this vigorous race which for so many centuries was an outpost of Christianity against successive waves of oriental invasions.

NATO's Common Infrastructure Programme

THE word 'infrastructure' crept into the jargon of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization some years ago, became accepted, and has been widely misunderstood ever since.

Definition of Infrastructure

A French railroading term used to describe the equipment required to operate a railroad in addition to the rails and rolling-stock, the word 'infrastructure' has been adopted by NATO as a general term applying to fixed installations required for the effective operation of military forces. The term includes both facilities which are not specifically of a military character such as roads and ports and those of a purely military character such as headquarters, airfields, signals communications facilities, troop accommodation, etc.

In NATO, infrastructure is described as "national infrastructure" or "NATO common infrastructure", depending on how it is financed. "National" infrastructure facilities are those required primarily or solely for the use of national forces and are constructed at the expense of the nation concerned. Included within this category are the main military construction programmes of all NATO nations.

"NATO common infrastructure" facilities are those required in addition to installations normally provided by individual countries for their own forces and which have been approved for common financing by the North Atlantic Council. They are constructed for the use of the several forces assigned to, or earmarked for, NATO's two Supreme Commanders (such as signals communications), or for assignment by the Supreme Commanders to the forces of one or more NATO nations (such as airfields). The cost of these common infrastructure facilities is being shared by all the NATO nations according to an agreed percentage contribution or "cost-sharing formula".

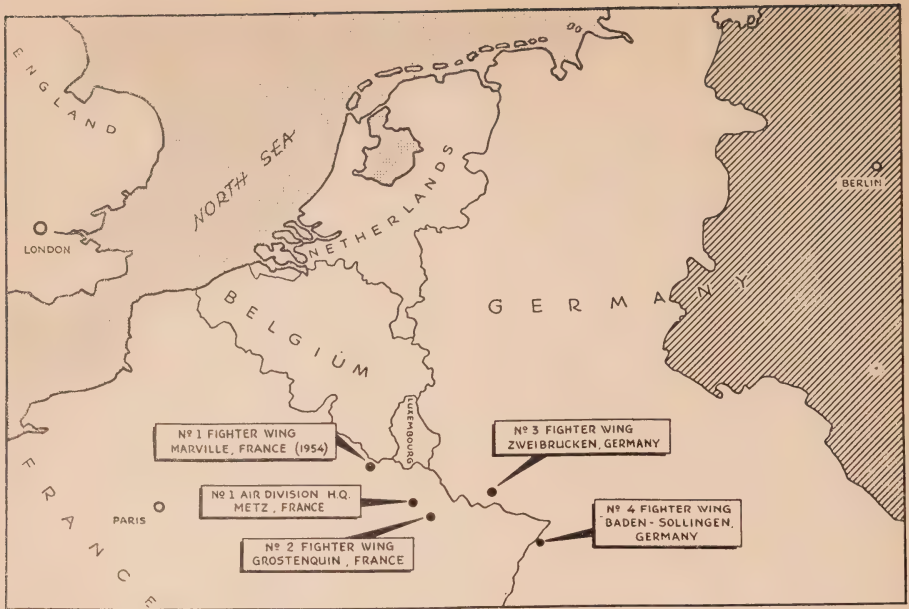
Most of the common infrastructure projects are being constructed for the

use of the forces assigned to SACEUR (Supreme Allied Commander, Europe) and are therefore located, for the most part, in Continental Europe. In Canada all defence installations would qualify as national infrastructure as no NATO common infrastructure installations have yet been located in Canada.

Member nations have pledged approximately \$1,900,000,000 for the cost of common infrastructure projects to be constructed by the end of 1957. Of this amount, Canada has agreed to contribute approximately \$116,000,000. The NATO common infrastructure programme is a significant development in the field of mutual co-operation. It should be pointed out, however, that the total cost of the programme, large as it may seem, represents but a small fraction of the total cost to member countries of their efforts for NATO common defence. For example, Canada's estimated contribution towards the costs of common infrastructure during the current fiscal year amounts to about three-quarters of one percent of its total defence budget for the same period.

Member Nations Bear Cost

By and large, the cost of NATO's defence effort is met directly by the member nations, as there is no NATO defence budget to which member nations contribute and from which the daily expenses of the forces assigned to SACEUR and earmarked for SACLANT (Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic) are met. Canada, for example, having agreed to contribute an Infantry Brigade and an Air Division of twelve squadrons to the integrated force under SACEUR, must provide in its defence budget for their operational expenses—food, fuel, equipment, ammunition, etc. Aside from the common infrastructure programme, only the costs of NATO's civil and military administration in Paris and at the various subordinate international military headquarters are financed in common.



Map of Western Europe showing the location of airfields at Grostenquin and Marville in France, and Zweibrücken and Sollingen in Germany.

The common infrastructure programme originated under the Brussels Treaty Organization with the five members of the Western Union Defence Organization (Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the U.K.) contributing, collectively, \$84,000,000 for the construction of airfields. This programme has since become known as the "First Slice" of NATO common infrastructure, although its costs have not been shared by the other NATO countries. At the Ottawa meeting of the North Atlantic Council in September 1951, NATO in effect took over the Western Union airfields programme and agreed to the financing of a "Second Slice" of common infrastructure, which included airfields and signals communications facilities. Agreement on the financing of the "Third Slice" was reached at Lisbon in February 1952 and on the first and second portions of the "Fourth Slice" at Paris in December 1952 and April 1953 respectively. Each succeeding "Slice" of the programme has been developed so as to dovetail with its predecessor and to permit additions and extensions in the future as required.

In April 1953, in order to eliminate the practice of negotiating a cost-sharing formula for each "Slice" and to facilitate

both financial planning by member governments and military planning by NATO military authorities, the NATO Council adopted a long term cost-sharing formula for application to the costs of additional "Slices" in 1954, 1955 and 1956. The contributions of member countries are, of course, subject to whatever legislative action is appropriate in each member nation for the provision of the required funds.

The NATO military authorities are responsible for recommending to the NATO Council, for its approval, infrastructure projects for common financing. The North Atlantic Council and its Infrastructure Committee, before approving projects, have to ensure that they are eligible for common financing, that is to say, that they are not projects which should be financed out of national funds. They must also ensure that the projects recommended meet the military requirements in the most efficient and economical manner and that full use is being made of national facilities. The actual construction of the common infrastructure facilities is the responsibility of the countries in which they are located, which are known as the "host countries".

A system of budgetary control over

expenditures has also been developed. Under this system, the "host country" must obtain approval for the commitment of funds from the Infrastructure Payments and Progress Committee before letting any contracts for the construction of individual projects. This Committee, which consists of representatives of all the member countries, must ensure that the cost estimates are sound and that the facilities are being constructed in accordance with agreed standards which have been developed for the various categories. Once commitment authority has been granted, the "host country" is able to go ahead with construction. For each quarter of the calendar year the "host country" concerned submits estimates of the expenditures it expects to incur during that period. The Payments and Progress Committee examines the estimates and when it has approved them requests each country to pay its share direct to the "host country". There is no NATO common infrastructure fund or bank account.

Economy Encouraged

As an additional means of encouraging economy and to accelerate construction, it has recently been agreed that within certain limitations competent firms from all NATO countries, and not just the "host country" concerned, should be allowed to submit bids for the individual projects. Finally, all common infrastructure accounts are subject to audit by a special NATO Board of Auditors. Aside from financial controls, final acceptance of a project by NATO is preceded by a physical inspection to ensure that it meets agreed standards.

The Council and its sub-committees on Infrastructure are assisted in their review of the projects submitted for approval and in their control of expenditures after approval, by a small staff of technical experts in the International Secretariat. All possible means have been adopted to ensure that NATO receives the best possible value for its common infrastructure dollar.

The major categories of common infrastructure projects approved for common financing to date are tactical airfields, a jet fuel storage and distribution system, and signals communications facilities.

Other categories include war headquarters, maritime airfields, naval bases, radar warning systems and radio navigational aids. A brief description of the first three categories is given below.

Tactical Airfields

Airfields generally received top priority in the first three slices of infrastructure. It was early realized that from a purely geographical defence point of view, air force operational requirements would necessarily demand greater efforts from certain of the member countries than they could reasonably be expected to undertake from their own defence budgets, and it was then that, in the interests of common defence, the idea of sharing this financial burden was born.

During the current calendar year, new airfields are being made available for the use of NATO air forces at a rate of rather more than one a week. Approximately sixty airfields were available at the end of 1952 and it is expected that at least 120 will be usable at the end of 1953. Of the 120 airfields, 90 are being financed by NATO nations as common infrastructure, while 30 airfields, located in Western Germany, are being financed out of occupation funds which are provided by the Germans to the occupying powers. These 120 airfields are in addition to national airfields already available or under construction. Two airfields in France included in the common infrastructure programme have been assigned to Canada: Grostenquin, which is already in use, and Marville, which is under construction. In addition, two airfields in Western Germany, Zweibrücken and Sollingen, have been assigned to the Canadian Air Division.

The airfields assigned to Canada and to other NATO nations under the common infrastructure programme, are built to minimum standards as defined by the military authorities for the operation of modern jet aeroplanes. Basic facilities which are commonly financed include runways, taxiways, dispersal areas, control towers, hangars, operational rooms, internal roads, etc. The host country provides, free of charge, the land (approximately 1100 acres), water supply, sewage, electric power and other essential

services to agreed minimum standards. The nations using the airfields are responsible for additional facilities, such as barracks, hospitals, messes, recreation rooms, chapels and utilities beyond the agreed minimum standards. The airfields in Germany have been financed entirely out of occupation funds.

Jet Fuel Supply System

With the introduction of jet aircraft, which have a high consumption of fuel, it became clear that a large reserve supply of jet fuel must be stored in the forward area near the tactical airfields to permit them to operate continuously, especially in the critical early days of an emergency. Provision has therefore been made for the forward storage of jet fuel in tank farms at strategic points, and for its distribution to the airfields by an integrated system of pipe lines. A high priority has been given to the construc-

tion of these facilities which involves the laying of approximately 2,000 miles of pipe.

Signals Communications

In order to provide for an immediate effective control of forces assigned to the Supreme Commanders, a considerable amount of additional facilities, over and above those existing or planned in national programmes, is required. Maximum use is being made of national civilian networks, but these have required substantial reinforcement to meet the heavy demands which would be made on them in an emergency. In addition, special projects are essential to some areas of particular military significance, to by-pass probable target areas, to provide "back-up" routes in strategic areas, and to link up lateral networks. Considerable progress has already been made in this field.



United Nations Day

Statement by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, on United Nations Day, October 24, 1953.

On October 24, 1945, the Charter of the United Nations came into force. This eighth anniversary of that momentous event has perhaps a deeper significance than any earlier milestone on what we profoundly hope will prove the path to peace.

With the signing of the Armistice in Korea, the organization which we honour today has met and overcome the first great challenge to the principles on which it was founded; it has justified in part at least the faith which brought it into being, and has helped to secure the peace which it was formed to protect.

While we may share in the pride of all the free peoples who together engaged in that arduous struggle, we must not forget that our responsibility continues. We must persevere in seeking an honourable peace, a just political settlement, and a generous measure of relief for the Korean people, and we must hope that our efforts in Korea may be a prelude to the solution of those

wider Asian problems which must be resolved if the world is to live in peace.

In the achievement of these ends lies our best opportunity to repay for their sacrifice those men of all lands who died for the cause of the United Nations in Korea.

In its attempt to deal with other grave international problems, the United Nations continues to command our respect and our firmest support. The work of its subordinate bodies in assisting the economic development of less developed countries, in combatting hunger and disease, in protecting the rights of minorities, and in promoting the peaceful extension of self-government to colonial peoples, shows slow but heartening progress.

I am sure it is the heartfelt wish of all Canadians that this progress may continue, and that, under the banner of the United Nations, mankind may move forward to that secure and lasting peace which is our common goal.

Canada and the United Nations

Eighth General Assembly—Progress Report

During its first five weeks, the General Assembly made good progress on its 73-item agenda. Among major issues on which action has been taken in plenary sessions or which have been completed by Committees are the following:

Elections

In plenary sessions, elections were held for the three Councils. The results were as follows:

Security Council: Brazil (56 votes) was elected as a replacement for Chile; New Zealand (48) to replace Pakistan, and Turkey (40) to replace Greece. Brazil and New Zealand were elected on the first ballot. It was not, however, until the eighth ballot in a succession of contests with Poland that Turkey secured the 40 votes necessary for election. The membership of the Security Council after December 31, 1953 will thus be as follows: United Kingdom, United States, France, China, U.S.S.R., Colombia, Denmark, Lebanon, Brazil, New Zealand and Turkey.

Economic and Social Council: Six new members were elected to ECOSOC. The votes they received were as follows (previous members shown in brackets): United Kingdom 47 (United Kingdom); U.S.S.R. 45 (U.S.S.R.); Ecuador 45 (Uruguay); Norway 42 (Sweden) and Czechoslovakia 42 (Poland); and Pakistan (Philippines). When these countries take their place after December 31, 1953, the composition of ECOSOC will be as follows: United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., Ecuador, Norway, Czechoslovakia and Pakistan—to December 31, 1956; Australia, India, Turkey, Venezuela, United States and Yugoslavia—to December 31, 1955; Argentina, Belgium, China, Cuba, Egypt, France—to December 31, 1954.

Trusteeship Council: India and Haiti were elected to the Trusteeship Council as replacements for Thailand and the Dominican Republic. The compo-

sition of the Council when these countries take office after December 31, 1953 will be: United Kingdom, United States, France, Belgium, Australia and New Zealand; China and the U.S.S.R.; and El Salvador, Syria, India and Haiti.

Morocco and Tunisia

The First Committee of the General Assembly completed its debate on Morocco and Tunisia. On Morocco, the Committee passed an amended Bolivian resolution by 31 votes in favour, 18 against and 9 abstentions. The resolution appeals for the reduction of tension in Morocco and urges that the right of the Moroccan people to free political institutions be insured. On Tunisia, the Committee passed an amended Arab-Asian resolution, by 29 votes in favour, 22 against and 5 abstentions. The resolution recommends that steps be taken to give the Tunisian people full sovereignty and independence. Canada voted against both resolutions. The two resolutions must now be taken up by the General Assembly in full plenary session.

Admission of New Members

There are at present 21 applications for membership outstanding, but not a single applicant has been admitted since Indonesia became the sixtieth member in September 1950. Little progress in this direction was made when this problem was up for discussion at the eighth session of the Assembly. In discussion of this item the *Ad Hoc* Committee had before it a Peruvian draft resolution for the establishment of a three-member committee of good offices empowered to consult with members of the Security Council and report back to the Assembly. The Soviet advanced a resolution calling for a "package deal" whereby the Assembly would request the Security Council to reconsider the applications of fourteen countries. This was an identical proposal to that submitted last year by Poland. The resolution was defeated last year.

The Canadian representative made a statement on October 6, the main points of which were as follows: Admission of members must not be achieved by circumventing the Charter. It would be a great step forward if all permanent members of the Security Council would agree to refrain from exercising the veto in connection with membership applications. It had been hoped that the Soviet would have changed its proposal concerning admission of new members, but the Soviet position this year was identical with that taken in other years. It would be almost impossible for Canada to accept Outer Mongolia as an independent state while excluding other states which were fully qualified. Canada would therefore vote against the Soviet resolution. At the same time, the Canadian Delegation would support the proposal for the establishment of the committee of good offices. Both in the Committee and in the plenary meeting, the Peruvian proposal received unanimous approval.

Treatment of Indians in South Africa

At last year's Assembly, a resolution was adopted establishing a Good Offices Commission to arrange and assist in negotiations between the Governments of South Africa, India and Pakistan, regarding alleged violation of human rights in the treatment of Indians in South Africa. It also called on the South African Government to suspend certain legislation affecting this matter. In May 1953, South Africa notified the United Nations that it had consistently held the Indian problem in South Africa to be a domestic question and consequently regarded the Assembly resolution as unconstitutional. It would therefore grant no recognition to the Good Offices Commission.

Protracted discussion of this item took place in the *Ad Hoc* Committee at the eighth session of the Assembly. A resolution was adopted by the Committee on October 27, 1953 under which it was decided to continue the Good Offices Commission and to urge South Africa to co-operate with that body. This resolution was approved by 38 in favour, 2 against, and 19 abstentions (including Canada).

In explaining the Canadian position, the Canadian representative stated that

Canada fully and whole-heartedly supported universal respect for the observations of human rights and fundamental freedoms and was greatly concerned at allegations that human values are disregarded anywhere in the world. In the past, he said, Canada had indicated grave doubt as to whether resolutions of this kind were within the competence of the United Nations. Also, the Canadian Delegation doubted the value of passing a resolution which seemed to have little chance of being put into effect. The Canadian representative said that the history of this question indicated that direct discussions might offer the only possibility of progress toward a settlement.

Continuation of UNICEF

On October 6, 1953, the General Assembly decided by a unanimous vote to extend the activities of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund for an indefinite period. The Fund thus becomes a permanent organization which will henceforth be called the United Nations Children's Fund although the symbol UNICEF will be retained. Canada was one of the nine countries which sponsored the General Assembly resolution in favour of the continuation of the Fund.

UNICEF was established in 1947 for the purpose of helping children in war-devastated countries. In 1950, it was authorized to undertake for a period of three years ending December 31, 1953 long-range welfare projects for needy children in under-developed countries.

The Canadian Government has contributed \$8,375,000 to the Fund since its inception and voluntary contributions in this country have amounted to more than \$1,500,000.

Technical Assistance

The four items relating to technical assistance on the Agenda of the current session of the General Assembly have already been disposed of in the plenary session.

The Assembly has passed a general resolution on the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for the Economic Development of Under-developed Countries. This resolution, which was adopted unanimously, endorses the Programme,



—United Nations

EIGHTH SESSION OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Mr. Andrei y. Vyshinsky, left, Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union to the United Nations, and Mr. L. B. Pearson, Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, chatting informally before a meeting of the current General Assembly of the United Nations. In the centre is Mr. Simyon K. Tsarapkin of the U.S.S.R.

and urges Governments to contribute for 1954 so that the Programme needs for that year can be met to the maximum extent possible, and in any event, so that the funds available shall not be less than the amount required to finance the 1953 Programme. The resolution also emphasizes the need for prompt payment of pledges and calls for a review of the administrative procedures being followed in the execution of the Programme. In addition, the resolution establishes a formula in accordance with which funds to be made available in 1954 will be divided between the various participating agencies.

The second resolution on technical assistance, unanimously adopted by the General Assembly, redefines the objectives and terms of reference of the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme, to embrace assistance in the field of public administration. The United Nations Technical Assistance Administration has for some time been provided assistance in this field, and the resolution brings this work formally within the scope of U.N. Technical Assistance activities.

Two additional resolutions on technical

assistance have been approved; the first gives authority for the provision of expert technical advice and other services to assist member states in promoting and safeguarding the rights of women. The second resolution provides for technical assistance in the field of the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities. Canada supported both these resolutions.

On October 28, the Canadian representative announced that the Canadian Government, subject to parliamentary approval, was prepared to increase its contribution to the 1954 expanded programme of technical assistance from \$800,000, as it was in 1953, up to a maximum of \$1,500,000 (U.S.). This increased contribution would be made if the support for the 1954 programme by other contributors warranted such action and if the total of the contributions was sufficient to make a reasonable and workable programme.

Social Questions

In the social field, the Assembly urged states to take all possible measures to develop the political rights of women,

including the rights of women in dependent territories. Considerable discussion centred on the programme of concerted practical action in the social field which was planned by ECOSOC in conjunction with the Secretary-General and the Specialized Agencies to give priority to projects that would yield early and permanent results and reach a maximum number of people. The Assembly in taking note of this programme requested ECOSOC to keep it under consideration with a view to its progressive improvement and to report on the progress achieved. The Canadian representative, in supporting the resolution, stressed that the role of the United Nations in the social field appeared to be one of guidance, encouragement and co-ordination. It was hoped that the programme would be given a reasonable chance to develop and not be subject to too many changes and alterations.

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees

From October 14 to October 20, the Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee considered the work of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. With the exception of the Soviet delegate, all speakers paid tribute to the work of the High Commissioner, Dr. G. J. Van Heuven Goedhart. At the conclusion of the debate, the Committee, by substantial majorities, adopted resolutions recommending the continuation of the High Commissioner's Office, which was established in December 1950, for another five years, and appealing to all governments "to intensify their efforts" on behalf of refugees. The Canadian representative warmly praised the work of the High Commissioner and gave full support to the Assembly's resolution on this subject.

Dependent Territories

The Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee debated questions relating to non-self-governing territories. In addition to a discussion of the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, attention was given to the question of what considerations should be taken into account in deciding whether

a territory had or had not attained a full measure of self-government. It also established a special committee to give more thorough study to this question and this committee submitted to the eighth session a somewhat modified list of factors. A resolution was adopted by the Fourth Committee on October 9, 1953, under which this list of factors, with further modifications, was approved, and it was recommended that it be used as a guide by the Assembly and by administering powers.

Although the Canadian Delegation was in favour of adopting the list of factors as submitted to the Assembly by the committee, the Canadian representative found it necessary to vote against the final resolution because he considered that the list of factors had been altered by the Fourth Committee without adequate study and that the resolution contained statements with which the Canadian Delegation could not agree. These statements were concerned with the basic question of where responsibility should lie for determining when a territory was no longer in the non-self-governing category.

Legal Questions

The General Assembly elected 15 new members of the International Law Commission. In regard to measures designed to limit the duration of the regular sessions of the Assembly, approval was given to certain amendments to rules of procedure which would require main committees of the Assembly to adopt their own priorities and to take into account the closing date fixed for the Assembly session, when arranging for completion of the items assigned to them. The Assembly voted to continue the functions of the United Nations Tribunal for Libya which was set up in 1950 to give advice and to settle disputes regarding economic and financial decisions of the Assembly in relation to Libya. After giving authority to the Secretary-General to invite certain non-members states to adhere to the convention on the political rights of women and urging all member states to adhere to the Genocide Convention, the Assembly voted to transfer to the United Nations the functions and powers exercised by the League of Nations under the Slavery Convention of 1926.

Canadian-U.S. Economic Co-operation Reviewed

REPRESENTATIVES of the agencies connected with defence mobilization in Canada and the United States met in Washington last month as the Canadian-U.S. Joint Industrial Mobilization Committee, on the invitation of Mr. Arthur S. Fleming, Director of Defence Mobilization. Mr. C. D. Howe, Canadian Minister of Defence Production, represented Canada at the session of the committee. Mr. Howe was accompanied by R. M. Brophy, Deputy Minister of Defence Production, T. N. Beaupre, and D. A. Golden, both Assistant Deputy Ministers of Defence Production.

The United States members of the Joint Industrial Mobilization Committee, in addition to Mr. Fleming, as Chairman,

were Secretary of Treasury, George A. Humphrey; Secretary of Commerce, Sinclair Weeks; Deputy Secretary of Defence, Roger Kyes; and Assistant Secretary of Defence (supply and logistics) Charles S. Thomas. The agenda of the committee included the reaffirmation of the principles for economic co-operation which was signed by the two countries in October, 1950.* This statement of principles proclaimed a mutuality of interests and resolved that the two governments would co-operate, where practicable, within the limits of their respective executive powers to achieve co-ordination

* (The statement of principles for economic co-operation mentioned above was published in "External Affairs", of November 1950).



—United Press

JOINT U.S.-CANADIAN INDUSTRIAL MOBILIZATION COMMISSION MEETS

Canadian and United States officials met in Washington on October 8 to discuss defence mobilization problems involving both countries. The group included, left to right, United States Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey; Canadian Minister of Defence Production, Mr. C. D. Howe; and United States Secretary of Commerce, Sinclair Weeks.

in the interests of common defence.

The committee agreed that:

- (I) The United States and Canada can better defend themselves and do justice to their worldwide commitments by viewing defence problems as continental rather than national.
- (II) The effective utilization of joint resources is fundamental to the joint defence and the economic strength of both countries.

In consequence, the committee reaffirmed the statement of principles for economic co-operation, signed by the two countries in October, 1950.

The consideration of the current problems of joint interest to the mobilization efforts of the two countries was followed by a discussion of the new problems of economic mobilization which confront both Canada and the United States, and for which, in many cases joint study and action will be needed.

United Nations Day

Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, as used on the CBC United Nations Day Television Programme, October 24, 1953.

Today, on this eighth anniversary of the coming into force of the United Nations Charter, the whole world will be observing United Nations Day.

The tribute to the United Nations which will be paid in many different ways in many different parts of our own country reflects the deep conviction that what the United Nations does—or does not do—is of vital concern to Canada and to every Canadian, as it is to peoples everywhere.

Eight years ago at San Francisco, Canada was proud to share in the task of drafting the Charter which has been our guide in these critical post-war years. All of us who were there were deeply conscious of the responsibility we shared for drawing up this blueprint for future peace.

We have, however, in the long and hard years since the Charter was signed, learned that it is easier to produce a blueprint than to build the structure for peace. The U.N. has had failures and disappointments. But it has also had its achievements, political, economic, social and humanitarian. The achievements should hearten us, and the difficulties become a challenge which should spur us to greater effort in the cause of international co-operation for peace and progress.

Nothing that has happened since the days of San Francisco has altered, or can alter, the fact that the principles of the Charter remain valid today as guides to international action. There are many these days who are discouraged and down-hearted about the United Nations. They should be discouraged instead about the state of the world in which the United Nations has to operate. One thing, however, we can say without qualification; that state would be worse if the United Nations were not there as a forum in which issues can be argued and solutions can be sought.

The main lesson which the world has to learn—and the time in which we have to learn it is short—is how to live with itself. This lesson can never be learned in a world of isolated national states where international anarchy reigns. It can be learned through co-operation for the maintenance of peace, for the common welfare, and for the defence of the rule of law, in the school of shared human and political experience which the United Nations provides.

So I know you will wish to join with me, on this United Nations Day, in pledging again our support for the principles and the purposes of the United Nations Charter, and the great cause of world peace which it is designed to serve.

Canada Co-operating in Technical Assistance Programmes

INTERNATIONAL programmes of technical assistance are designed to help under-developed countries help themselves by drawing on the skills and experience of the industrially and economically-advanced nations.

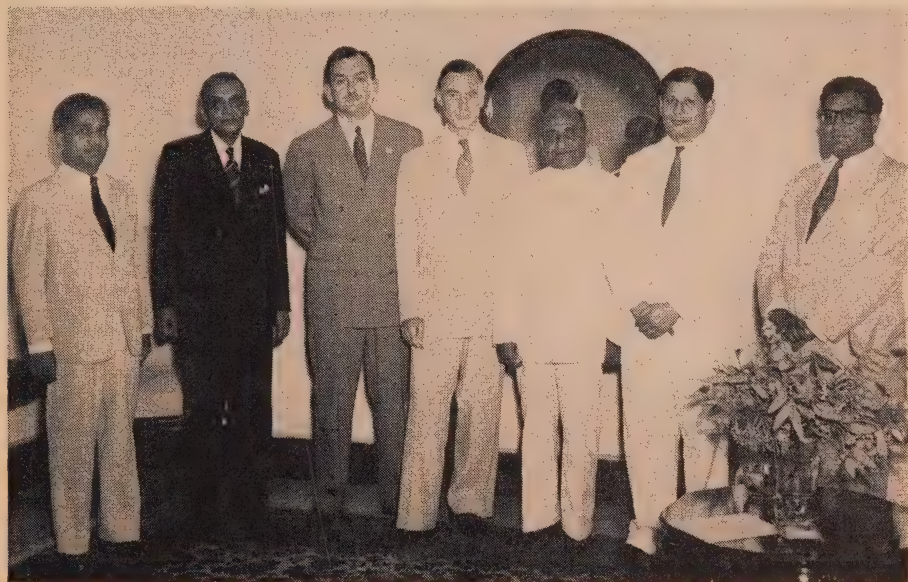
The ultimate aim is to raise standards of living in under-developed countries, many of which have great potential productive capacities. Canada has been playing an active role in international technical assistance programmes by providing training facilities in Canada for trainees and apprentices, and by sending Canadian teachers and instructors abroad.

Currently more than 100 technical assistance trainees are in Canada and approximately 100 Canadian experts are

serving abroad. Canadian industry is co-operating with the Government in providing posts for the visitors to Canada.

The two major technical assistance programmes in which Canada participates are (a) the United Nations Expended Technical Assistance Programme, and (b) the Programme for Technical Co-operation under the Colombo Plan for Economic Development in South and South-east Asia.

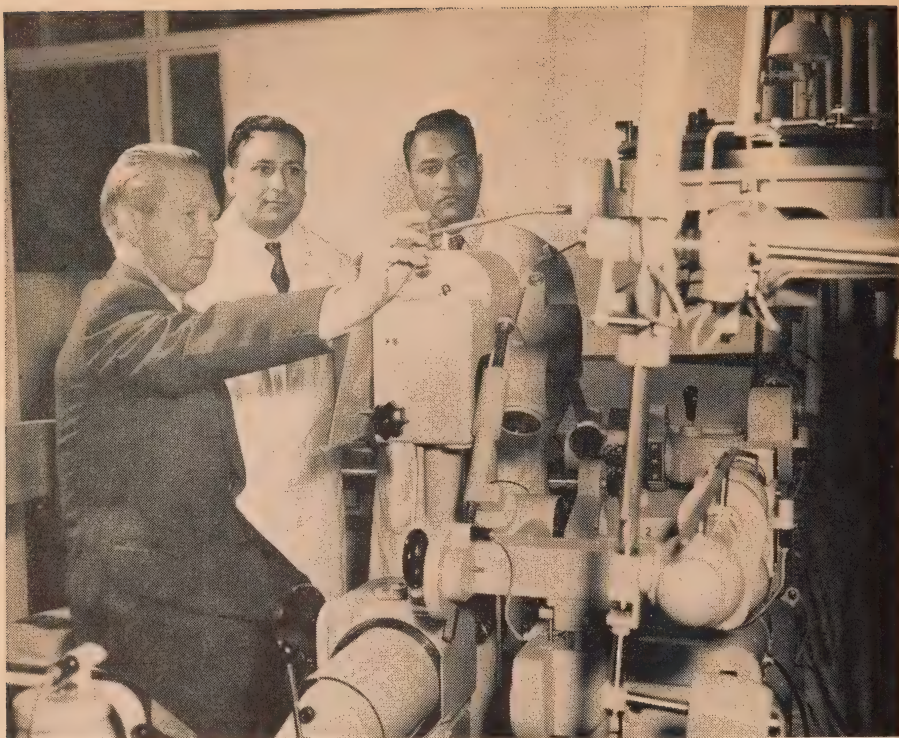
The United Nations Programme co-ordinates the activities of the U.N. itself and its Specialized Agencies under the general supervision of the Technical Assistance Board. Canada, as a member of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) until 1952, was a member of this body



—Government of India

CO-OPERATIVE MISSION LEAVES FOR CANADA

A four-man mission consisting of Mr. M. R. Bhide, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, and leader of the mission, Mr. R. Bhardwaj, Joint Registrar, Co-operatives Societies, U.P.; Mr. A. D. Shah, Principal, Co-operative Training Institute, Poona; and Mr. S. Bharose, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bhopal, proceeded to Canada recently under the Colombo Plan to study the formation and management of credit societies, and the co-operative marketing of agricultural products in small communities and fisheries. Before leaving India, the High Commissioner for Canada in India, Mr. Escott Reid, gave a luncheon in Delhi to members of the Mission; the Indian Minister for Agriculture, Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh, and the Canadian Minister of Fisheries, and leader of the Canadian Delegation to the Colombo Plan Meetings, Mr. James Sinclair, were also present. Left to right: Mr. Bhardwaj, Mr. Shah, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Reid, Mr. Deshmukh, Mr. Bhide and Mr. Bharose.



—Capital Press

SURVEY OF PAKISTAN OFFICIALS IN CANADA

Two officials of the Survey of Pakistan visit Canada under provisions of the Colombo Plan, and in connection with the Resources Inventory of Pakistan, receive instruction in the operation of the stereoplanigraph, used in aerial photography and photogrammetry, at the National Research Council, Ottawa. Left to right: T. J. Blachut, Chief of the Photogrammetric Research at the NRC; Said Hasan Khan; and Nazir Ahmed Qureshi.

and was thus able to assist in supervising this programme. Canada's annual contribution has averaged \$775,000.00.

The Colombo Plan Programme, drafted at a meeting of the Commonwealth Consultative Committee on South and South-east Asia in London in September 1950, assists in the economic development of that area by the provision of technical assistance. A bureau for Technical co-operation is responsible for co-ordination and administration under the general supervision of a council of member states. Canada has contributed \$400,000 yearly to this programme since 1950.

Apart from these programmes, most of the Specialized Agencies, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the World

Health Organization (WHO), provide technical assistance to under-developed countries as part of their regular budget and activities.

Assistance has already been extended on request in various forms: technicians and students from under-developed countries come to Canada under fellowship programmes; missions from abroad come to Canada to study the latest techniques or practices in the fields of planning, development or reconstruction, scientific research, public administration, health, social welfare, agriculture, industry, commerce and other productive activities; Canadian experts are despatched to advise under-developed countries on the subjects in which they are specialists. Equipment required for training or use by technical experts in the region also is being provided.

(Continued on page 331)

AN ADDRESS BY THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. ST. LAURENT

Made at the Canadian Shoe and Leather Fair, Montreal, October 12, 1953.

... Your industry was probably one of the first—if not the first—set up on this continent, for as early as 1671 it is recorded that Intendant Talon said “that he found in the Canadian industry all that was needed to clothe oneself from head to foot”.

We all know, too, that even before that time, the Indians, the first explorers, *coureurs de bois* and settlers were already skilled in the art of curing leather and in the manufacture of shoes, some models of which have scarcely changed since then which is surely a tribute to the skill of those early craftsmen.

As a Canadian born in this province and proud of the industrial development of Canada, I derive considerable pride from the fact that the commercial shoe industry was born in Quebec.

First Factory

The first shoe factory in Canada was, I believe, started on Saint-Vallier Street, in Quebec City, around 1859, by Guillaume Bresse, a shoemaker by trade. That city in due course became the centre of the Canadian shoe industry. And as you know that industry, once it was no longer restricted to the individual homes, has continued to keep pace with modern industrial techniques and by so doing has won an important place for itself in our national economy and even in our foreign trade.

It is not my intention to quote numerous figures, but I do wish to suggest that an industry such as yours, which employs some 20,000 people in 275 factories and has an annual income of approximately \$125 million, deserves the attention and interest which it has received from government.

That interest was evident from the very start of your industry, for in its infancy the government in power levied a 25 per cent tariff on shoe imports from the United States. That measure enabled the new industry to get established in Canada and to sustain the competition of shoe manufacturers of the New England States, who had got off to a head start in mass production, by applying the sewing machine which had been invented in 1846 by Elias Howe, a New Englander.

I hasten to add, however, that except in very exceptional circumstances, various governments have always adopted a “hands off” policy because of your obvious ability to look after yourselves.

As a matter of fact, even during the Korean war, when the situation became rather difficult and the American shoe industry was subjected to controls by the United States government, the Canadian government refrained from such measures, and I think you will agree that events have shown us to have been right.

It has been the belief of Canadian governments since Confederation and it certainly will be the practice of any government with

which I am associated, that, except in grave emergencies such as total war when all the national resources have to be marshalled for survival, government should not interfere in the affairs of a business as long as it is operating legally and is performing a public service.

However, this attitude does not mean that we take no interest in your industry and, indeed, all Canadian industry. We do take an interest but I hope it is an interest of assistance and not one of interference. For example, the Department of Trade and Commerce recently opened in Rockefeller Centre a pavilion where, during the months of May and June, shoe samples of some fifteen Canadian manufacturers were on display. I am told that this publicity not only created good will but aroused considerable interest among our neighbours in the capabilities of the Canadian shoe manufacturing industry.

Because of the sizeable volume of purchases of American-made shoes in Canada, I am sure that you will feel that we are justified in helping you find new outlets in that country in order to benefit from the vast market open there.

And, of course, Canadian commercial representatives in 39 countries of the world are both qualified and ready to give you all possible help and co-operation. One of their main duties is to make Canadian products known and accepted.

New Markets Sought

It is true that during the past few years, exchange problems have made trading operations very difficult, but let us hope that some way may be found to overcome those problems and gain new markets. Certainly our policy consists in doing everything within our power to increase multilateral trade and overcome currency exchange problems. The Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Howe, made that clear at the recent conference in Geneva on tariffs and trade agreements.

In the furtherance of that policy at this very moment, the Minister of Fisheries, Mr. Sinclair is on an extensive world tour not the least of the objects of which is to find larger markets for our fish products.

And recently, I was pleased to announce that our Finance Minister, Mr. Abbott, would be attending a conference of Commonwealth finance ministers in Sydney, Australia, next January where I have no doubt the means of solving finance and trade problems within the Commonwealth will be high on the agenda.

While my forthcoming visit to New Zealand, Australia, India, Pakistan and other nations of the Far East is not primarily a trade mission, I do hope that my conversations with leaders of those countries will better acquaint me with their problems in that field. And I hope that the knowledge I acquire can be put to good use in the interests of freer trade.

Of course, I need scarcely add that these efforts of my colleagues and of government officials which I have mentioned, are not expended solely for the benefit of the shoe and leather industry or for that matter for industry in general, but for the promotion of the well-being of all Canadians of all occupations.

There are few people in Canada today, even in industry where the die-hard high protectionist is becoming a rarity, who do not recognize that the less numerous the tariff restrictions and the greater the exchange of goods between nations the greater the prosperity for Canadians.

Benefits of Free Trade

Because we are the greatest trading nation in the world per capita we are perhaps more aware than most peoples of the benefits that freer trade can bring. And I do not think it is boastful to say that in working for a greater and freer exchange of goods between peoples we are not working solely in our own selfish interests but in the interests of all mankind. We know that a high level of trade means a higher level of employment and a high level of living. And we feel that in encouraging greater and freer international trade we are working for a better standard of living for all. This surely is a most effective antidote to the spread of Communism whose poison is ineffectual against an economy of prosperity in which all can realize that they have both a stake and a share. Surely that is the sanest way to restore stability to this unhappy world.

But we cannot expect nations who have suffered the devastations of war to give the lead. Leadership must be given by those nations who have escaped war damage to themselves and who have maintained a prosperous economy. Canada is one such nation and I am confident that the Canadian people are accepting their responsibility. But it is a responsibility which cannot be shouldered by 15,000,000 people alone. It must be shared by the people and the governments of other nations who are as well-off as ourselves.

President Eisenhower stressed that responsibility the other day when he was speaking to the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, which had met in the White House to lay plans for the study of trade and tariff problems.

The President told the group: "The economic health of our own country and that of other friendly nations depends in good measure on the success of your work. Your task is to find acceptable ways and means of widening and deepening the channels of economic intercourse between ourselves and our partners of the free world."

"It is essential", the President added, "that we develop new markets for our great productive power and at the same time assist other nations to earn their own living in the world."

I know that the people of Canada and the free world appreciate those words of our good friend and his efforts to bring about freer trade.

Much generosity, in fact generosity unprecedented in international history, has been shown since the war to relieve the sufferings of homeless people and to help rebuild homes and factories which had been destroyed. I wonder, however, if that generosity may not be wasted if those nations are not permitted to help themselves by offering for sale in the markets of the world the products of their rehabilitated skills and their restored factories. "Trade, not aid", is their cry, and it is a cry that cannot be ignored if we are sincere and wise in our efforts to see that our friends and allies do not go under.

Now, from the point of view of the shoe and leather industry and all industry, the promotion of trade is only one aspect of the relationship between government and industry. You pay taxes and they of course are imposed by governments at all levels. You are subject to certain regulations covering the working conditions of your employees and these are government regulations. You are not permitted even if you wanted to do so, to combine and impose monopolistic prices on your customers, and that, too, is the result of action of government.

These are but a few examples of where government does influence your business. But I think it is fair to say that in all such instances, government has the right and the duty, even in a system of free enterprise, to act in the interests of the community at large.

A healthy economy must have some sign posts such as those I have mentioned to mark the differences between anarchy and civilized society. And there may even be time of great emergency when roadblocks may have to be erected to prevent any sector of the economy from speeding into disaster.

Controls Imposed

During the last war, the government felt it necessary to place many controls and restrictions on business and industry. I was a member of that government and I don't apologize for what was done in an effort to equalize the sacrifices our people as a whole had accepted as their duty.

But when the war was over steps were taken to reduce those controls, not all at once for that would have been disastrous, but gradually and as smoothly as possible in order to facilitate the adjustment of our industry, which had so greatly expanded during the war, to a peacetime economy.

We were anxious to remove those controls because we believed that industry and business can give a better service to the community when government intervention is kept to a minimum.

In this respect I am in agreement with the policy declaration formulated by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce meeting at Edmonton recently. What the Chamber said about business applies equally as well to industry. The declaration read in part:

"The attitude of business and government towards one another are of vital importance. The Chamber believes that government con-

trols and intervention in business should be kept at a minimum, and should only occur where there is a clear need to protect some accurately defined public interest."

It was gratifying to learn of the Chamber's approval of the relationship between business and government expressed in the same declaration and I hope that the Chamber and industry will be able to repeat these same words in future years: "The Chamber believes that the existing relationship between business and government in Canada is something that is unique in the world, and valuable and worth keeping. To this end, the Chamber urges that business should refrain from looking to government for the solution of its problems and difficulties, and that government should refrain from imposing on business both the concrete burdens of restrictive taxes and the intangible burdens of a managed economy. Both Canadian business and Canadian government have adopted and accepted a system of private competitive enterprise, and the support of that system is a basic and sufficient principle for the guidance of both members of this unique Canadian partnership".

Because Canadian business and industry are serving the Canadian public so well, I am confident the Canadian people will never elect a government which would attempt a managed economy.

Taxes, not only on business and industry but also on personal incomes had to be high to pay for the high financial impositions of war. And because high taxation was restrictive on enterprise, both individual and corporate, they were reduced after the war as rapidly as possible.

They remain higher than they were in 1939 but that is because we have greatly expanded social security measures which I think are acceptable to most Canadians, and because

we have had to assume a higher burden of defence costs than before the Second World War. Our military alliance under the North Atlantic Treaty has called for a very costly build up of armed forces and equipment, but already we appear to be receiving dividends in the apparent lessening of the menace of communist expansion both in Europe and in Asia.

Despite these costly obligations, Canada has succeeded in expanding her industrial power and in maintaining an economic stability which is admired by many nations of the world.

And I hope that you will agree that the industrial expansion, which is benefitting all classes of society would not have been so great nor so rapid without the friendly relations which prevail between the government and industry.

Like all Canadian businessmen and public men, you probably wonder what will be the economic and business conditions for your industry during the next few years.

Not being a prophet nor an economist, I will venture to say only that I feel optimistic and have every reason to believe that you too can feel hopeful.

I am hopeful that the changes in the meteorological and the economic climate in the next few years will not be so drastic as to make footwear either unnecessary or unattainable. Certainly, if our population continues to increase at its present rate there will be many more customers who, like the baby of the ballad, will need new shoes.

And I will not be making too rash a promise, I think, if I assure you that the government will treat your industry much better than Emperor Maximianus treated St. Crispin, your patron saint.



CANADA CO-OPERATING IN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMMES

(Continued from page 328)

In September 1953, about 123 technical assistance trainees were in Canada. These came from 25 countries including: India (71), Pakistan (20), Ceylon (4), Burma (1), Thailand (1), Indonesia (1), Cambodia (1), Nepal (1), Japan (1), Australia (1), Egypt (1), Lebanon (1), Iraq (1), Jordan (1), Israel (1), Nigeria (1), French Togoland (1), Brazil (1), Bolivia (1), Venezuela (1), Mexico (1), British Guiana (1), Virgin Islands (1), Haiti (5), and Finland (1). Thirty-four of these

trainees came to Canada under the Colombo Plan Technical Co-operation Programme.

At present, about 25 Canadian experts are serving abroad in Ceylon, Malaya and Pakistan under the Colombo Plan. About 75 others are with various United Nations agencies.

The Technical Co-operation Service of the Department of Trade and Commerce co-ordinates Canadian participation in the technical assistance field.

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The Catholic Church and the race question by Reverend Father Yves M.-J. Congar, O.P. (The Race Question and Modern Thought). Paris 1953. Pp. 62. 40 cents.

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(b) Mimeographed Documents:

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Committees of the International Labour Organization (bilingual). April 1953. Pp. 93.

*Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax, McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, page 36.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Visit of President Eisenhower to Ottawa

CANADA'S capital extended a warm welcome on November 13 and 14 to the President of the United States and Mrs. Eisenhower.

Travelling from Washington by train the visitors were welcomed at the border by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, and Mrs. Pearson, and the United States Ambassador to Canada, Mr. Stuart, and Mrs. Stuart. The Governor General and the Prime Minister greeted the Presidential party on arrival in Ottawa. The Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Heeney, and Mrs. Heeney; the Delegate of the United States to the United Nations, Mr. Lodge, and Mrs. Lodge, and the assistant to the President, Mr. Sherman Adams, were included in the party. Approximately 40 United States press, newsreel, radio and television representatives from Washington were aboard the Presidential train.

Highlights of Visit

Highlights of the visit included the laying of a wreath by the President at the National War Memorial; a dinner and reception at Rideau Hall, residence of the Governor General; an address by the President to members of the Senate and the House of Commons in the Parliament Buildings;* a meeting by the President with members of the Cabinet, and a dinner and reception given by the President and Mrs. Eisenhower at the United States Embassy. This was the first occasion on which proceedings in the Commons Chamber were televised and broadcast.

Three observations contained in the President's address to the Canadian Parliament were outstanding. They were:

"The free world must come to recognize that trade barriers, although intended to protect a country's economy, often in fact shackle its prosperity. In the United States there is a growing recognition that free nations

cannot expand their productivity and economic strength without a high level of international trade. . . ."

"Joint development and use of the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes waterway is inevitable, is sure and certain. With you, I consider this measure a vital addition to our economic and national security. Of course, no proposal yet made is entirely free from faults of some sort. But every one of them can be corrected, given patience and co-operation. . . ."

"You of Canada and we of the United States can and will devise ways to protect our North America from any surprise attack by air. And we shall achieve the defence of our continent without whittling our pledges to Western Europe or forgetting our friends in the Pacific. . . ."

Joint Communiqué

Following is the text of a joint communiqué issued on the conclusion of President Eisenhower's visit:

"During the course of President Eisenhower's state visit to Canada, the Prime Minister of Canada and members of the Canadian Cabinet had an opportunity of having informal discussions with him on matters of mutual interest to the United States and Canada. The President and the Prime Minister last reviewed some of these questions when the Prime Minister visited Washington last May.

"Views were exchanged on recent developments in the world situation and on measures which might bring about a relaxation of current international tensions. It was agreed that all efforts for peace and improved world conditions being made by the United Nations or elsewhere should be supported and the necessity of maintaining the strength, unity and determination of the free world to resist aggression was fully recognized.

"The President and the Prime Minister agreed on the importance to the

* Texts of the address by the President and an address of welcome by the Prime Minister are published on page 356.



—Capital Press

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER VISITS OTTAWA

The President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, right, waving goodbye as he leaves Ottawa after a two-day visit. On his right is the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent.

free world of healthy national economies and of the expansion of world trade on a multilateral basis. Satisfaction was expressed at the recent establishment of a joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs. The importance of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project was emphasized, and there was full

agreement on the urgency of initiating the first phase—construction of the power project in accordance with arrangements which already have been made between the two governments.

“In discussing the means of strengthening the security of the free world, the importance of collective arrangements under the North Atlantic Treaty

Organization was emphasized, including the special responsibility of the United States and Canada for building up the defences of this continent. There was complete agreement on the vital importance of effective methods for joint defence, especially in the light of evidence of increasing technical capability of direct attack on both countries by weapons of great destructive power.

"Co-operation on joint defence matters had its origin in the Ogdensburg Agreement of 1940 which established the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. In 1947 the two countries issued a joint statement which set forth the

principles and methods by which co-operation would be continued and strengthened. The full respect of each country for the sovereignty of the other is inherent in these principles. These principles are equally valid today when Canada and the United States, recognizing that the defence of North America must be considered as a whole, are undertaking further efforts for their joint security. The arrangements for collaboration which have proved satisfactory over the years provide a firm basis on which to carry forward the close relationship between Canada and the United States in matters of common defence."



Joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs

The Department of External Affairs announced on November 12 that the Governments of the United States and Canada had concluded an agreement establishing a Joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs. The agreement was effected by an Exchange of Notes between the Canadian Ambassador in Washington and the United States Secretary of State on November 12. The Canadian members of the Committee will consist of the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Ministers of Finance, Trade and Commerce and Agriculture or Fisheries. The United States members will be the Secretaries of State, the Treasury, Agriculture and Commerce.

The suggestion that a joint committee of this type might be established was

originally made during the visit of the Prime Minister to Washington last May. Both governments have recognized that the free world is vitally interested in promoting a healthy flow of international trade. The activities of the Joint Committee will constitute one aspect of the efforts of both countries in promoting satisfactory trade relations on a multi-lateral basis throughout the free world.

The Joint Committee which will meet at least once a year alternately in Washington and Ottawa will consider broad questions affecting the harmonious economic relations of the two countries. After receiving reports of the Joint Committee's work each government will have an opportunity to consider measures to improve economic relations and to encourage the flow of trade.

The Philippines

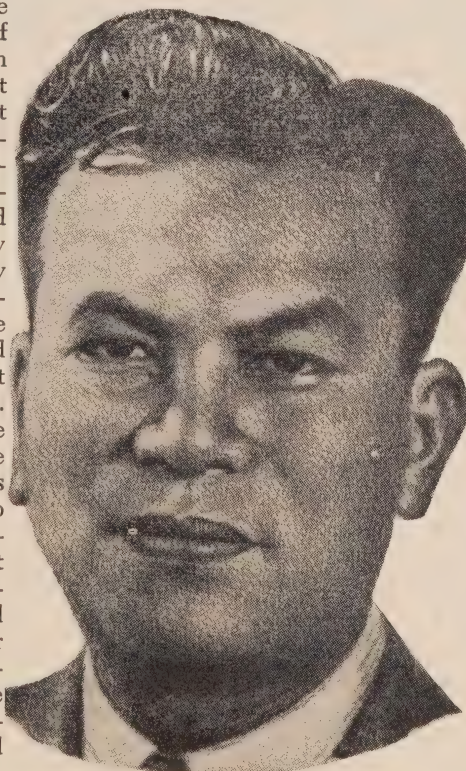
THE elections which were held in the Philippines on November 10, 1953, resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Nacionalista-Democratic coalition led by president-elect Ramon Magsaysay. They mark the end of a seven-year period of government by a Liberal administration which had been in office since the inauguration of the independent Philippine Republic on July 4, 1946.

The majority of the five million registered voters responsible for the victory of the new president also elected all but a few of the coalition's candidates for the House of Representatives. The way to the Nacionalista victory was paved by the sudden formation of a coalition against the ruling Liberal Party of President Quirino. On March 1, 1953, Mr. Magsaysay announced his resignation from the post of Secretary of National Defence in the Liberal Cabinet over a disagreement on the method of dealing with the Communist-led "Huk" movement. This provided the Nacionalista party with the opportunity of supporting an incorruptible candidate whom they would have found difficult to defeat. Carlos P. Romulo, Philippine Ambassador to the United States, was recalled to Manila to strengthen the Liberal ranks. He was not pleased with the situation which he found on arrival and, after breaking with President Quirino at the Nomination Convention, he announced on May 27 the formation of the Demo-

cratic party. Not quite three months later he announced his decision to withdraw from the three-man presidential contest and pledged his party's support to Mr. Magsaysay. The campaign and subsequent election were noteworthy for the peaceful manner in which they were conducted in a country which has often been referred to as the "show-window of Democracy in the Far East".

For the Islands' citizens it was a symbolic act in the realization of their long-sought-after goal of independence and self-government. In a part of the world where the force of nationalism has found such powerful expression since the Second World War, the Philippines can claim an active nationalist movement which played an important role in obtaining the sur-

render of Spanish control of the islands to the United States. Subsequently, nationalists continued to press for complete independence as a natural development of "Commonwealth" status in association with the United States. The names of the Filipino patriots, Rizal, Bonifacio and Aguinaldo, have an honoured place along with Bataan and Corregidor in the history of Philippine resistance. The comparatively short time which has elapsed in the successful struggle for independence is witnessed by the fact that Emilio Aguinaldo, the nationalist leader who aided Admiral Dewey in the capture of Manila during the Spanish-American War, is still



President Ramon Magsaysay

alive. In 1898, he returned from exile in Hong Kong to head the first provisional government and, with the help of Felipe Calleron, drew up a Constitution, which was promulgated in January 1899. With such a record of nationalist activity, the Republic can be justly proud of its present position as a sovereign nation with a democratic responsible government.

The Land and People

Lying between the Tropic of Cancer and the Equator, the Philippine archipelago consists of some 7,000 compactly grouped islands. Only some 500 of these have an area of 1 square mile or over and of these the eleven principal islands contain 94 per cent of the total population. The two largest, Luzon and Mindanao, account for over two-thirds of the country's total area of 115,000 square miles.

Its strategic location some 700 miles off the coasts of China, Indochina and Indonesia adds greatly to its interest today. Farther away, Tokyo and Darwin are some 2,000 miles to the northeast and southeast of Manila, and Guam and Singapore lie approximately 1,500 miles to the east and southwest respectively. Closer at hand to the north, Formosa is only 230 miles from the northern tip of Luzon. Covering an area about half the size of the Province of Manitoba, the Philippines has a population recently estimated at over 20 million. The population has more than doubled since the end of the First World War. Fortunately, however, with the development of the natural resources, with which the Philippines are richly endowed, and with the improvement and expansion of cultivation, the country will be able to adequately support an even greater number.

Physical Characteristics

The salient physical characteristics of the archipelago are: the rugged and irregular features of the islands, providing a coastline twice as long as that of continental United States; the mountainous character of the country, with ranges generally following the coast; the fertility of the soil and the absence of any number of great rivers. The heavily forested mountain ranges which alternate with valleys or plains contain a number of

active and dormant volcanoes. In many places the mountains fall off sharply into the sea and great depths are found bordering the archipelago. The greatest known ocean depth in the world, known as the 'Philippine Deep', is located only 45 miles to the east of northern Mindanao. In spite of the fact that the Philippine Islands lie entirely within the tropic zone the climate is only mildly tropical. The average temperature at Manila is 80°F. rarely exceeding a rise or fall of 20° from that average. With this restricted range there are only two pronounced seasons—the wet and the dry. The former, which lasts from June to November, is known for its heavy rains and sometimes destructive floods. In some regions, a rainfall of 250 inches annually has been recorded. The most agreeable period in the Philippines is from December to March while April and May are the hottest months. In the higher mountain altitudes, the air is cool and bracing and, even in the hot season, sunstroke is unknown. Generally speaking, the island climate is more healthy and comfortable than most inhabited tropical areas.

When Magellan discovered the islands he called the land "Saint Lazarus". They were subsequently renamed, however, and they bear their present name in honour of Prince Philip of Asturias who later became King Philip II of Spain.

A Homogeneous People

The Filipino people, who are of Malay origin with widely diffused Chinese and Spanish characteristics, undoubtedly owe their homogeneity in part to their insular position. Religion is obviously another important unifying force since nine-tenths of the population is Christian. Seventy-nine per cent of the inhabitants are members of the Roman Catholic Church while a further ten per cent belong to the Philippine Independent or Aglipayan Church founded in 1902 by Bishop Aglipay. This body whose primary aim is to be a National Church, closely resembles the Roman Catholic Church in ritual. It permits its ministers to marry, however, and holds modern science to be superior to Biblical tradition. In the south there is also a Moslem minority numbering some three-quarters of a million. Over a hundred Can-



adian missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church are engaged in missionary work in the Philippines.

Because of the influence of American trusteeship, particularly in the field of education, the Philippines holds a unique position in the Far East. It is the largest English-speaking nation in the region, of non Anglo-Saxon origin. It is estimated that English is spoken by over seven million Filipinos, giving it a slightly greater currency than the most widely spoken native dialect. As early as 1940, President Quezon approved a law which became effective on Independence Day, (July 4, 1946), making *tagalog* the official national language of the Republic. English, however, is still used as the medium of instruction in all schools but *tagalog* is also taught and Spanish is obligatory in the high schools. Instruction in public schools is free and co-educational on the American pattern. The state-supported University of the Philippines was established in 1909,

and the Dominican University of Santo Tomas dates back to the early Seventeenth Century (1611).

Economic Situation

In a predominantly agricultural economy, the principal heritage of Spanish rule is possibly the landholding system. The pattern of large holdings and a high proportion of rural tenancy is considered as one of the principal challenges facing the nation today. The increase of productive efficiency with an attendant rise in incomes, which must govern the standard of living, depends largely on a satisfactory solution of the land problem. The main pre-war export crops were sugar, copra, abaca (fibre) and tobacco. At that time the first three of these represented 70 per cent of total exports. Metals such as gold, manganese and chrome were also important items.

The export of such products as minerals,

raw materials and food stuffs is typical of the specialized economy of a dependent country, catering to a large single market. Like Canada, the Philippines has made considerable efforts to diversify her economy so as to reduce the degree of dependence on a few principal exports at the mercy of world market prices. As in Canada too, there is a large demand for investment capital to advance industrialization and the development of natural resources.

It was recognized that the achievement of sovereignty, although a necessary prerequisite to political and economic development, must not be considered a panacea for all existing difficulties. Political independence required a sound economic foundation to ensure stability. With this in view, the President of the Philippines requested the appointment of a United States Economic Survey Mission to consider economic and financial problems and to recommend measures necessary to resolve them. The summary of this investigation, referred to as the Bell Report, was presented on October 9, 1950. It outlined the outstanding economic problems and stressed the urgent need for positive remedial measures to place the economy of the country on a sound and equitable foundation.

Findings of Economic Survey

The principal headings under which the survey presented its findings were: agricultural policy, industrial development, taxation and public administration. The fundamental problem was considered to be the need to increase productive efficiency and thereby incomes, and to increase also the diversity of industrial production. Basic programmes in the field of agriculture, upon which more than three-quarters of the population are dependent, also envisaged the opening up of new land for cultivation, a revision of the land registration system and the organization of agricultural banks to advance necessary credit to farmers. The high percentage of crop revenues demanded from the tenant by the land-owner has often resulted in the over-burdening of the farmer with heavy accumulating debts. The existence of such debts and the desire of the Filipino peasant for his own land has provided fertile soil for Communist organizers.

The "Huk" Movement

The Communist-led Hukbalahap (Huk) movement centred in the overcrowded "rice bowl" of central Luzon draws its support from the disaffected peasants. The origin of this armed movement was the organization of the "People's Anti-Japanese Army" during the Second World War. This force, which was later renamed "The People's Liberation Army", challenged government control in many areas. Even drastic military action proved to be ineffective in suppressing all guerrilla activities. Louis Taruc and Dr. Jesus Lava are the movement's two most prominent leaders. It was as Secretary of National Defence that Magsaysay, in his insistence that the Huk situation should be an economic and social problem and not simply a military and security problem, won widespread favour and national recognition. An important feature of this programme involved the opening up of new land for agriculture in Mindanao for the resettlement of both army veterans and surrendered Huks. In June 1952, it was announced that about 9,000 had given themselves up during the past two years and credit was given to the Army programme of providing those who surrendered with 30 acre plots of land.

Tydings-McDuffie Act-1934

It was the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, known as the Philippine Independence Act, which marked the inauguration of the "Commonwealth". It defined economic relations between the United States and the Philippines during this period and provided for a Constitutional Convention which would draft a basic law for the future Republic. Of equal importance, though less spectacular than the political provisions, were the economic arrangements set out in the Act. Free trade was to continue during the first five years, but a quantitative limit was set on the amount of goods enjoying such treatment. Exports of sugar, coconut-oil and cordage in excess of the set quota were to be subject to full parity rates. All United States exports on the other hand were to enter duty free. For the following period products were to be subject to an export tax increasing by 5 per cent each year until complete independence was achieved in July 4, 1946

when full United States tariffs were to be paid.

Philippine Trade Act-1946

After liberation, the Philippines, which had suffered greatly from the devastation of war, faced problems of relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction. Generous American aid was forthcoming but it was linked with the controversial Philippine Trade Act. The most disputed provision was probably the 'Parity or Equal Rights Clause', stating that Americans were to have equal rights with Filipinos in business and in the use of natural resources. While desirous of encouraging capital and industry to their country, representatives, concerned with national sovereignty, felt strongly that basic development and the control of natural resources should remain in the hands of Filipino nationals. It was feared that one of the results of the Act might be to restrict the diversification of Philippine production to conform to United States markets.

This Act provided for reciprocal free trade until July 3, 1954, with subsequent 5 per cent annual increments in duty until January 1953 when full duties on all exports were to be paid. For seven categories of important Philippine exports, (sugar, cordage, rice, cigars, tobacco, coconut-oil and buttons of pearl and shell) entering the United States, however, these preferential arrangements were limited by quotas. An escape clause was also inserted for protection against any article likely to come into substantial competition with a similar American product. It was this Act which also provided for the maintenance of the exchange rate of two pesos to one United States dollar and guaranteed convertibility.

After lengthy debate, the Trade Act was accepted, since there was a strong desire to obtain the maximum amount of immediate benefits through rehabilitation grants and an unwillingness to further delay the date of Philippine independence.

Political Development

In the political sphere the Constitutional Convention set up under the terms of the Tydings-McDuffie Act drafted a basic law which bore a certain resem-

blance to the United States Constitution. It provided, however, for a unicameral rather than a two-chamber legislature and both the President and Vice-President were to serve a 6 year term of office. It was approved by President Roosevelt and ratified by the Philippine electorate in 1935. It was amended five years later to provide for both an upper and lower house and the term of the Chief Executive was reduced to four years. A centralized form of government was adopted to suit the needs of the country in contrast to the federal structure in the United States. Congress was to consist of a Senate composed of 24 members elected at large for a four year term with one-third replaced every two years. The House of Representatives was to contain not more than 120 members elected by districts every four years. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, suffrage was restricted to literate male citizens of the Philippines who were 21 years of age or over. In a later plebiscite on female suffrage the women enfranchised themselves by an overwhelming majority. Voting is limited to men and women who can read and write.

The political scene was dominated from the time of the first Philippine Assembly in 1907 until the party division in January 1946, by the Nacionalista Party. So strong was their influence under President Quezon that in the 1938 elections the Nacionalistas won in every one of the ninety-eight Assembly constituencies. Again in 1941 President Quezon was re-elected with Osmena as Vice-President and ninety-five out of ninety-eight seats in the lower house and all twenty-four places in the Senate went to the Nacionalistas. The total number of registered voters in 1941 was only 1,700,000. The emphasis on Philippine independence had been responsible for a large part of Nacionalista strength. By 1946, with political independence a reality, increasing concern began to be paid to the economic foundations of the Republic.

The following year, imports which had grown to three and one-half times the pre-war peak value, were twice the size of exports, and eighty-five per cent of them came from the United States. Coconut products and abaca alone accounted for

over ninety per cent of the value of all exports. The unfavourable balance of trade and dependence on a few products was most striking.

Inauguration as a Republic

After the party division of January 1946, President Osmena, who had succeeded to the presidency upon the death in the United States, of Manuel Quezon in August 1944, ran for re-election under the original Nacionalista banner while the newly-formed Liberal party nominated Manuel Roxas for President and Elpidio Quirino as Vice-Presidential candidate. Roxas, who had remained in the Philippines during the occupation, was elected on April 23, 1946 by a margin of some 200,000 votes. The Liberals won a two to one majority in the Lower House and 13 of the 24 places in the Senate. It was the new Roxas Government which was in power on July 4, 1946 when the new Philippine Republic was inaugurated.

The sudden death of Roxas on April 15, 1948 placed Elpidio Quirino in the President's office. In the turbulent election campaign of 1949 the Nacionalista party backed Jose P. Laurel who had acted as President of the Philippines during the Japanese occupation. In a three-cornered election, in which all candidates approved continuing close association with the United States and expressed opposition to Communism, President Quirino won by a narrow margin over Jose Laurel. Opposition protests concerning the legality of the elections in which considerable violence occurred, combined with an armed 'Huk' rebellion, were a serious challenge to the government which, in addition, found itself faced with an economic crisis. An encouraging feature was the frank discussion of all these affairs in the press. The 1953 election, although a complete reversal for the government in power, was notable for the absence of irregularities and disturbances. Ramon Magsaysay's decisive victory may be said in part to have been due to the popularity of his resistance record, his energetic but farsighted humanitarian handling of the disaffected Hukbalahap peasants, and his performance in ensuring free elections in 1951,

even though results were detrimental to his own party.

International Relations

Canadian relations with the Philippines have been of a cordial nature following the establishment of the Independent Republic on July 4, 1946. A Canadian Consulate General was opened in Manila in January 1950 when Mr. Frederick Palmer was appointed Canadian Trade Commissioner, concerned with the promotion of Canadian trade and Canadian Consul General with the responsibility for Canadian residents in the Philippines. In 1950, Canadian exports to the Philippines including such articles as wheat, copper, asbestos and fish, amounted to nearly 11 million dollars. By 1952 the value of Canadian exports had risen to \$16,045,000.

On the international scene, the Philippines position has been characterized by the Republic's continued support of the United Nations. Like Canada, she regards the United Nations, of which she was a founding member, as the cornerstone of her foreign policy. The Philippine Ambassador to the United States, General Romulo, served a distinguished term as President of the fourth General Assembly. The Philippines is a member of all the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) and has just completed a term on the Economic and Social Council.

Responding to the call of the Security Council in June 1950 for collective action in repulsing Communist aggression in Korea, the Philippines was one of the sixteen nations which contributed an armed contingent to serve with the forces of the United Nations. In line with the concept of collective security, which they have demonstrated by participation in the Korean conflict, they assert that a more positive global approach to the problem of Communist aggression is needed. Philippine leaders, with their successful record against communism at home and their long tradition of nationalism, may be considered well qualified to represent the aspirations of the independent nations of Asia.

Canada and the United Nations

General Assembly

During the past month, most of the work done by the eighth session has been in committee. Occasional plenary meetings have been held to approve or reject resolutions sent forward by the committees. Accounts of the debates on items discussed in committee follow.

Trieste in the Security Council

After the United Kingdom and United States Governments announced on October 8 that they planned to withdraw from Zone A of Trieste and hand its administration over to Italy, the Soviet Union requested the President of the Security Council to call a meeting to discuss "the question of the appointment of a Governor for the Free Territory of Trieste". The Soviet Delegation introduced a resolution to that effect on October 15.

On October 20, the Security Council adopted a Latin American proposal to adjourn consideration of the Trieste question for two weeks in order to allow time for the efforts being made by the United Kingdom, United States and France to bring about a Five-Power Conference on Trieste. On November 2, the adjournment was extended for a further period of three weeks, until November 23, because discussions were still in progress by the parties concerned about the basis for convening a Five-Power Conference.

Tunisia and Morocco

With the failure of the two resolutions sent forward by the First Committee on the Moroccan and Tunisian questions to gain the required two-thirds majority in plenary session, the protracted debate on the problems of Tunisia and Morocco came to an end. The dilemma which lay at the heart of the debate was one which the United Nations has had to face in a number of situations; that is, the apparent conflict between those provisions of the Charter which provide for the protection of human rights, for the prevention of racial discrimination, and for the

development of self-government in dependent territories, and the provision which precludes intervention in the domestic affairs of states.

In the debate on Tunisia and Morocco, the Arab-Asian states based their case on the human rights provision of the Charter, while France and certain other states denied that the United Nations was competent to concern itself in what they held to be a purely domestic matter. The Canadian Delegation again maintained the view that a distinction should be made between "competence to discuss" a given problem and "competence to intervene" in the domestic affairs of a member state. The Delegation stated that, in the absence of a decision by the International Court of Justice, it would use its best judgment in determining whether any resolution on Tunisia and Morocco constituted an intervention prohibited by Article 2(7) of the Charter.

The Canadian Delegation's general position on the Tunisian and Moroccan resolutions was one of abstention. It was considered that the resolutions might generate ill-will, and would not fulfil the requirement of recognizing the necessity of maintaining a proper balance between the commitments of France and the claims of the local populations for a greater measure of self-government, and that they therefore should not receive our support. On the other hand, they were not cast in terms so objectionable as to oblige Canada to vote against them.

In the Canadian view, tension in North Africa can best be eased by direct negotiation, and it was thought that if the United Nations could not bring the parties to the dispute together, it should at least do nothing to aggravate the situation by passing resolutions which would



—United Nations

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES TO THE 8th GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Four of the five Canadian representatives to the current United Nations General Assembly are, left to right, Dr. G. F. Davidson, Deputy Minister of Welfare; Mr. L. B. Pearson, Chairman of the Delegation; Mr. Alcide Cote, Postmaster General; and Mr. David M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

cause ill-will. With the rejection of this year's resolutions by the full Assembly, the stand of the United Nations with respect to Tunisia and Morocco remains as it was at the close of the seventh session.

Chinese Nationalist Troops in Burma*

On April 23, 1953, the seventh session of the General Assembly unanimously condemned the presence of "foreign forces in Burma", declared that these forces must be disarmed and either agree to internment or evacuation, and requested Burma to report on the situation to the eighth session of the Assembly. As a result of the Assembly's deliberations, on May 25, 1953, representatives of the United States, Thailand, Burma and Nationalist China met in Bangkok to discuss the withdrawal from Burma of the Chi-

nese Nationalist troops under General Li Mi's command. On June 22, 1953, the United States Ambassador to Thailand announced that agreement had been reached on procedures for the evacuation of the Chinese Nationalist troops. However, the "jungle generals" indicated no willingness to implement this agreement. On September 17, these four-power talks broke down, after the Burmese presented the Chinese delegate with a final "ultimatum". Finally, on October 29, the Joint Military Committee in Bangkok issued a press release to the effect that the Republic of China had given assurance that about 2,000 foreign troops together with their dependents would be evacuated from Burma; that any foreign forces refusing to leave Burma under this plan would be disavowed and that China would not help those remaining with any supplies.

In accordance with the April 23rd

* See "External Affairs", May 1953, p. 163.

resolution, on October 31, 1953, the First Committee began discussion of the fourth item on its agenda, that of the Burmese complaint against the presence on its soil of Chinese Nationalist troops. The discussion began with statements from the representatives of Burma and China. The Burmese delegate, Mr. Justice U Myint Thein, said that Burma regarded the evacuation of 2,000 men as a first settlement and that Chiang K'ai-shek and General Li Mi were morally bound to remove the whole 12,000 Kuomintang (KMT) troops. The Burmese delegate did not submit any new resolution but called upon the Assembly to implement "the mild resolution which the seventh Assembly in its wisdom adopted". The Chinese representative, Dr. T. F. Tsiang, said that the figure of 2,000 was not intended to be an upper limit and that Nationalist China would not coerce any one unwilling to go to Formosa.

Canadian and U.K. Statement

On November 2, an effective speech was delivered by the United Kingdom delegate, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, who pointed out that even the stopping of supplies to the KMT forces would not solve the problem as the Nationalist troops have ample funds through the illegal traffic in opium and wolfram. In a statement made on November 4, Mr. Alcide Côté, the Deputy Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, recalled that his Government had last spring expressed its opinion that the Burmese Government was in an "intolerable position" and had shown admirable restraint in waiting so long to bring the matter before the United Nations. He expressed gratification at the proposed evacuation of 2,000 men, but agreed that this did not constitute a complete solution of the problem and that China had "a moral duty at least to disarm the remaining forces". Mr. Côté suggested that the Committee might affirm that the resolution still stood, and expressed the hope that Burma would be able to report "at an early date" that the resolution had been "satisfactorily implemented".

After the Canadian statement, the United States delegate, Mr. Archibald J. Carey, announced on November 4 that the evacuation of the Chinese troops

from Burma was about to get under way. The troops were to be flown to Formosa in non-stop flights from Thailand, and Burmese observers had already left for the airport from which these flights were to commence. Debate on this Burmese item was concluded for the time being on the forenoon of November 5, after statements by India, Burma and China. The Canadian Delegation then formally moved the resolution for an adjournment of any further consideration of this question to a date not earlier than November 23. This postponement would allow time for the United States to implement the resolution of last April by carrying out their present evacuation plans. By a vote of 50 in favour, 3 against (China, Lebanon, Syria), with 6 abstentions (Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, United States, Yemen), the First Committee adopted this joint draft resolution which was co-sponsored by Australia, Brazil, Canada, India, Mexico, New Zealand and the United Kingdom. In explaining his abstention, Mr. James J. Wadsworth (United States) indicated that his Government wanted to remain available for any service it could render to the two countries concerned and did not wish to impair its usefulness to that end. At the time of writing, however, few soldiers have been evacuated.

Bacteriological Warfare

Since May 1951, Soviet bloc countries have vigorously pressed charges that the United Nations forces waged bacteriological warfare in the Korean campaign. Throughout 1952 a virulent propaganda campaign along these lines was maintained. Four efforts were made by the Western powers to initiate impartial investigations, but these efforts were rejected by the governments promoting the charges. At its seventh session the Assembly appointed a five-member Commission to investigate the charges, but the North Korean and Communist Chinese authorities were unwilling to accept the proposed investigation.

At the eighth session, the United States presented texts of sworn statements of United States military personnel repudiating the so-called "confessions" of bacteriological warfare and stating that



—United Nations

SOCIAL, HUMANITARIAN AND CULTURAL COMMITTEE

There are three women on the Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee, Dr. Uldarica Manas (Cuba), left, Madame Lina P. Tsaldaris (Greece), and Mrs. A. L. Caldwell (Canada).

these "confessions" had been extorted under duress. The Soviet Union representative submitted a proposal asking the Assembly to appeal to all states which had not done so to ratify the Geneva Protocol of 1925 on the prohibition of bacteriological warfare. This was obviously aimed at the United States, since that country and Japan are the two major countries which have not ratified this protocol. Mr. Alcide Côté, the Canadian representative in the First Committee, spoke on October 28, 1953. He said it had been hoped that "all the infected fleas, feathers and flies concocted by the imaginations of the Communist psychological warriors would have been allowed to return in peace to the limbo of the tortured brains that bore them". With the return of those whose so-called "confessions" were presented to the Assembly, however, a new side of the picture emerged. It showed the techniques of "brain-washing" followed by those whose purpose is to put the political objectives of an all-powerful state first

and foremost. If there had been any substance to the charges, he added, the Communists would have welcomed an impartial investigation. A resolution was submitted on October 28, 1953, co-sponsored by the United Kingdom, Canada, Colombia, France and New Zealand, under which the draft resolution of the U.S.S.R. would be referred to the Disarmament Commission along with the record of discussions. This resolution was approved in the First Committee by a vote of 47 in favour (including Canada), with none against and 13 abstentions (including the five Communist representatives).

South-West Africa

Debate on the second of three items concerning South Africa passed the committee stage last month with the approval by the Fourth Committee of a resolution on South-West Africa. By the terms of this resolution, which awaits final approval by the General Assembly,

a committee will be set up to continue negotiations with the South African Government with a view to reaching an agreement on a new international instrument defining the status of South-West Africa and the responsibilities of the South African Government with respect to South-West Africa. Canada supported the resolution.

This trust territory was first mandated to the Union of South Africa under the League of Nations in 1920. Since 1950, a committee of the General Assembly has been negotiating with the Government of South Africa with a view to securing an agreement on a new international instrument to replace the old mandate. The basis for this proposed instrument is an advisory opinion of the International Court, which, in the Canadian view, while not legally binding, is nonetheless an authoritative pronouncement of international law which should be accepted.

Pending final agreement on the proposed instrument, the committee established by the Assembly resolution will examine reports and information concerning South-West Africa as well as considering any petitions from the territory that may be referred to it.

Non-Self-Governing Territories

There is no clear definition in the United Nations Charter of what constitutes a "non-self-governing territory" and because of this, a number of difficulties have arisen in the past several years in connection with the obligations which member states administering non-self-governing territories have accepted under Chapter XI of the Charter. These difficulties have come in for attention at the eighth session of the Assembly under the following three agenda items which have been dealt with in the Fourth Committee: Item 32—Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories; Item 33—Report of the Committee on Factors; and Item 34—Cessation of Transmission of Information. In the early days of the United Nations administering states voluntarily put forward lists of territories under their control which they considered came under Chapter XI of the Charter and on which they agreed to transmit information. The stage was

reached some time ago, however, when certain administering states decided to stop transmitting information on the grounds that these territories had ceased to be non-self-governing, at least in regard to the specific fields on which information was to be transmitted (i.e. economic, social and educational conditions). Consideration was given at the eighth session to the decision of the Netherlands to cease transmitting information with respect to the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam, and to the decision of the United States to cease transmitting information on Puerto Rico.

It has always been the Canadian view that it is to be expected that non-self-governing territories will normally advance towards self-government by stages and that, at a given time, they will reach a stage at which administering powers in fact no longer exercise effective practical control over the social, economic and educational matters on which information has been submitted. As Canada indicated during the debate on the question of factors, the obligation of the administering power to submit such information would, at that stage, come to an end. This has been the frame of mind of the Canadian Delegation in examining the documentation submitted by the United States on Puerto Rico and by the Netherlands with regard to the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam. The Canadian Delegation has pointed out that this does not, however, remove the obligation of the administering powers to continue to encourage the progress of a non-self-governing territory towards full self-government in other fields.

Seven Power Resolution

On November 5, 1953, the Fourth Committee adopted, by a vote of 22 in favour to 18 against (including Canada), with 19 abstentions, a seven-power resolution approving the discontinuance of information on Puerto Rico. Canada voted against this resolution largely because of the inclusion of a paragraph recognizing expressly the competence of the Assembly to decide when an administering power should cease transmitting information. In the Canadian view, the administering powers are within

their rights in making the decision as to when they should cease to transmit information about territories under their control. A resolution similar to that on Puerto Rico was passed in the Fourth Committee previously, relating to the decision of the Netherlands to cease transmitting information about the Antilles and Surinam.

Revision of Charter

It is stipulated in Article 109 of the United Nations Charter that a proposal to call a conference to review the Charter will be considered during the course of the tenth session if such a conference has not previously taken place. In view of the possibility that such a conference will be held, a number of member states of the United Nations, including Canada, have felt that some preparatory work is desirable. Several proposals were put forward at the eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly. The Canadian Delegation co-sponsored a resolution, in company with five other delegations, which received the approval of the Sixth (Legal) Committee of the Assembly on November 5, 1953, although it was

reduced somewhat in scope when the final voting took place.

As it stands now, the resolution passed by the Sixth Committee calls upon the Secretary-General of the United Nations to prepare during 1954 or shortly thereafter;

- (a) a systematic compilation of the documents of the United Nations Conference on International Organization not yet published;
- (b) a complete index of the documents of that Conference;
- (c) a repertory of the practice of the United Nations organs, appropriately indexed.

Two paragraphs of the original six-power resolution were eliminated in the final voting in the Sixth Committee, but there is a possibility that these will be restored when the question comes up for final disposition in a plenary session of the Assembly. Under these paragraphs, member states would be invited to submit their preliminary views not later than March 31, 1955, with regard to the possible review of the Charter, and the Secretary-General would be requested to circulate these views to all member states.



St. Lawrence River Joint Board of Engineers

The Department of External Affairs announced on November 12 that the Governments of the United States of America and of Canada have concluded an agreement for the establishment of the St. Lawrence River Joint Board of Engineers.

The purpose of this four-man Board is to review, co-ordinate and approve the detailed plans and specifications of the power works and the programme for their construction in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River. The Board is also to ensure that the construction of the power project is in accordance with the requirements already approved by both Governments and the International Joint Commission.

The Agreement, which is now in force, is contained in an Exchange of Notes signed at Washington today by General Bedell Smith, Under-Secretary of State, and by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. A. D. P. Heeney.

In anticipation of this Exchange of Notes, the Canadian Government appointed on November 10 the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, and Mr. R. A. C. Henry, Consulting Engineer, to be the representatives of Canada on this Board. On November 4, 1953, President Eisenhower appointed the United States Secretary of the Army and the Chairman of the Federal Power Commission to represent the United States. Members of the Board may be represented by alternates.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

Speech from the Throne

DELIVERING the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the First Session of the Twenty-Second Parliament on November 12, the Governor General said, in part:

. . . . This is a time when, if peace is maintained, we have every reason to look forward to the continuing development of this prosperous and happy nation.

The coronation of our beloved Queen was an occasion for universal rejoicing. Her devotion to duty, her personal charm and her happy family life have assured Her Majesty of a warm place in the hearts of all her subjects and have strengthened our attachment to the Crown and to the traditions of our constitutional system of government.

Following the legislation enacted during the last Parliament, the changes in the Royal Style and Titles have been proclaimed by Her Majesty.

Much remains to be done before there can be a permanent and durable peace in the world. My Ministers therefore consider it would be unwise for the free nations to slacken our efforts to build up and maintain the necessary strength to deter aggression and they intend to continue to work to that end.

Armistice in Korea

We have every reason for satisfaction that through the use for the first time of collective police action the objective of the United Nations in Korea has been substantially achieved. The aggressors have been driven back, the fighting has ceased and an armistice has been concluded. My Government earnestly hopes that a political conference will ultimately succeed in restoring peace in Korea.

Canada has continued to contribute to those international projects which will promote human welfare and thereby remove some of the causes of unrest and dislocation. You will be asked to approve

further assistance for relief and rehabilitation, for technical assistance and for continued participation in the Colombo Plan.

The alliance of the North Atlantic nations has been effective thus far in preventing aggression in Europe. My Government continues to regard the Treaty as one of the foundation stones of Canada's external policy. The formation of the air division of the Royal Canadian Air Force in Europe is now completed. The Brigade group of the Canadian Army is performing its role effectively in the integrated force. Canadian naval strength is increasing.

Canada's total volume of external trade has reached record levels. But dollar shortages in many countries have persisted and continue to create problems for some of our exporters. Another Commonwealth conference with respect to financial and economic matters is to be held in Australia early in the New Year.

Tariff concessions negotiated at Geneva in 1947, at Annecy in 1949, at Torquay in 1950 and 1951 under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade have been extended for an additional period.

My Ministers are convinced that nations can best achieve economic strength and security through more liberal trade and overseas investment policies and they are continuing their efforts to bring about the progressive reduction of trade restrictions.

Power Development

. . . The New York State Power Authority has accepted a licence granted by the Federal Power Commission in the United States for the development of the United



—Capital Press

THE OPENING OF THE 22nd PARLIAMENT

His Excellency the Governor General, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, leaving Government House on his way to the Parliament Buildings to open the first session of the 22nd Parliament.

States share of power in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River. It is hoped that litigation in the United States will not have the effect of delaying the construction of the project.

... You will be asked to make provision for all essential services including our national defence and the meeting of our obligations under the United Nations Charter and the North Atlantic Treaty ...

Statement on Gouzenko Interview

On November 25, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, replying to two questions regarding the second request by a sub-committee of the Judicial Committee of the United States Senate for permission to interview Mr. Igor Gouzenko, said:

Naturally the Canadian Government has given careful consideration to the second request, as it did, indeed, to the first one, having regard to the responsibilities that had been assumed and the special arrangements that have been carefully built up over the past several years for the safety of Mr. Gouzenko and leading to the development of a new identity; arrangements which

would obviously not be effective if that new identity became public knowledge.

Mr. Gouzenko, as the House knows, has been given the rights of Canadian citizenship. He is therefore at liberty at any time to discuss any question that he may wish with anyone either in Canada or the United States and either confidentially or otherwise. It is, however, Mr. Gouzenko's own responsibility to determine the effect of any such discussions on the preservation of his new identity, and consequently on his safety. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police have naturally done a great deal to assist Mr. Gouzenko in building up this identity so that the safety of Mr. Gou-

zenko and his wife and family could be assured without the limitations on their physical freedom that constant guarding might involve.

Mr. Gouzenko has certainly earned the right to this special consideration and assistance as well as to our gratitude by his great services to freedom and the risks he has taken on its behalf. While Mr. Gouzenko then is free to determine his own actions without outside influence, the United States request seems to envisage that the Canadian Government itself should make arrangements for an interview or take the responsibility of making Mr. Gouzenko available for questioning by the subcommittee of the United States Senate which I have just mentioned. The Canadian Government, of course, fully appreciate the importance of the closest possible co-operation between the Canadian and United States Governments in exchanging information important to the national security of both countries. It has therefore long been our practice, and remains our practice, that security information should be exchanged on a confidential basis, which should be respected on both sides, between the competent authorities responsible for the internal security of our two neighbouring countries.

In accordance with this principle all information which Mr. Gouzenko has at any time presented to the Canadian Government has been placed at the disposal of the responsible United States authorities as it became available. Moreover, facilities are and always have been extended to these competent United States Government authorities to clarify any point arising out of any of Mr. Gouzenko's evidence or information at any time they may wish to do so.

Access to Information

The Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington, therefore, has always had access to Mr. Gouzenko's special knowledge as and when requested. We have been glad to have for years a liaison officer of the FBI in Ottawa, just as there has been an RCMP officer in the same capacity in Washington. Mr. Gouzenko has in fact been interviewed

on a number of occasions on behalf of the FBI, the latest occasion being in August, 1950. In the circumstances therefore I think it is true to say that the benefits of Mr. Gouzenko's special experience with and knowledge of Soviet intelligence organizations and their work have always been made as fully available to the competent United States authorities as to the RCMP itself. That has been the situation since 1945 and it remains the situation now.

The material secured in this way by the FBI includes information which was not made public in the Report of the Royal Commission on Espionage because such information dealt with activities by non-Canadians outside Canadian territory. I emphasize this point . . . because the second United States request that the Government make Mr. Gouzenko available for questioning by the United States Senate subcommittee quotes the chairman of that subcommittee, Senator Jenner, as attaching significance to the fact that the Royal Commission Report did not mention evidence by Mr. Gouzenko that he had heard that an unnamed assistant to the United States Secretary of State was a Soviet agent.

Information made Available

But this particular piece of evidence, as all other parts of Mr. Gouzenko's evidence and information was made available to the United States security authorities as it became available to us. Our Royal Commission, it will be recalled, made a very thorough investigation in secret as a result of which prosecutions were launched, and where those prosecuted under the law were found guilty they were punished, and if found not guilty they were released from custody. I think it would not have been proper, however, for the Canadian Royal Commission or the Canadian Government to have made public so serious an allegation against an unnamed official of a friendly Government. It seemed obvious to us that in accordance with our normal practice in these matters such an allegation should first be investigated by those competent to do so. However, the Canadian Gov-

ernment, the Canadian authorities, did pass this testimony confidentially, and I think the House will agree that this was the correct course, to the responsible United States officials.

Now . . . in addition to these full facilities which I have mentioned and which have always been available to the FBI, the United States Government in May, 1949, requested the Canadian Government to arrange for a confidential interview between Mr. Gouzenko and representatives of the Immigration Subcommittee of the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary for the specific purpose of questioning Mr. Gouzenko in relation to certain stated aspects of immigration procedure.

1949 Interview

The Canadian Government at that time was assured by the United States Government that if this request were granted the evidence, taken from Mr. Gouzenko would be kept secret unless the Canadian Government should agree to its release. Under these circumstances, and under these conditions, the Canadian Government then agreed to the United States request, and two members of the staff of the United States Senate subcommittee, to which I have just referred, did come to Ottawa and interviewed Mr. Gouzenko in the presence of a member of the United States Embassy and representatives of the RCMP.

The conditions at that time, 1949—they do not seem to be the same now because of the publicity given to this matter—made it possible without too much difficulty for this inquiry of Mr. Gouzenko to be arranged and carried on without the public attention which might, in its turn, have prejudiced Mr. Gouzenko's safety status in this country. I have looked at the evidence again recently, and the questions at this inquiry were not limited to the specific subjects for which the interview had been requested. Of course, we are making no complaint about that. However, nothing beyond the information which Mr. Gouzenko had already made available to the Canadian authorities, and which we made available also at the

time to the United States authorities, emerged from this 1949 questioning. In other words, this questioning produced no intelligence that had not been already made available to the United States security services.

I wish now . . . to say a word about the sequence of developments in this matter during the last few weeks. The Members of the House will, I think, recall that in October a newspaper which modestly calls itself the world's greatest newspaper, the *Chicago Tribune*—about that there might, of course, be some difference of opinion—reported an interview with Mr. Gouzenko in which the latter stated that, in his opinion, an interview with a United States Congressional committee or members of the United States Congress would be, and the words used were, "worthwhile".

This report was, I think not unnaturally, interpreted by us to mean that Mr. Gouzenko felt he had some further useful information to give. If he had such information or views that were worthwhile, we naturally thought that he would have given them to us before this or would give them to the Canadian authorities at this time. Immediately this report appeared in the press, therefore, the RCMP then interviewed Mr. Gouzenko to ascertain whether the report on this matter was accurate and what new information might be secured. An RCMP officer interviewed Mr. Gouzenko and reported to my colleague, the Minister of Justice (Mr. Garson) that, in the interview of October 27, Mr. Gouzenko had told him he had no information that he had not long since made available to the Canadian authorities; that he had been misquoted by the *Chicago Tribune*; and that he was not, under any circumstances, willing to proceed to the United States to be interviewed by a Congressional committee.

Note from U.S.

The RCMP also notified the Minister of Justice that Mr. Gouzenko denied that he had ever criticized the handling of his case by Canadian authorities or the use which was made of the information and documents which he had given to the Canadian authorities.

Meanwhile, the Canadian Government received the note from the United States Secretary of State transmitting the first request of the Senate subcommittee to interview Mr. Gouzenko, the note of October 29 with which I have already dealt, and the request in this first note was to interview Mr. Gouzenko in Canada.

As the House will recall, because I made a statement at the time in the House, the Canadian Government replied that Mr. Gouzenko had stated to the RCMP that he had been misquoted by the Chicago *Tribune* and had no additional information to give. The United States Government, therefore, was notified that under the circumstances we assumed that the reasons for the request from the Senate subcommittee had disappeared. I think it was a reasonable assumption to make in view of the interview I have just mentioned between Mr. Gouzenko and the RCMP, but it turned out to be otherwise.

On November 21, I think it was, the same newspaper, the Chicago *Tribune*, carried another interview with Mr. Gouzenko in which the latter was purported to have upheld the accuracy of the first interview reported in the newspaper on October 25, and to have again expressed the desire for an interview with the United States officials. This made the situation somewhat confusing, and I should like at this point to reaffirm to the House what I said on November 17 last regarding Mr. Gouzenko's statement to the RCMP. It was, of course, on the basis of this statement that the Canadian Government prepared its reply to the first request transmitted by the State Department. Our reply was delivered on November 4.

This second article to which I have referred in the Chicago *Tribune* cast some doubt on the RCMP report, and indeed had some hard things to say about my own good faith and veracity, which are not important enough to trouble the House with. I would merely say that I accept, myself, the accuracy and reliability of that RCMP report. We have generally found, in this House and in this country, that RCMP reports are both accurate and reliable.

Second Note Received

However, on November 19, the State Department delivered another note, a second note, to our Ambassador in Washington transmitting a second request from the subcommittee, relating to Mr. Gouzenko, which I have already mentioned. Incidentally . . . whereas the original note from the State Department forwarded a request from the subcommittee's counsel to interview Mr. Gouzenko in Canada, the latest note, the second note, forwards a request from the subcommittee chairman this time that Mr. Gouzenko, and I am quoting from it, "be made available for questioning by the subcommittee".

Mr. Gouzenko, as I stated, of course is available in that, like any Canadian, he is free to exercise his own judgment to determine his own movements. He can, of course, as I have said, discuss any subject at any time with anyone whom he chooses, and he is the person to consider the effect of such action on the special measures which have been taken since he came over to us in 1945, in his interests and at his request, to protect him.

Conditions for Interview

The exact purport of the United States note that Mr. Gouzenko be made available for questioning is perhaps not clear, in that it is not explicitly stated where this questioning would take place and under whose responsibility. Presumably, as indeed I have already said, the Canadian Government would be expected to take some responsibility in the matter. While I have said that our security authorities do not believe there is any further information to be obtained, the Government, in view of this second request from a friendly neighbour, is willing to make arrangements for a meeting to be held under Canadian auspices and in conformity with Canadian procedures. If Mr. Gouzenko is willing to attend at such a meeting, and this is in our note which we gave the United States this afternoon, any person designated by the United States Government for this purpose could be present and of course ask questions. It

would, of course . . . have to be understood, and we have made this clear as it was in 1949 at the meeting to which I have already referred, the evidence or information thus secured under the auspices of the Canadian Government could not be made public without the approval of that Government.

The Canadian Government never has attempted and naturally is not now attempting in any way to withhold from competent United States authorities any information that Mr. Gouzenko might

have to give and which could in any way strengthen our joint security, or prevent him stating any views he may have on these matters. But we do take the view that any information from a Canadian source on matters of security should be elicited and transmitted to another government in a proper manner in the way which we have in the past found to be very effective and valuable both to ourselves and to our friends, largely because it was done quietly and confidentially.

Statement on Harry Dexter White Case

Mr. Pearson next answered, in the following words, a question concerning the release by the United States Attorney General of a letter from the Federal Bureau of Investigation alleging that a Canadian Government source had provided information impugning the loyalty of Harry Dexter White, former Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury:

Members of the House may have read in the press about a letter from the head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to a member of the staff of the President of the United States, dated February 1, 1946, which was released by the United States Attorney General, somewhat, as we have already said, to our surprise, as it has been clarified and contained references to the Canadian Government, and Canadian sources of information.

According to this letter—and I quote from it—

—“sources high placed in the Canadian Government” passed information regarding Mr. White’s loyalty to his country to the United States authorities.

Source of Information

There has since been considerable public speculation as to who may have passed such information, and what the information was, with a great deal of confusion resulting. The fact . . . is that the only information which Canadian authorities had on which they could possibly warn our American friends about Mr. White’s alleged espionage came from the FBI.

We have never secured any informa-

tion, never been able to secure any information, on this matter from Mr. Gouzenko or any other source. I should explain that following the normal practice governing such cases the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in the winter of 1945-46, informed security authorities in Ottawa that, as a result of information which the FBI had obtained, it appeared that Mr. White might in fact be a Soviet agent. Advance advice in such circumstances would allow Canadian security authorities to be on the alert for any evidence of a corroborative nature which they might find here, and none was found.

Now, the initiative taken from Ottawa in this matter was apparently merely designed to make absolutely certain that the FBI were aware that the White about whom they had been making inquiries—the inquiries referred to a moment ago—was in fact the same person whose name was before the United States Senate for confirmation as the United States Member of the Executive Board of Directors of the International Monetary Fund.

Security Official

The source of this information, this reminder, because that is all it was, and upon which Mr. Hoover appears to have based his letter, was a personal telegram from a security official, not of the Canadian Government, but who was stationed in Ottawa to maintain liaison with the Canadian security authorities on behalf of the security services of a friendly third power.

It would have in fact been somewhat surprising if this information had been sent by a source high in the Canadian Government, because in the report of Mr. Hoover of the FBI, which I have mentioned, he stated that this Canadian source on the one hand stated that Canadian delegates to the International Monetary Fund might nominate and support Mr. White for the office of President—he must have meant Executive Director of the Fund—while on the other hand he said the source had passed on Canadian warnings about White's unfitness on loyalty grounds to hold the post.

While this information, then, did not come from any source in the Canadian Government, this non-Canadian source did tell the FBI that his message concerning this matter had the blessing of one or two RCMP security officials with whom it was discussed.

All Possible Done to Secure Facts

We have done everything possible . . . to secure the facts on this matter, which include sending a request, to which there has been no reply as yet, to Washington, for the identity of the Canadian source referred to. This we hoped would have provided a quick and easy way of solving the problem. To the best of our knowledge this security liaison officer in Ottawa—not a Canadian—is the source referred to in Mr. Hoover's letter as an official high in the service of the Canadian Government. And I should add that this informal message, coming as it did from Ottawa with considerable urgency, might well have been passed on to Mr. Hoover as a Canadian communication, although in fact it was not such.

I should also say for the record that, contrary to statements referred to in Mr. Hoover's letter, at no time did the Canadian Government contemplate instructing the Canadian Government delegation to support, much less nominate, Mr. White for any post in the International Monetary Fund, or in any other organization.

It seems clear that, in the stress and tension of the moment—and it was a tense and difficult time in Ottawa for

security officials, the author of this telegram must have misunderstood the details of information which he had received from some quarter regarding the prospective appointment in the International Monetary Fund. I find it easy to understand and sympathize with that mistake.

The House may remember the circumstances under which such matters were being dealt with at that particular time. Mr. Gouzenko was being examined in secret in Ottawa, and a distinct but equally important case was being investigated in equal secrecy in Washington, with telegrams and messages about both cases being exchanged between those responsible for security.

It seems clear that the errors in Mr. Hoover's letter concerning the alleged attitude of the Canadian Government toward the appointment of Mr. White to a high office in the International Monetary Fund or the International Bank were based upon mistakes originally made in Ottawa in this message from an allied security officer. I must also make it quite clear that this was not a communication in any sense from one government to another. During the war the closest personal working relations developed between the officials of allied countries and it was quite common for responsible persons to communicate informally with each other within their general terms of reference.

The message sent from Ottawa was such a communication, a perfectly proper one, even though inaccurate in one policy point.

Record Set Straight

Setting the record straight in such detail on this matter has seemed to be necessary to correct the misleading impression caused by uninformed speculations about some alleged high Canadian governmental source apparently being in a position at that time to warn the United States Government, on the basis of Canadian intelligence, against some supposed intention of his own government regarding Mr. White.

This statement . . . and the action which we have now been called to take,

(Continued on page 368)

VISIT OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TO OTTAWA

Mr. Eisenhower delivered an address to Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons and general public in the House of Commons Chamber on the second day of his visit, November 14. He was welcomed by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent:

MR. ST. LAURENT

We are greatly honoured by the presence here today of the President of the United States of America. I am sure that I speak not only for those who are seated in this Chamber but for all of our fellow Canadians, Mr. President, when I say to you how pleased we are that you have been able to pay another visit to our capital city, this time as the first citizen of your great country . . .

Your visit, sir, marks the third time that the Chief of State of the United States has paid a visit to the capital city of Canada. Just ten years ago your great wartime President honoured us by coming to Ottawa after the first of those historic conferences in Quebec. Mr. Roosevelt set a precedent which I hope will continue to be followed in the future. There can surely be no more tangible evidence of the friendly relationship which exists between our two peoples than friendly visits of this kind between representatives of our two nations.

Leadership Appreciated

When I had the privilege of being your guest in Washington earlier this year . . . I found evidence among all those whom I was privileged to meet of a warm and friendly feeling for the people of Canada. That is only one reason why I hope—and all Canadians both in this Chamber and outside will share that hope—that you will return to Washington with an increased consciousness of our high regard for the American people and for yourself. We would also like you to know that we are grateful for the leadership your nation is providing in the common effort of free men and women to make our world a safer and better place for future generations.

This leadership given by the United States is moreover untainted by any desire for national self-aggrandizement. By positive and unselfish actions, which are unique in history, the American people have recognized that threats to the safety and well-being of liberty-loving peoples anywhere are threats to all peoples everywhere who believe in the dignity and freedom of the individual. Your nation's contributions to the restoration of war-devastated lands have been generous to an extent unprecedented in international relations. Your example, as a member of the United Nations, of vigorous and immediate resistance to wanton aggression has revived the hopes of anxious peoples that, through collective action, international peace may be secured and maintained.

The characteristically energetic manner in which the United States has fulfilled the responsibilities it has voluntarily assumed has been interpreted by a few detractors as an indication that your country is seeking to

impose its policies on or dominate the life of other free nations.

We Canadians are in the best position to know how false are such suspicions. Although your population, and your economic and military strength, are many times greater than ours, we have no fear that this strength will be used to threaten or overawe us. We are the more secure because you are a good as well as a strong neighbour. No guns have been fired in anger across our borders for almost a century and a half. The only invasions from the south are of the annual friendly variety when millions of your compatriots travel north to share in the enjoyment of our great natural recreational facilities and perhaps to feel the pulse of our growth. Canadians in their turn retaliate by moving in large numbers to experience the entertainment and cultural advantages of your great cities and to bask in the sun of your semi-tropical southlands.

Of course, there are many strong American influences on Canadian life, but these have not prevented the growth of a distinct Canadian feeling and culture, which flourishes and will continue to develop alongside the influences of your dynamic society. This is as it should be, for our own history teaches us that co-operation can be closer when differences are recognized. Likewise, the co-operation between our two countries is deep and close because it is free and desired, not something imposed upon a reluctant people by a powerful neighbour.

We in Canada also feel, Mr. President, that the powerful influence which your nation exerts in the world community is, in action as well as in aim, an influence for good and we welcome it.

Work in Harmony

Together, the United States and Canada prove to the world that a great power and a lesser power can work in harmony without the smaller being submerged by his bigger neighbour. We Canadians know that in the interests of our mutual defence we can wisely and safely pool many of our military resources with yours in a security system which is genuinely collective. We know, too, that through the instruments of diplomacy and through direct negotiation we can solve amicably and justly the many problems which arise along our lengthy common border. Sometimes we may wish they could be solved more rapidly, but we know they can be solved in the end. And we also know that when the Canadian view on any matter is different from the American view, our opinions will be listened to with patience and respect.

That our two nations get along so well is due in no small part to the leaders whom the American people, in their wisdom, have

chosen. It is particularly gratifying to Canadians to see in you, Mr. President, the Supreme Commander of the Second World War, under whose inspiring leadership the fighting men and women of Canada made their contribution to victory, and to see in you also the first Supreme Commander in Europe of the North Atlantic alliance. In that capacity you received into your command the Canadian Brigade Group in Germany and laid the plans for the Canadian air division which is now in Europe.

As a Supreme Commander in war and in peace, and as the political head of your nation, you have justly earned a reputation for fair-mindedness and friendliness, sincerity and integrity. Those are noble qualities. They no doubt are the qualities which inspired the editorial writer of one of our leading newspapers on learning of your visit to this country to say:

The President of the United States will be welcome to Canada, welcome not only as head of a great world power but as a man we have already met and liked, admired and respected . . .

Je tiens aussi, monsieur le président, en ce pays et en cette enceinte où deux langues sont officielles, à vous dire dans la langue de mes ancêtres français que tous mes concitoyens de la même descendance que la mienne sont aussi heureux que ceux de langue anglaise de vous exprimer à vous et à madame Eisenhower la plus cordiale bienvenue et de vous donner l'assurance de notre très haute considération.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

Mr. Speaker of the Senate, Mr. Speaker of the House, Mr. Prime Minister, Members of the Canadian Houses of Parliament, distinguished guests and friends:

Mes salutations s'adressent également à mes amis canadiens qui parlent français. Je sais que je fais preuve d'une grande témérité en essayant de m'exprimer, si peu soit-il, dans cette langue. Aussi, fais-je appel à votre indulgence pour toutes les erreurs que je peux commettre en vous faisant part personnellement et directement de mes sentiments d'amitié et de haute estime.

Je vous salue également pour la part importante que vous avez prise, de concert avec vos frères de langue anglaise, au développement de ce grand pays.

. . . Since World War II, I have now been privileged three times to visit this great country and this beautiful city.

On my first visit, more than seven years ago, I came to express to the Canadian people a field commander's appreciation of their memorable contribution in the liberation of the Mediterranean and European lands. On my second, I came to discuss with your governmental leaders your country's role in the building of Atlantic security. Both visits, in the warmth and spirit of a great people's welcome, were days that I shall remember all my life.

This day I again salute the men and women

of Canada.

As I stand before you, my thoughts go back to the days of global war. In that conflict, and then through the more recent savage and grievous Korean battles, the Canadian people have been valorous champions of freedom for mankind. Within the framework of NATO, in the construction of new patterns of international security, in the lengthy and often toilsome exploration of a regional alliance, they have been patient and wise devisers of a stout defence for the Western world. Canada, rich in natural gifts, far richer in human character and genius, has earned the gratitude and the affectionate respect of all who cherish freedom and seek peace.

Partnership the Hallmark

I am highly honoured by the invitation of the Parliament of Canada that I address it. For your invitation is rooted in the friendship and sense of partnership that for generations have been the hallmark of relations between Canada and the United States. Your country, my country—each is a better and stronger and more influential nation because each can rely upon every resource of the other in days of crisis. Beyond this each can work and grow and prosper with the other through years of quiet peace.

We of our country have long respected and admired Canada as a bulwark of the British Commonwealth and a leader among nations. As no Soviet wile or lure can divide the Commonwealth, nothing will corrupt the Canadian-American partnership.

We have a dramatic symbol of that partnership in the favoured topic of every speaker addressing an audience made up of both our peoples—our unfortified frontier. But though this subject has become shopworn and well-nigh exhausted as a feature of after-dinner oratory, it is still a fact that our common frontier grows stronger every year, defended only by friendship. Its strength wells from indestructible and enduring sources—identical ideals of family and school and church, and traditions which come to us from a common past.

Out of this partnership has evolved a progressive prosperity and a general well-being, mutually beneficial, that is without parallel on earth. In the years ahead, the pace of our mutual growth will surely be no less.

To strive, even dimly, to foresee the wonders of Canada's next generation, is to summon the utmost powers of the imagination. This land is a mighty reservoir of resources. Across it, at this moment, there moves an extraordinary drama of enterprise and endeavour—Canadians, rapidly building basic industries, converting waters, into hydro-electric energy, scrutinizing your soil for new wealth, pushing into the barrens of the North for minerals and oil. You of Canada are building a magnificent record of achievement, and my country rejoices in it.

More than friendship and partnership is signified in the relations between our countries. These relations that today enrich our

peoples justify the faith of our fathers that men, given self-government, can dwell at peace among themselves, progressive in the development of their material wealth, quick to join in the defence of their spiritual community, ready to arbitrate differences that may rise to divide them. This Parliament is an illustrious symbol of a human craving, a human search, a human right of self-government.

All the free legislatures of the world speak for the free peoples of the world. In their deliberations and enactments they mirror the ideas, the traditions, the fundamental philosophies of their respective nations.

On the other hand, every free nation, secure in its own economic and political stability, reflects the responsible leadership and the wise comprehension which its legislature has brought to the management of public affairs.

This continent uniquely has been a laboratory of self-government, in which free legislatures have been an indispensable force. What is the result? It is a mighty unity built of values essentially spiritual.

This continent, of course, is a single physical and geographical entity. But physical unity, however broken by territorial lines, fortress chains and trade barriers, is a characteristic of every continent. Here, however, independent and sovereign peoples have built a stage on which all the world can see:

First, each country's patriotic dedication to its own enlightened self-interest, free from vicious nationalistic exploitation of grudge or ancient wrong.

Second, a joint recognition that neighbours, among nations as among individuals, prosper best in neighbourly co-operation, factually exemplified in daily life.

Third, an international will to cast out the bomb and the gun as arbiters and to exalt joint search for truth and justice.

Example to Other Nations

Here on this continent we present an example that other nations some day surely will recognize and apply in their relationships among themselves. My friends, may that day be close because the only alternative—the bankruptcy of armament races and the suicide of nuclear war—cannot for long, must not for long, be tolerated by the human race. Great has been our mutual progress. It foreshadows what we together can accomplish for our mutual good.

Before us of Canada and the United States lies an immense panorama of opportunity in every field of human endeavour. A host of jobs to be done together confront us. Many of them cry for immediate attention. As we examine them together in the work days ahead, we must never allow the practical difficulties that impede progress to blind our eyes to the objectives established by principle and logic.

With respect to some aspects of our future development I hope I may, without presumption, make three observations.

Necessity for International Trade

The first is: The free world must come to recognize that trade barriers, although intended to protect a country's economy, often in fact shackle its prosperity. In the United States there is a growing recognition that free nations cannot expand their productivity and economic strength without a high level of international trade.

In our case, our two economies are enmeshed intricately with the world economy. Obviously we cannot risk sudden dislocation in industry and agriculture and widespread unemployment and distress, by hasty decisions to accomplish suddenly what inevitably will come in an orderly economic evolution. "Make haste slowly" is a homely maxim with international validity.

Moreover every common undertaking, however worth while it may be, must be understood in its origins, its application, its effects by the peoples of our two countries. Without this understanding it will have negligible chance of success. Canadians and citizens of the United States do not accept government by edict or decree. Informed and intelligent co-operation is, for us, the only source of enduring accomplishment.

To study further the whole subject of United States foreign economic policy, we have at home appointed a special commission with wide representation, including members of the Congress as well as spokesmen for the general public. From the commission's studies will come, we hope, a policy which can command the support of the American people and which will be in the best interests of the United States and the free world.

Toward the strengthening of commercial ties between Canada and the United States, officials of our two governments have for some months been considering the establishment of a Joint Economic and Trade Committee. This Committee, now approved, will consist of cabinet officers of both countries. They will meet periodically to discuss in broad terms economic and trade problems and the means for their equitable solution. I confidently believe that out of this process the best interests of both our countries will be more easily harmonized and advanced.

St. Lawrence Waterway

The second observation is this. Joint development and use of the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes waterway is inevitable, is sure and certain. With you, I consider this measure a vital addition to our economic and national security. Of course, no proposal yet made is entirely free from faults of some sort. But every one of them can be corrected, given patience and co-operation.

In the United States my principal security advisers, comprising the National Security Council, favour the undertaking for national defence reasons. The Cabinet favours it on both security and economic grounds. A committee of the United States Senate has approved a measure authorizing it.

This measure provides for United States participation in a joint development by both countries. The proposal now awaits action by the United States Senate which, I am confident, will act favourably on it or some similar measure. The ways and means for assuring American co-operation in this great project will, I hope, be authorized and approved during the coming session of the Congress.

I have noted with satisfaction the New York Power Authority's acceptance of the Federal Power Commission's license. With this act the stage is set for a start on the St. Lawrence Power Project which will add materially to the economic strength of both countries.

Defence Against Attack

My third observation is this. You of Canada and we of the United States can and will devise ways to protect our North America from any surprise attack by air. And we shall achieve the defence of our continent without whittling our pledges to Western Europe or forgetting our friends in the Pacific.

The basic threat of Communist purpose still exists. Indeed the latest Soviet communication to the Western world is truculent, if not arrogant, in tone. In any event our security plans must now take into account Soviet ability to employ atomic attack on North America as well as on countries, friendly to us, lying closer to the borders of the U.S.S.R. Their atomic stockpile will, of course, increase in size, and means of delivery will improve as time goes on.

Each of our two nations seeks a secure home for realization of its destiny. Defence of our soil presents a challenge to both our peoples. It is a common task. Defensively, as well as geographically, we are joined beyond any possibility of separation. This element in our security problem is an accepted guide of service leaders, government officials and legislatures on both sides of the border.

In our approach to the problem, we both realize that purest patriotism demands and promotes effective partnership. Thus we evolve joint agreements on all those measures we must jointly undertake to improve the effectiveness of our defences, but every arrangement rests squarely on the sovereign nature of each of our two peoples.

Canada and the United States are equal partners and neither dares to waste time. There is a time to be alert and a time to rest. These days demand ceaseless vigilance. We must be ready and prepared. The threat is present. The measures of defence have been thoroughly studied by official bodies of both countries. The Permanent Joint Board on Defence has worked assiduously and effectively on mutual problems. Now is the time for action on all agreed measures.

Steps to defend our continent are of course but one part of the world-wide security programme. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, for example, is an essential defence for Ottawa, for Washington, and for our

neighbours to the south, as well as for communities thousands of miles to the eastward. Implicit in the consultations and detailed studies which must continue and in the defences which we have already mounted is the need for world-wide vigilance and strength. But the purpose is defence. We have no other aim.

In common with others of the free world, the United States does not rely on military strength alone to win the peace. Our primary reliance is a unity among us forged of common adherence to moral principles. This reliance binds together in fellowship all those who believe in the spiritual nature of man, as the child of God.

Moreover, our country assuredly claims no monopoly on wisdom. We are willing, nay, anxious, to discuss with friends and with any others all possible paths to peace. We will use every means, from the normal diplomatic exchange to the forum of the United Nations, to further this search. We welcome ideas, expressions of honest difference, new proposals and new interpretations of old ones—anything and everything honestly offered for the advancement of man's oldest aspiration.

No Insoluble Problems

There are no insoluble problems. Differences can be resolved; tensions can be relieved. The free world, I deeply believe, holds firmly to this faith, striving earnestly toward what is just and equitable.

My friends, allow me to interpolate here an expression of my own personal faith. I call upon all of you who were in responsible positions, either in civil government or in the military world, in the dark days of 1940, 1941 and 1942. There seemed no place from which to start to conquer the enemy that bid fair to enslave us all. Already he had put most of Europe under his heel. I stop to think of the bewilderment of our people, the fears of our people in those days, and then of how in a few short years we were coming home to celebrate that great victory that we thought could at last mark the end of all wars. We see how fast human outlook can change from one of despondency, almost of despair in many quarters, to one of exultation. Today, as we fail to understand the intransigence that we feel marks others, as we try to colour every proposal we make with what we believe to be reason, understanding, even sympathy, as we are nonplussed as to why these offers are never taken up, let us never despair that faith will win through.

The world that God has given us is of course material, intellectual and spiritual in its values. We have to hand over to those who come after us this balance of values, and particularly the certainty that they can enjoy the same kind of opportunity in this spiritual, intellectual and material world that we, who will then be their ancestors, enjoyed before them. That, it seems to me, is the real problem that Canada and the United States today face together. It is one reason I get such

a thrill every time I come to this country, because here I sense in the very atmosphere your determination to work in that direction, not acknowledging defeat, certain that we can win, because there are values that man treasures above all things else in the world.

The free world believes that practical problems should be solved practically, that they should be solved by orderly procedure, step by step, so that the foundation for peace, which we are building in concert with other nations, will be solid and unshakeable. I deem it a high privilege to salute, through this

their Parliament, the Canadian people for the strength they have added to this faith and for the contribution they are making toward its realization.

Beyond the shadow of the atomic cloud, the horizon is bright with promise. No shadow can halt our advance together. For we, Canada and the United States, shall use carefully and wisely the God-given graces of faith and reason as we march together toward the horizon of a world where each man, each family, each nation lives at peace in a climate of freedom.



CO-OPERATION AND UNITY IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD

A speech delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, M. L. B. Pearson, at the Annual Dinner of the English-Speaking Union of the United States, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, November 23, 1953.

It is difficult, on an occasion like this, to speak of the virtues of English-speaking unity without using, and at times abusing, those somewhat thread-bare values and platitudes which are the defences of the diplomat against indiscretions, and, at times, his substitute for thought. I do not want to exchange a cliché for a cutlass, but I could wish that I were able to say something arresting and stimulating on a subject which is as important as any we are likely to face in the dangerous days ahead; the necessity of English-speaking co-operation and understanding; of unity.

A Dual Role

A Canadian, moreover, is in a somewhat special position, both of difficulty and of opportunity, in speaking on this subject.

We are a North American nation, but we are also proud to be a member of a Commonwealth of Nations which includes all the other non-American English speaking countries—and some others, including three in Asia. In this dual role, Canadians are supposed to have special qualifications, and a special incentive, for assisting the lion and the eagle to live peacefully together — an achievement which is neither biologically nor politically easy. Our value in this respect may be over-stressed, but there is, I think, something to it. More than once, I know from experience, a Canadian has been able to advocate a British position in Washington without dire consequences because he did it in an American accent, while his support in London of an American position has been listened to more attentively because the advocate may have had his trans-Atlantic words softened by an Oxford education, and, in any event, is a subject of the Queen. Someone, indeed, has cynically observed that we Canadians are so busy being British in Washington and American in London that we often forget to be Can-

adians. It is a danger, I admit, but I do not think we have succumbed to it. If we were tempted to, the facts of our history, and the pattern of our population, would come to the rescue. Our national existence is based on two founding races, only one of which is British, and the other isn't American! Furthermore, we are developing into a strong awareness of our own separate identity, as we stand confidently now on our own feet, moving toward a great national destiny but anxious, in the process, to keep in step with our friends.

For Canada, with the United States as a neighbour and the United Kingdom as a mother country, it is a first axiom of policy to do what it can to maintain the greatest possible English speaking unity, for national as well as for even more important international reasons. But to a Canadian, especially to one speaking French, English-speaking unity is not enough. Indeed, it would be not inappropriate if I spoke to you about English-speaking unity in Canada's other official language, French. Indeed, I had conceived that somewhat whimsical idea of beginning my talk on English-speaking unity in French, and was restrained only out of respect for that beautiful language.

Language alone is not, in truth, a sufficient bond between peoples; indeed, it is not at times a bond at all, though I would not go as far as Bernard Shaw when he said that Great Britain and the United States were two countries divided by a common language. I cannot refrain from adding that if Bernard Shaw were alive today and could read an account of a baseball game in a New York tabloid, followed by a cricket or golf report in *The Manchester Guardian* or the London Times, by Neville Cardus or Bernard Darwin, he might not worry so much about the common language!

The bond of language, as a matter of fact, is occasionally reduced to the ability we

share to criticize and argue in words that cannot be softened by translation. At times it seems to assist us in learning more easily the wrong things rather than the right ones about each other. I must confess that I could wish that one or two American newspapers and magazines were published in Tamil and that one or two radio or television commentators carried on in Swahili. And I'm sure the feeling is the same here about the use of the English language by certain speakers and writers in Canada and the United Kingdom.

Common Language Dilemma

A Canadian, Bruce Hutchison, writing in an American publication a few weeks ago, quoted a wise old Cambridge don on this common language dilemma, as follows:

"Most of our troubles with the Americans stem from the awful barrier of a common language. Since they speak the same language, the British and Americans expect each other to be the same sort of people. When they turn out to be utterly different both are disappointed and angered, as if the other fellows had somehow let them down. An Englishman isn't disturbed when a Frenchman eats snails or keeps a mistress. That is the French way. But when the American chews gum, dresses oddly, uses a queer accent or starts a fight in a pub, we find it inexcusable because it isn't British. And the Americans feel the same way about us."

Nevertheless, to continue on a less cynical note, while unity among *all* free peoples is essential for peace and progress, there is a special reason for and importance to unity among those peoples whose common use of the English language, whatever disadvantages it may occasionally have, does symbolize the important truth that we derive so much of our culture, institutions, ideas and customs from a common ancestry. We are very close together, in an ever shrinking world, and though propinquity does not make necessarily for peace, as any honest married man or woman in this audience will testify, it does impose on those who are together a special necessity and a special responsibility for staying together, with a minimum of friction and a maximum of understanding and good will.

Well, *are* we staying together? You might be pardoned for some pessimism if you read or listen to certain shrill and noisy persons on both sides of the ocean. Their irritable and sometimes violent words, however, should not, I suggest, be mistaken for the voice of the people. There is no reason to believe that we are not at one in our determination to work closely together to preserve the peace against aggression and for other good purposes. Nevertheless, there are, in this difficult and trying period of political trench warfare, many stresses and strains on the great free world coalition, of which the English-speaking countries form the core.

Inevitable Differences

It is, of course, inevitable that we should have our differences and that we should express them. Such right of expression is the price we pay for freedom. But we are foolish and worse when, by rash, ill-tempered or irresponsible utterances, we make that price any higher than it need be. When we do so, we give comfort only to those whose aggressive and subversive policies threaten us and who fear our free world unity even more than they fear our strength.

One danger to our close co-operation is the tendency here and there in English-speaking non-American countries to express, occasionally in irritating terms, anxiety at the power which the United States has acquired and criticism of the way that power is being used. This has gone so far in certain quarters as to evoke a feeling of nostalgia over the good old days when the United States was isolationist and the British could always send a cruiser.

It is customary these days, and very wise, to plead, for patience in the face of the difficulties that stem from the Cold War, for a minimum of provocation and a maximum of steadiness and understanding. I suggest that one way of strengthening English-speaking unity is for the rest of us to show some of that patience—and understanding—of American leadership and American policy. We should also not hesitate to speak out in public recognition of the generosity, the constructive energy and imagination of the American people as they carry the Atlantean burden of world leadership and power; something which they never sought but which they are bearing in a way which may already have meant our salvation from those aggressive, expansionist forces eager to destroy our freedom and erase our future.

We Canadians claim the special privilege, as a close neighbour and a candid friend, of grouching about our big, our overwhelming partner, and of complaining at some of the less attractive manifestations of her way of life. It makes our own junior status seem relatively superior and helps us forget some of our own problems and mistakes. But we Canadians also know, from our own experiences and from our relationship with the United States, which is closer than that of any other country, that the sound and fury of contemporary clamour, while it may at times mar and even conceal, cannot destroy the noble qualities and the deep strength of this land on whom there now rests (for there is no other strong foundation) the hopes of all peoples, not merely English-speaking peoples, for free existence.

The ceaseless roar of Broadway is only a small part of the American scene and behind the pushing and shoving of the Manhattan crowds are millions of good and godly people, in quiet New England towns, on the rich soil of the Midwest, or in thousands of other places where Americans are working hard and unselfishly to build up a good

society in a decent world. We other English-speaking peoples do not hear enough about them. They are rarely on the screen, before the television camera or microphone; hardly ever make the gossip columns or the news digests.

Need for Tolerance

One way, then, of strengthening our unity is to resist vigorously the temptation, which occasionally presents itself, to indulge in the somewhat novel but dangerous pastime of plucking the eagle's feathers. May the eagle in its turn learn, as the lion learned long ago when having its tail twisted, that this kind of attention is (in one sense) merely a recognition of its primacy among the birds and animals; even among the Canada geese and beavers!

A penalty, of course, of this primacy and power and great riches is often an adequate appreciation by others of the purposes behind the power and the uses to which the riches are put. A leader must expect this; must also realize that it is inevitable that the rest of us should be intensely preoccupied and even anxious over everything that is said and done by the dominant partner.

How could it be otherwise when these actions may determine, not only the destiny of her own citizens who have at least direct responsibility for them, but also that of friends and allies who cannot escape the consequences for good or ill of a governmental decision in Washington, or even of a Congressional blast!

The British in their greatest Imperial days, and they were far easier days than those of the mid-twentieth century, learned that power did not normally inspire affection. They learned also that when power is used rightly, and rule is based on justice, they could win respect. Possibly this is a better result to achieve. As the editor of the *New Yorker* once said, "Don't try to make your neighbour love you. It will only make him uncomfortable. Try to gain his respect".

There is another aspect of contemporary national and international life which has a bearing on English-speaking and, indeed, free world co-operation—our attitude to the Communist conspiracy which, harnessed to the might of Soviet Russia, is by far the greatest single menace in the world today.

An unawareness of this danger, and slackness or softness in regard to the necessary measures to meet it—and I emphasize *necessary*—will undoubtedly be a source of friction and division between friends. Surely it is possible for allies whose security depends on each other far more than their insecurity can ever result from the domestic machinations of communists and fellow-travellers, and who, though they may express it in different ways,

loathe and abhor communism and all its works, surely it is possible for such to accept each other's assurances of sincerity and good faith in dealing with these questions of security and subversion.

The occasional traitor in any of our countries can do much harm to all of us. We know that from hard experience. But I venture to say he cannot do nearly as much harm to our security as suspicion and lack of mutual trust can do to the co-operation and unity of the coalition on which our security must largely rest.

While slackness in these matters is bound to lead to recriminations, a fundamental difference of approach to them, of emphasis and of method, can also cause differences and difficulties inside nations and between nations, though they are trying to reach the same basic objectives.

We will, I think, keep these differences to a minimum if, on the one hand, we remain alert and realistic about the serious and present nature of the Communist menace, and if, on the other hand, we refuse to get panicky or be stampeded into the wrong way of doing things; if we stick to those tried and tested principles of justice and law; of scrupulous regard for the rights and liberties of the individual on which alone can national strength be permanently established.

Common Sense Approach

This is not being soft to communism, or any other "ism". It is showing sanity and common sense, and an understanding of the really enduring sources of strength and greatness.

These are days that test one's patience and endurance as we strive at home to keep our countries free and secure, and, internationally, each to play its proper part in building up a coalition that will prevent aggression and maintain peace; or rather establish a peace which is more than the absence of war.

There are, I confess, times when one gets discouraged and anxious for the future as we suffer frustrations and disappointments at the United Nations; delays in fulfilling the hopes of NATO; and as we try to destroy the Communist conspiracy without descending to Communist tactics and procedures.

Out of these anxieties and perplexities and discouragements come the arguments and the differences between friends and allies, even those as close as the English-speaking countries.

Let us do our best to avoid these, but let us not become too alarmed and excited when they occur.

Let us keep, in short, a sense of proportion, of perspective, and even a sense of humour.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. C. P. Hebert, Ambassador, proceeded to Ottawa on temporary duty effective October 3, 1953.
- Mr. Jules Leger, Ambassador, proceeded from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico City, effective October 9, 1953.
- Mr. M. Shenstone was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective October 4, 1953.
- Mr. H. R. Horne retired from the diplomatic service, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective October 6, 1953.
- Miss A. M. Ireland was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective October 8, 1953.
- Mr. P. Dumas was posted from home leave (Paris) to Ottawa effective October 8, 1953.
- Mr. R. M. Lithgow was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, effective October 9, 1953.
- Mr. G. A. H. Pearson was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective October 15, 1953.
- Mr. M. N. Bow was posted from home leave (Consulate—New York) to Ottawa effective October 19, 1953.
- Mr. A. F. Hart was posted from home leave (Warsaw) to Ottawa effective October 19, 1953.
- Mr. R. E. Collins was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective October 29, 1953.
- Mr. H. J. M. Allard was posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, effective November 8, 1953.
- Mr. J. A. McCordick was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, effective November 12, 1953.
- Mr. G. P. de T. Glazebrook was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective November 13, 1953.
- Mr. B. M. Williams was posted from the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective November 30, 1953.
- Miss S. Barriere was appointed to the Department effective November 5, 1953.
- Messrs. R. Murray and J. G. E. Blais joined the Department as Foreign Service Officers on November 17 and November 18, 1953 respectively.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>No. 53/38 — <i>Asia and the Free World</i>, an address by Mr. Nik Cavell, of the International Economic and Technical Co-operation Division, Department of Trade and Commerce, to the Canadian Exporters' Association, Toronto, September 24, 1953.</p> <p>No. 53/40 — <i>An Assessment of the United Nations</i>, an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, to the Toronto Branch of the United Nations Association in Canada, Toronto, October 23, 1953.</p> <p>No. 53/41 — <i>United Nations Day</i>, a statement by the Secretary of State for Ex-</p> | <p>ternal Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, used on the United Nations Day CBC Television Programme, October 24, 1953.</p> <p>No. 53/43 — <i>Canada's Air Policy</i>, an address by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, made at the annual meeting of the Air Industries and Transport Association of Canada, at Ottawa, October 28, 1953.</p> <p>No. 53/45 — <i>Fourth Technical Assistance Conference</i>, the text of a statement given on November 12, 1953, by the Canadian Representative at the Fourth Technical Assistance Conference, Senator S. S. McKeen, held at the United Nations Headquarters, New York.</p> |
|---|--|

No. 53/47 — *Co-operation and Unity in the English-Speaking World*, a speech delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at

the annual dinner of the English-Speaking Union of the United States, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, November 23, 1953.

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

No. 53/39 — *Canadian Transportation and Economic Development*, an address by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, to the American Association of Port Authorities, Toronto, September 25, 1953.

No. 53/42 — *The McKee Trophy* (The Development of Aviation in Canada), text of a statement made by the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, at the presentation ceremony at the Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, October 27, 1953.

No. 53/44 — *The Status and Development of Forestry in Canada*, an address by the Minister of Resources and Development, Mr. Jean Lesage, made at the Fourth American Forestry Congress, Washington, D.C., October 29, 1953.

No. 53/46 — *Canada's Newest Cancer Weapon*, an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, delivered November 6, 1953, at the official opening of the Ontario Cancer Treatment and Research Foundation's Cobalt 60 Beam Therapy Clinic, Toronto.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS *

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. Accounts for the financial year ended 30 June 1953 and Report of the Board of Auditors. New York, 1953. Document A/2497. Pp. 22. 25 cents. General Assembly Official Records: Eighth Session, Supplement No. 6B.

Report of the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency for the period 15 September 1952 to 30 September 1953. New York, 1953. Document A/2543. Pp. 29. 30 cents. General Assembly Official Records: Eighth Session, Supplement No. 14.

Full Employment — The Adequacy of Monetary Reserves (referred to as ECOSOC E/2454) International Monetary Fund "Staff Papers", Vol. III, No. 2, October 1953. Pp. 181 - 227.

Law and Practices concerning the Conclusion of Treaties. New York, 1953. Document ST/LEG/SER.B/3 (December 1952). Pp. 189. \$3.00. Sales No.: 1952.V.4.

Sixth World Health Assembly (Geneva, 5 to 22 May 1953). Resolutions and Decisions, Plenary Meetings, Committees, Interna-

tional Sanitary Regulations, Annexes. Geneva, October 1953. Official Records No. 48. Pp. 453. \$2.50.

WHO — Handbook of Basic Documents (Sixth Edition) including Amendments approved by the Sixth World Health Assembly, May 1953. Geneva, 1953. Pp. 212. \$1.00.

World Against Want — An account of the U.N. Technical Assistance Programme. Geneva, 1953. Pp. 80. 50 cents. Sales No.: 1953.I.27. (Department of Public Information).

UNESCO

Mental hygiene in the nursery school — Report of a joint WHO-UNESCO Expert Meeting held in Paris, 17-22 September 1951 (Problems in Education-IX). Paris 1953. Pp. 33. 20 cents.

History, Geography and Social Studies — A summary of school programmes in fifty-three countries. Paris, 1953. Pp. 115. \$1.25.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Report of the Secretary-General on Personnel Policy. 2 November 1953. Document A/2533. Pp. 41 and Annexes I-IV.

*Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax, McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, page 36.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	Melbourne (83 William St.)
“.....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Austria.....	Minister (Absent).....	Vienna 1 (Strauchgasse 1)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
Belgian Congo.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (35, rue de la Science)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
“.....	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	High Commissioner.....	Colombo (6 Gregory's Rd., Cinnamon Garden)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Avenida General Bulnes 129)
Colombia.....	Ambassador.....	Bogota (Calle 19, No. 6-39 fifth floor)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (No 16 Avenida de Menocal)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Karkowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Trondhjems Plads No. 4)
Dominican Republic.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Ciudad Trujillo (Edificio Copello 410 Calle El Conde)
Egypt.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara)
Finland.....	Minister (Absent).....	Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken 3-C. 32)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris xvi (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Ambassador.....	Bonn (Zittelmann Strasse, 22)
“.....	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Pertshire Block, Headquarters (British Sector) B.A.O.R.2)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatemala City (28, 5a Avenida Sud)
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
“.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Indonesia.....	Ambassador.....	Djakarta (Tanah Abang Timur No. 2)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Bldg.)
Japan.....	Ambassador.....	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku)
Lebanon.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Beirut (P.O. Box 2300)
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)
Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza, Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Ayala Bldg., Juan Luna St.)
Poland.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Kepa)

Portugal.....	Minister (Absent).....	Lisbon (Avenida da Praia da Vitoria)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
Singapore.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building)
Spain.....	Ambassador.....	Madrid (Edificio Espana, Avenida de José Antonio 88)
Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvägen 7-C)
Switzerland.....	Ambassador.....	Berne (88 Kirchenfeldstrasse)
Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (Colonial Bldg.)
Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (Müdafaayi Milliye Caddesi, No. 19, Cankaya)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (24 Barclay's Bank Bldg.)
" "	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
" "	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Building)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador.....	Moscow (23 Starokonyushny Pereulok)
	Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.	
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	London (Canada House)
" "	Trade Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
" "	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
" "	Consul General.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
" "	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
" "	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
" "	Consul General.....	Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.)
" "	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	New Orleans (215 International Trade Mart)
" "	Consul General.....	New York (620 Fifth Ave.)
" "	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street)
" "	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
" "	Consul General.....	Seattle (Tower Bldg., Seventh Avenue at Olive Way)
Uruguay.....	Ambassador.....	Montevideo (Casilla Postal 852)
Venezuela.....	Ambassador.....	Caracas (2° Piso Edificio Pan-Americano, Puente Urapal, Candelaria)
Yugoslavia.....	Ambassador.....	Belgrade (Proleterskih Brigada 69)
North Atlantic Council.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (Canadian Embassy)
*OEEC.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (c/o Canadian Embassy)
United Nations.....	Permanent Representative.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
" "	Permanent Delegate.....	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)
	Deputy Permanent Delegate	

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

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will I hope help to dispose of these two matters in a way which recognizes both our responsibility to our own country, our responsibility to co-operate fully with others in our own as well as collective interests, in the effort to defeat and destroy the international Communist conspiracy, which is very real and menacing and, finally, our responsibility to do what we can, always, and sincerely, to maintain good relations with our friend and neighbour the United States, the leader and great buttress of the free

world. These relations . . . involve between our two countries many problems of growing complexity. We accept that, but we take I think on both sides of the border deep and abiding satisfaction in the fact that we are able to solve them on the solid basis of mutual respect. And I know that, with a few inconsequential exceptions, all Canadians and all Americans, including all Hon. Members of this House, are anxious to keep it that way.

B

External Affairs

MONTHLY BULLETIN

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January 1954

CANADA

In recognition of its fifth anniversary as a printed publication, "External Affairs" appears this month with a new cover design and interior lay-out. Although the bulletin's appearance is changing, its purpose remains the same—to provide information on international affairs and reviews of Canadian participation for readers at home and abroad. In addition to the 7,000 copies of the English and French editions distributed within Canada each month, more than 2,000 copies are sent to government offices, libraries, publications and individuals abroad. Articles from the bulletin have been re-printed in many foreign publications as well as Canadian newspapers and journals.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



CANADA

January 1954

Vol. 6 No. 1

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

North Atlantic Council Ministerial Session, Paris, December 1953

THE North Atlantic Council met in Ministerial session in Paris from December 14 to 16, inclusive. M. Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, was Chairman. Canada was represented by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, and the Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Mr. L. D. Wilgress. They were accompanied by officials of the Departments of External Affairs, National Defence, Finance and Defence Production.

The text of the Communiqué issued at the end of the session is annexed below.

The last time the Ministers attended meetings of the Council had been in April of last year. The Ministerial session in December was, therefore, timely in a number of ways. It offered a good opportunity to review NATO policy in the light of the developments in Soviet policy in the past nine months. The imminence of the proposed Four-Power meeting in Berlin lent added importance to this review since the subjects of discussion in Berlin would inevitably involve the collective security of all the NATO countries. Moreover, as the Three-Power meeting in Bermuda had immediately preceded the Ministerial session of the Council, it was possible for the Council to take the Bermuda discussions into account in making its own review.

Exchange of Views on the International Situation

The Ministers continued at this session their past practice of exchanging political views on current questions of common interest, and developed this practice further by having an informal discussion in restricted session, attended only by the Ministers themselves, the Permanent Representatives and one adviser to each Delegation. These off-the-record discussions, in which the participants spoke their minds freely, made a worthwhile contribution to the cause of better understanding between member countries.

There were two main conclusions. The first was that, regardless of any changes that may have taken place in Soviet tactics, there was as yet no evidence that the objectives of the Soviet Government did not remain basically hostile to the free world. Therefore, given the facts of Soviet military power, it had to be assumed that the present threat to the free world would continue for a long time to come. The second conclusion was that the policy of the NATO countries in these circumstances must be to pursue the twin aims of building the defensive and economic strength and political unity of the Atlantic community, while at the same time seeking to negotiate on outstanding differences wherever possible (as, for example, at the proposed meeting in Berlin). The Council was convinced that the Atlantic alliance had already been instrumental in preserving peace but that the defensive forces must be further reinforced if they were to provide an effective long-term deterrent against aggression. In this connection, the vital importance was stressed of completing the arrangements for European unity and collective security, including the institution of the European Defence Community, which would make possible



—UP

NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MINISTERIAL MEETING

The Canadian Delegation to the North Atlantic Ministerial Session included left to right, the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton; the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson; and the Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Mr. L. D. Wilgress.

a German defence contribution. At the same time, it was emphasized that such arrangements must be brought within and become part of the developing Atlantic community and that no security or stability could be found through isolated arrangements either in North America or in Europe.

Annual Review

Last April the Council completed a comprehensive review of member countries' defence programmes and adopted firm goals for the level of forces to be achieved by the end of this year. Since then a further Annual Review had been carried out of the progress made in the NATO defence effort, and the Council at this session considered a report on this review. The report recorded that the force goals for the current year had been completely achieved for land forces, and had been met "to a substantial extent" for the naval and air forces. The total defence expenditures of all the NATO countries in 1953 were calculated to amount to about \$65.5 billion, which is nearly ten per cent over the corresponding figure for 1952 and three and a half times the figure for 1949 (the year immediately preceding the start of the NATO defence build-up). Notable progress had been made in the current year in increasing the effectiveness of the NATO forces, in improving their training and equipment and in developing additional support units. North American aid programmes continued to make a major contribution to equipping the forces of the European NATO countries. The value of military equipment shipped to Europe under United States and Canadian aid programmes increased from about \$2.1 billion in 1952 to between \$3 and \$4 billion in 1953. Canadian appropriations for this purpose have totalled over \$1 billion since the inception of the Canadian Mutual Aid Programme in 1950-51.

On the basis of the report on the 1953 Annual Review, the Council agreed upon the level of NATO forces to be achieved and maintained over the next

three years, the goals for 1954 being firm commitments, while the goals for 1955 and 1956 are provisional and for planning purposes. Following the practice established at the last Ministerial meeting, the Council released no precise figures. It can be said, however, that the forces planned for the end of 1954 are to be somewhat larger in numbers and substantially better in quality than those now in existence.

The broad lines of future NATO defence planning to meet the threat of aggression over an extended period were agreed. Member countries would have to be prepared to maintain a high level of military preparedness, while at the same time strengthening their economic and social structures. To insure that their forces were adequate either to discourage attack or, if war came, to hold up the enemy until the full strength of the alliance could be mobilized, member countries must see that these forces are furnished with the most modern equipment possible and are ready to go into action rapidly. In this connection, the Council's Military Committee has under way a comprehensive re-assessment of the organization and use of the NATO forces in the light of the effect of new weapons and was asked to keep the Council informed of its progress. These studies will be aided, it is hoped, by information on nuclear weapons which the President of the United States is seeking Congressional authority to provide to the NATO Supreme Commanders. The Council also recognized that this long-term defence plan had important financial implications, particularly with respect to replacing obsolete weapons, and that it would have to keep these under continuous review.

Military Matters

The Council took note of a report by the Military Committee on the progress made during the current year in NATO military planning and organization. It also heard statements by the NATO Supreme Commanders supplementing this report. Admiral Sir John Edelman, Commander-in-Chief Channel, spoke of developments in his command (which covers the area of the English Channel and the Eastern and Western approaches to United Kingdom ports), since he and his colleague, Air Marshal Boothman (Commander-in-chief for Air, Channel) took up their joint appointments earlier this year. Admiral L. D. McCormick, Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT), outlined the progress made in the plans of his Command for safeguarding the lines of communication across the Atlantic. And General A. M. Gruenther, Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), referred to the remarkable progress so far made, but emphasized the tremendous work still to be done in improving the effectiveness of the forces under his command and maintaining public interest and support for the defence effort.

The Council approved a recommendation that a new light-weight .30 calibre cartridge be adopted as standard small arms ammunition for NATO use. This recommendation arose out of an agreement reached by Belgium, Canada, France, the United Kingdom and the United States, and announced during this Ministerial meeting, that this should be the new standard round. Tribute was paid to Mr. Claxton for Canada's contribution to this remarkable achievement.

Secretary-General's Report

The Council also considered a report by the Secretary-General on the progress recorded in a number of fields of NATO work since the previous



—Shape

THE 12th MINISTERIAL COUNCIL MEETING OF NATO

A general view of the Conference Room at NATO Headquarters, Palais de Chaillot, Paris.

Ministerial meeting. An indication of the subjects covered is given in paragraph 9 of the Communiqué. In discussing these matters, a number of Ministers emphasized the need to develop increased co-operation between the NATO countries in non-military spheres, to develop greater unity and wider public understanding, if the Organization was to endure.

FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ

1. The North Atlantic Council, meeting in Paris in Ministerial Session under the Chairmanship of the French Foreign Minister, M. Georges Bidault, completed its work today.

2. The Council examined the international situation and views were exchanged on matters of common concern, including Soviet policy. The Council concluded that there had been no evidence of any change in ultimate Soviet objectives and that it remained a principal Soviet aim to bring about the disintegration of the Atlantic Alliance. While the Soviet Government had yet to show that it genuinely desired to reach agreement on any of the outstanding points of difference throughout the world, the policy of NATO is to seek solutions to problems by peaceful means. The Council therefore welcomed the steps taken by the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States in their recent exchanges of notes with the Soviet Government to bring about an early meeting of the four Foreign Ministers in Berlin. The Council also warmly endorsed the initiative taken by the President of the United States in placing before the United Nations proposals for developing and expediting the peaceful use of atomic energy and bringing together the Powers principally involved in order to seek a solution to the problem of atomic armaments.

3. The Council reaffirmed its conviction that peace and security must be the paramount aim of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It recognized

that the increasing strength and unity of the North Atlantic Powers, which must be steadily reinforced, had proved to be decisive factors in maintaining peace and preventing aggression. Nevertheless, the threat to the Western world remains and member countries must be ready to face a continuance of this threat over a long period. The Atlantic community must therefore be prepared to keep in being over a period of years forces and weapons which will be a major factor in deterring aggression and in contributing to the effective security of the NATO area, and which member countries can afford while at the same time maintaining and strengthening their economic and social structures. Improvements must continually be sought in the quality of NATO forces and to ensure that they have equipment which is always up-to-date so that, in the event of attack, they can act as a shield behind which the full strength of the member countries can be rapidly mobilized.

Within the continuously developing framework of the Atlantic community the institution of the European Defence Community including a German contribution, remains an essential objective for the reinforcement of the defensive strength of the Alliance.

4. The Council considered the Report on the Annual Review for 1953 which records the progress in the NATO defence effort, particularly during the past year. At its meeting in December 1952, the Council laid emphasis on the development of the effectiveness of the forces. In this respect notable progress has been made. Large quantities of new equipment have been provided to the forces. This has enabled, in particular, many new support units to be built up. The goals established for the current year have been completely met for the land forces and to a substantial extent for the naval and air forces.

5. On the basis of recommendations made in the Report, the Council adopted firm force goals for 1954, provisional goals for 1955, and planning goals for 1956. The force goals agreed upon for 1954 envisage some increase in the numerical strength of existing NATO forces and a very substantial improvement in their quality and effectiveness.

6. It was agreed that special attention should be given to the continuing provision of modern weapons of the latest types to support the NATO defence system.

The Council noted with satisfaction the intention of the President of the United States of America to ask Congress for authority to provide information on nuclear weapons to NATO Commanders for purposes of NATO military planning.

7. The Council recognized that a long-term defence system as now envisaged raises important military and financial problems. With respect to the military problems the Council invited the Military Committee to continue its re-assessment of the most effective pattern of military forces, for this long term, both active and reserve, due regard being paid to the results of studies of the effect of new weapons. The Council will be kept informed of the progress of this work and a report will be submitted to it in due course. The Council will also keep under review the very considerable financial effort still required to continue the present build-up, to maintain NATO forces at an adequate level of readiness and to replace obsolescent weapons.

8. The Council heard statements by Admiral Sir John Edelsten, Commander-in-Chief Channel, Admiral L. D. McCormick, Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic, and General Alfred M. Gruenther, Supreme Allied Com-

mander Europe, on the work achieved in their Commands, and took note of a progress report by the Military Committee.

9. In the course of its review the Council considered the Secretary General's Report and welcomed the progress recorded since the last Ministerial meeting in April. It emphasized the importance of the work being done to co-ordinate national planning in such matters as civil defence, the wartime control and distribution of commodities and of shipping and other means of transport. Agreement was expressed with Lord Ismay's view that the preparations by member governments in these fields should parallel the progress already achieved in the military field. The Council took note that the problems of manpower had been kept under review and that several recommendations to governments had been approved. Progress which had been achieved this year in preparing correlated production programmes was welcomed. These programmes cover production, for several years ahead, of important ranges of military equipment. The Council expressed satisfaction with the Secretary General's Report on the implementation of the common infrastructure programmes. Besides a large number of projects now under construction, no less than 120 airfields and a large network of signals communications facilities are in use by NATO forces.

10. Ministers took the opportunity to meet together in restricted session and discussed informally matters of interest to all the member governments. They intend at future meetings to continue this procedure, which developed naturally from the sense of unity in the Alliance. They are continually mindful of the political links which bind them in an Alliance which is not solely military in character.



CANADIAN RED CROSS FLOOD RELIEF SHIPMENT

—Anpfoto

The West Capelle ladies choir of the Walcheren Island singing "O Canada" at a ceremony which marked the arrival of \$412,000 shipment via "Prins Wilhelm III" of agricultural equipment sent to the Netherlands by the Canadian Red Cross to help that country bring back the agricultural land into productive use.

Progress in the Colombo Plan

IN October 1953 the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia held its Fifth Meeting in New Delhi under the chairmanship of the leader of the Indian Delegation, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Indian Minister of Finance. The Minister of Fisheries, Mr. James Sinclair, headed the Canadian Delegation. On the invitation of the Government of Canada, extended by Mr. Sinclair, the Committee decided to hold its next meeting in Ottawa. This meeting will take place probably in the Autumn of 1954.

The Consultative Committee was set up, following the meeting of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers at Colombo in January 1950, to provide a framework within which an international co-operative effort could be promoted to assist countries of South and Southeast Asia in raising their living standards. The previous meetings of the Committee were held at Sydney in May 1950, London in September of the same year, Colombo in February 1951 and Karachi in March 1952.

Communiqué

In addition to delegations from India and Canada, the New Delhi meeting was attended by representatives from Australia, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Indonesia, Laos, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, Malaya, Singapore, the United States, and Viet Nam. This was the first time that Indonesia had been represented as a full member of the Colombo Plan. Thailand, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), were represented by observers, while the Director of the Bureau for Technical Co-operation attended on behalf of the Co-operative Technical Assistance Scheme of the Colombo Plan. The Progress Report, prepared by the Consultative Committee in its New Delhi meeting, was tabled in the House of Commons on December 15. The following is the substance of the communiqué issued at the end of the meeting.

The main purpose of the Session was to review progress under the Colombo Plan during 1952-53, including the achievements of countries in South and Southeast Asia in their development programmes.

A Progress Report, upon which preliminary work had been done by officials of the participating Governments in New Delhi from September 28 to October 8, was unanimously adopted by the Committee at its final meeting today. It is expected that it will be possible to issue this report in the capitals of the various member countries by December 15, 1953.

The Committee recognized the desirability of stimulating increased understanding of, and interest in, the Colombo Plan and its aims and objectives. It accepted the proposal for the setting up of a small information unit in Colombo. This unit will collect information relating to the Colombo Plan and arrange for the exchange and distribution of this information to all member Governments. It will also serve as a central pool of information which will be available to the Press and to the public.

The report approved by the Committee at its present meeting examines the progress achieved, the problems encountered and the tasks which lie ahead



COLOMBO PLAN MEETING

The Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, left, and the Minister of Fisheries, Mr. James Sinclair, at the October meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan.

in carrying forward the development programmes. The report notes that the resources being devoted to development projects have progressively increased since 1951. Although many of the projects included in the development programme are of a long term character and the full benefits from them will not accrue for several years, there are already indications of considerable progress, especially in agriculture, irrigation, power, and transportation.

Burma is still engaged in rehabilitating her economy after the extensive damage of the war period. A considerable amount of land has been reclaimed and is now under cultivation. In 1952, 633,000 more acres were sown to paddy than in 1951. A cotton seed farm was established for a long-staple cotton; a dairy farm was set up with imported cows from Pakistan; seedlings were pro-

cured for planting 300,000 coconut trees. A large oil refinery is under construction and a small sulphuric acid plant is nearing completion. A number of Government buildings have been erected and several housing projects are under way.

In **Ceylon** about 20,000 more acres of irrigable land were opened up in 1952-53, mainly under the important Gal Oya Scheme, work on which continues to make satisfactory progress. The rural development scheme was in successful operation. Satisfactory progress was maintained in fisheries development. The improvement of Colombo harbour was well under way. Stage I of the hydro-electric scheme at Norton Bridge was completed, resulting in an increase in capacity of 25,000 K.W. The plywood factory was reorganized and satisfactory progress was made with the vegetable oil, D.D.T. and caustic soda factory and with the paper factory.

In **India**, irrigation works benefited 3.5 million acres of land during 1952-53. The Central Tractor Organization reclaimed some 510,000 acres. Owing partly to good seasons, but also as a result of these and other developmental measures, the production of food increased by nearly 5 million tons as compared with 1951-52. Work on Bhakra Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud and Tungbhadra and other projects was progressing satisfactorily. Power generation capacity was increased by 315,000 K.W. The fertilizer factory, the Chittaranjan locomotive factory and the telephone factory went into production. The production of fertilizer increased from 35,000 tons in 1951-52 to 230,000 tons in 1952-53. The construction of three ships was completed. 333 new railway locomotives were commissioned, which included 90 procured from domestic production. The two principal producers of iron and steel were expanding their production capacity. Two oil refineries were being erected near Bombay. The production of cotton cloth reached 4,700 million yards, a post-war record. The production of coal increased from 32 million tons in 1950 to 36 million tons in 1952 and that of steel from 1,004,000 tons in 1950 to 1,103,000 tons in 1952.

In **Indonesia**, considerable progress has already been made in approaching the goal of self-sufficiency in foodstuffs, especially rice; imports of rice were reduced from 600,000 tons in 1951-52 to 300,000 tons in 1952-53. Rural education centres were set up to intensify extension work. The important programme for the transfer of population from over-populated areas to under-populated areas was under way. Work continued on irrigation projects during recent years. Nearly one million miles of irrigation canals have been constructed. Progress was made with highway construction and other communication. A start was made on the South Borneo drainage plan, involving an area of nearly 500,000 acres. The motorization of the fishing fleet began. The production of petroleum products was greatly increased. Various projects concerning industry, labour health, social development and education were under way.

In the **Federation of Malaya** the resettlement of over 400,000 squatters was completed. 50,000 acres were replanted with high-yielding rubber. At Tanjong Karang the irrigation of 50,000 acres of paddy land was completed. The first stage (40,000 k.w.) of the Connaught Bridge Power Station was completed. The gap in the East Coast Railway was closed by the relaying of 200 miles of line.

In **Singapore**, a new station with an interim capacity of 50,000 K.W. has been brought into operation. Substantial progress was made with the new airport and with housing schemes.

In **Sarawak**, progress was made with development of roads and air transport and with telecommunications.

In **North Borneo**, schemes for irrigation, communications, electricity and housing were under way.



—Express Photo

LEADER OF CANADIAN DELEGATION VISITS BOMBAY

The Minister of Fisheries Mr. James Sinclair, on the occasion of his visit during November to the Tardeo Vehicles Depot of the Bombay State Road Transport Corporation, to which Canada has supplied a substantial number of vehicles under the Colombo Plan.

In Nepal, the construction of 79 miles of motor road to connect Kathmandu and Bhaise was started in September 1952 and the track has already been rendered fit to be negotiated by jeeps. Five important districts were connected with each other by air services. A systematic geological survey of Nepal was got under way. A Central livestock development farm was established at Kathmandu. A village development scheme was inaugurated with trained workers.

In Pakistan, satisfactory progress was made with the various multipurpose and irrigation projects. The lower Sind barrage was brought to an advanced stage. The total electric power capacity was increased from 70,000 to 140,000 K.W. The cotton textile industry made remarkable progress. The number of spindles installed, or in process of being installed, amounted to 950,000 as against 178,000 at the time of partition. Similarly the number of looms increased from 4,824 to 13,300. The jute textile industry also made satisfactory progress. 3,000 looms were already in production and were able to meet the internal requirements of the country in respect of jute goods. Two woollen mills with 9,652 worsted spindles and five mills with 4,906 woollen spindles, went into operation. Machinery for 3,660 woollen and 1,060 worsted spindles had arrived and was under installation. Four cotton seed oil plants with an annual crushing capacity of 19,500 tons had gone into production and additional capacity for 57,500 tons was under construction. A sugar mill with an annual capacity of 35,000 tons of sugar was established. A 50,000 ton ammonium sulphate fertilizer plant is under construction.

In Viet Nam the area under rice has increased by nearly 500,000 acres since 1951. The consumption of electric power increased from 195 million k.w.h. in 1952 to 238 million k.w.h. in 1953. The output of coal increased from 638,000 tons in 1951 to 894,000 tons in 1952 and is expected to exceed 1,000,000 tons in 1953.

The report recognizes that by far the large part of an economic development programme in any country has to come from the resources of the country itself. External aid nevertheless has a vital role to play. Since the inception of the Colombo Plan substantial aid has been provided, both in the form of goods and of technical assistance. Some of this has been supplied by the countries in the region to one another and some has been received from countries outside South and Southeast Asia. Grants and loans so far made available by the countries outside the area for economic development purposes in this region since the end of 1950 have totalled more than \$1,000 million (or about £360 million). This assistance has come from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, U.K. and U.S.A. and the I.B.R.D.

The report notes that the supply position for imported equipment and materials has generally improved thus easing somewhat certain of the difficulties experienced in the early stages of the programmes. The report emphasizes that the decline in raw material prices from the high levels reached in 1950-51 has left most of the countries in the area with greatly reduced resources. At the same time costs of the development programmes have risen appreciably since their inception.

Although the problems are serious, it is fundamental that the development programmes should continue to move forward as rapidly as possible. It is, therefore, clearly necessary that the countries of the area should make the maximum efforts to mobilize their own resources. The need for external aid to supplement these resources continues to be at least as great as in the first years of the plan.

The Colombo Plan countries have shown, in the face of the magnitude of the task, that they can plan both boldly and realistically and readjust themselves to good fortune and bad. Their courage and resourcefulness have been severely tested in the past years and the manner in which they have responded is perhaps the surest guarantee that the Colombo Plan will come up to, and even surpass, the hopes with which it began.

Canada's Contribution

An extract from the report explaining Canada's contribution to the Colombo Plan is reproduced below.

Canada has so far made available to the countries of South and Southeast Asia through the Colombo Plan, in a series of annual parliamentary votes, a total of approximately \$76.6 million. Of this amount \$75 million was for economic assistance and about \$1.6 million for technical assistance. In order to facilitate effective planning and execution, the Canadian Parliament this year agreed to the carrying over of unexpended Colombo Plan monies from year to year.

Capital Aid

Canada has provided assistance to India, Pakistan and Ceylon in accordance with a general statement of principles agreed with each of these Governments. These principles envisage the provision of aid in the form of goods and services related to specific development programmes. Assistance may be on either a grant or a loan basis, depending on the nature of the project, but so far

all capital assistance has been by way of grants. If the goods supplied by Canada on a grant basis are sold by the receiving government, counterpart funds are set aside in the national currency to finance local costs of such specific development projects as may be agreed upon by the two governments. Although in particular cases the exact amounts of counterpart funds may be subject to discussion, they will normally be equivalent to the expenditures made by the Canadian Government.

In providing aid to these countries, Canada recognizes that they are generally in the best position to know their own needs and it is therefore left to their initiative to propose projects for Canadian aid. When deciding which projects should be accepted, the Canadian authorities take into account both the contribution which the particular project is likely to make to basic economic development and also the extent to which the required goods and services can be supplied from Canada. In practice the Canadian contribution has included commodities as well as equipment. While most of the goods and services provided have been of Canadian origin, some have been procured from outside sources when necessary to complete a predominantly Canadian portion of a project. The principal projects so far assisted have been in the fields of food production, transportation and public utilities.

In the first year of the Colombo Plan, the Canadian contribution of \$25 million was divided between India and Pakistan, with \$15 million allocated to India and \$10 million to Pakistan. In 1952-53, Ceylon was included in the Canadian programme and provision was made for about \$2 million of aid to that country with the remaining funds to be allotted to India and Pakistan in the light of programmes suggested by those governments. It would appear that approximately \$13.7 million will be devoted to projects in India and approximately \$9.3 million to Pakistan. Plans for the use of the funds appropriated in 1953-54 are well advanced.

Any assistance which Canada might provide to other countries of the area would presumably be supplied on a basis similar to that used in the cases of India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

India

In view of the serious food shortage in India during the first two years, the Canadian programme included \$10 million for wheat in 1951-52 and \$5 million for the same purpose in 1952-53. Of the resulting counterpart funds it has so far been agreed that \$10 million will be used for the irrigation and hydro-electric project at Mayurakshi. This contribution to local construction costs will supplement the \$3 million of Canadian Colombo Plan funds earmarked for the provision and installation of hydro-electric equipment from Canada at this site. Since this equipment is being transferred by the Government of India as a loan to the project, it will in turn yield counterpart funds over a period of years.

Another project assisted by Canada has been the modernization and expansion of the Bombay State transport system. Trucks, buses, tractors, and trailers, as well as a considerable quantity of tools and spare parts have been supplied out of the \$4.5 million allocated for the project. This equipment is being transferred by the Government of India on a loan basis and will therefore produce counterpart funds in due course.

In the field of transportation Canada has also agreed to supply a number of boilers for installation in locomotives manufactured at Chittaranjan. Canada's assistance to this project, which is expected to be between \$1.3 million and \$2.08 million, will also generate counterpart funds.



—Capital Press

INDIAN CO-OPERATIVE MISSION MEETS PRIME MINISTER

The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, welcomed members of the Indian Co-operative Mission which toured Canada last month under the Colombo Plan. Left to right: Mr. R. H. Jay, Department of External Affairs; Mr. H. L. Trueman, Department of Agriculture; Mr. M. R. Bhide, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, New Delhi; the Prime Minister; Mr. Shyam Bharosay, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bhopal; Mr. R. P. Bhardwaj, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Uttar Pradesh; and Mr. J. E. O'Meara, Department of Agriculture.

It is anticipated that agreement will shortly be reached on an additional programme of capital assistance to be financed from funds carried forward from 1952-53 and funds voted for the current fiscal year. This programme may include industrial materials as well as locomotives and other equipment from Canada.

Pakistan

Canadian assistance to Pakistan has included \$5.5 million for a cement plant in the Thal Development area, the output of which will be used for re-settlement housing and the lining of irrigation canals. Canada has also joined with the Government of Pakistan, Australia and New Zealand in establishing a model livestock farm in the same area and will contribute machinery to the value of approximately \$200,000.

During the second year Canada undertook the financing of an aerial resources survey of Pakistan at an estimated cost of \$2 million. The photographic part of this survey is almost completed and Canada has agreed to an extension of the project at a maximum cost of \$1 million to cover the remainder of West Pakistan. In the extended survey, emphasis is being placed on agricultural potentialities.

In connection with the rehabilitation and modernization of the railway system now proceeding with assistance from the International Bank, Canada is contributing \$2.8 million worth of railway sleepers.

Three Beaver aircraft, fitted with dusting and spraying equipment, are being supplied at a cost of \$178,000 to assist in controlling the locust pest in Pakistan.

In view of the serious food shortage in Pakistan, the Canadian Government agreed that a total of \$10 million of Colombo Plan funds should be used for the provision of wheat with the understanding that an equivalent amount of counterpart funds would be set aside by the Pakistan Government for development purposes. For half of this amount, Colombo Plan funds were used initially as a means of temporary financing and it is the intention of the Canadian Government to ask Parliament at the next session to replace these funds for additional Colombo Plan expenditures.

So far Canada has earmarked \$3.4 million for the purpose of hydro-electric and related equipment for the Warsak Dam. Canada may also provide consulting engineering services and certain light construction equipment for this project. Moreover, some portion of the counterpart funds generated from the supply of wheat may be used to meet local costs.

Although several projects are being examined, agreement has not yet been reached on the projects to be assisted from Colombo Plan funds voted in 1953-54.

Ceylon

The 1952-53 programme included \$1 million made available for a fisheries research and development project, and \$600,000 for the electricity transmission system in the Gal Oya area.

With respect to funds voted in 1953-54, agreement has been reached on certain specific projects, totalling \$1,785 million, including two diesel locomotives, equipment for 15 agricultural maintenance workshops, a number of pumping sets, a well-boring machine for drainage and irrigation purposes, a rural road building programme and the constructing and equipment of a polytechnic institute. The local costs involved in rural road construction and in the building of the polytechnic institute will be met from counterpart funds arising from the sale of flour supplied by Canada. The transfer of the diesel locomotives will also create counterpart funds. In addition to these specific items, the Canadian Government has agreed in principle to the provision of further assistance for the fisheries pilot project and for pest control.

Technical Co-operation

There has been an intimate relationship between Canadian technical and capital assistance. In many cases, technical assistance supplied by Canada has given rise to capital projects while in other cases, capital projects which Canada was assisting have entailed the provision of technical advice and training from Canada. Thus aid so far given to the fisheries project in Ceylon was in part based upon advice and recommendations made to the Government of Ceylon by a Canadian fisheries expert. In connection with this project and other capital assistance projects such as the cement plant, the aerial resources survey and the Thal Development Farm in Pakistan, training is being arranged for personnel from the area. Although some distinction is maintained between capital and technical assistance activities, the funds made available by the Canadian Parliament for the two purposes are now covered by a single vote.

In view of the importance of an increase in training facilities in the area for farmers, foremen and other skilled or semi-skilled workers, several proposals for the provision of training equipment from Canadian Colombo Plan funds are under study. In addition to the decision to provide a polytechnic institute for Ceylon as part of the capital assistance programme, agreement has also been reached on the supply of some \$15,000 worth of equipment for the Agricultural Faculty of the University of Ceylon. The Government of Canada has also agreed to provide funds for the construction, equipment and maintenance of

(Continued on page 33)

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

TWO references to the increasing strategic and economic importance of Canada's northland from the international view point were made by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on December 8 in an address moving the second reading of a bill establishing the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. After explaining that the primary duty of the new Department would be to administer the northern territories, the Prime Minister referred to Canadian sovereignty over the areas in question:

Now, it seemed to us that it was becoming increasingly apparent that it would be desirable to alter the situation and to create conditions in which it is clearly indicated that the Government and Parliament want further attention given to the development of our north country, and I may say that that was further impressed upon us by the fact that there have to be quite a number of non-Canadians going into that territory. We felt that it was very important to have the situation such that whenever they went there they realized they were in Canadian territory and in territory that was administered by Canadian authorities.

The present bill is designed to give more emphasis to the fact that the people of Canada are greatly interested in this northern territory and regard it as an important part of the territory subject to the sovereignty of the Canadian nation. The purpose of this bill is to further that objective . . .

Later in his address the Prime Minister referred to the strategic importance of Canada's northland with the following words:

There is another aspect which makes it necessary for us to give more attention to these northern territories and that is the fact that the Canadian northland lies between the two greatest powers in the world at the present time, namely, the United States of America and the U.S.S.R., and our own security is probably made more difficult to provide for by the fact that this northland of ours is between these two great world powers. There will, no doubt, have to be joint measures taken for the security of the North American continent. It is a continental problem that presents itself for solution by that mere fact of geology. I am not going to say any more about it than was said by the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Claxton), but all these joint undertakings are carried out under the principle which the President enunciated from the head of the table here only three or four weeks ago. They are implemented with full respect for the sovereignty of the country in which they are carried out.

We must leave no doubt about our active occupation and exercise of our sovereignty in these northern lands right up to the Pole. That is something which puts these lands in a somewhat different position from other parts of Canada. From other parts of Canada we get representations from the localities about the things that are required for their development. Here I think there must be someone having ministerial responsibility to take initiatives so we will not have to wait until there are representations from the so sparse population in the area as to what is required. It was for these reasons that it was held it would be desirable to have on the statute books a Department of Northern Affairs and to have representatives of the Department of Northern Affairs present in various parts of these territories and symbolic of the actuality of the exercise of Canadian sovereignty over them.

Canada and the United Nations

The Korean Negotiations

One of the recommendations contained in the General Assembly resolution of August 28, the declared purpose of which was to implement on the United Nations side the recommendation of the Armistice Agreement that a political conference be convened to settle the Korean problem, was that the United States, after consultation with those states primarily concerned with Korea, should arrange with the other side for the conference to be held not later than October 28, 1953, at a time and place satisfactory to both sides.

Beginning in September, the United States sent a number of messages to the Peking and North Korean regimes concerning the time and place for the Conference. At first the Communists did not choose to reply. Then on September 13, Chou En-lai, in a message to the United Nations' Secretary-General obviously timed to coincide with the opening of the eighth session of the General Assembly on September 15, called on the Assembly to provide for a conference which would include not only the belligerents on both sides but also the Soviet Union, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma as neutral nations. He said that when agreement had been reached on the composition of the conference, the two sides should consult concerning its time and place of meeting. The Assembly refused the Soviet demand to place this message on its agenda. The majority view seemed to be that the Assembly had taken its decision concerning the composition of the United Nations side of the conference and that it was now up to the Communist side to designate its representatives and express its views regarding a time and place for the Conference.

Agreement on Time and Place

On October 10 the Peking Government and North Korea accepted a United States proposal that their emissaries meet with a United States representative to discuss arrangements for the conference. Both sides agreed on Panmunjom as the place, and meetings began there on October 26. At first, the representatives were unable to agree on an agenda for the talks. The Communists wished first to have the question of composition of the Conference discussed and settled. The United States representative, Mr. Arthur Dean, however, wanted to obtain agreement on the time and place of the conference. The difficulty concerning agenda was circumvented when the Communists agreed to a United States proposal that the representatives refer the question to a committee of advisors from each side, who should attempt to reach a solution. The advisors suggested that a composite agenda be accepted, according to which the questions of time, place and composition would be discussed simultaneously by subcommittees. The plenary meeting of representatives endorsed this suggestion.

In subsequent meetings, two main points of issue arose. The first concerned the status of Soviet participation in the Conference. The Communists insisted that the Soviet Union take its place as a neutral and not as a member of their side. The United States emissary held that the Soviet Union could not be regarded as a neutral and would have to register its vote with the Communist side on every substantive agreement reached by the conference. The second

question concerned the participation of neutrals generally. The Communists continued to favor India and three other Asian neutrals attending; the United States emissary suggested the participation as non-voting observers of some or all of the governments which had been actually working in Korea or which had current experience there. Such governments could be those belonging to the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, i.e. India, Sweden, Switzerland, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

By December 8 both sides had put in writing their proposals for the Conference. These differed concerning time and place as well as the other matters. The Communists wanted the Conference convened on December 28, 1953; the United States emissary, Mr. Dean, proposed that the Conference meet not less than 28 days or more than 42 days after the termination of the Panmunjom talks. According to the Communists, the Conference should be held in New Delhi, India; according to Mr. Dean, in Geneva, Switzerland.

At the meeting of December 12, the Communists questioned whether Mr. Dean had authority to speak for the Republic of Korea in the negotiations. They went on to accuse the United States of conniving with the Republic of Korea in the release last June of some 27,000 Korean prisoners of war, and termed this alleged action perfidious. Mr. Dean denied the charge, stated that he would treat it as notification that the Communists wished the talks recessed indefinitely and left the conference room. He has since returned to Washington for consultation.

General Assembly

This is the fourth consecutive report summarizing the work of the eighth session of the General Assembly, which met in New York from September 15 to December 9, 1953, under the presidency of Madame Pandit of India.

The session was the first held since 1949 which did not take place against the background of fighting in Korea. On the whole, it was a quiet session. Because of the Korean negotiations, which were being conducted simultaneously but outside the Assembly, and the imminence of conferences among the Great Powers to discuss the most important topics of international concern, the Assembly was, in some respects, marking time. Progress was achieved, however, and useful work done on such issues as Chinese Nationalist troops in Burma, amendments to the staff regulations of the United Nations, the High Commissioner for Refugees, technical assistance, Korean reconstruction, the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), Charter revision and UNICEF, which are the subjects of separate sections in this or previous articles. In addition, President Eisenhower's address to the General Assembly on his new proposals concerning atomic energy provided a moving and hopeful climax to the session, an assurance that, although the powers principally involved may negotiate privately among themselves, any constructive new plans resulting will be implemented through and by the United Nations.

In her concluding address to the Assembly, the President noted "how earnestly great powers and small have tried to achieve a real meeting of minds." Madame Pandit declared that "the purpose of the United Nations is not only to solve specific international disputes but to lead mankind into a new age of constructive co-operation for the common good of all peoples everywhere. To this task the present Assembly has made a contribution, not spectacular perhaps, but adequate for greater success in the coming months and years."



—United Nations

CANADA SIGNS THREE INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS

The Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, Mr. David M. Johnson, right, signs the Slavery Protocol, the third Protocol of Rectifications and Modifications to the Text of the Schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and the Declaration on Continued Application of GATT Tariff Schedules. At Mr. Johnson's right is Mr. Constantin Stavropoulos, Principal Director in charge of the United Nations Legal Department.

Korean Reconstruction

On December 7, the General Assembly approved without discussion by a vote of 52 in favour, none against and 5 abstentions (the Soviet bloc) a resolution submitted by the Second Committee which had been sponsored by Canada together with Argentina, France, the Philippines, the United Kingdom and the United States. By this resolution, the General Assembly approved, subject to consultation between the United Nations Agent-General for Korean Reconstruction and the UNKRA Advisory Committee, the Agency's programmes for the financial years 1953-54 and 1954-55, noted with concern that sufficient funds were not available to carry out these programmes and urged all governments to implement pledges already made or to contribute to the Agency's programmes. Canada has paid its pledge of \$7,250,000 (Canadian) in full.

As at November 30, 1953, 28 countries members of the United Nations and five non-members had made pledges to UNKRA amounting to \$207,598,517 of which \$88,000,000 had been paid. Thirteen member countries had not yet paid their pledges in full. The main contributors besides Canada are the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia which have pledged \$162,500,000, \$28,000,000 and \$4,000,000 respectively, of which approximately \$65,700,000, \$11,300,000 and \$1,300,000 have already been paid.

The combined 1952-53 and 1953-54 programme now being carried out by the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency involves expenditures amounting to \$155,000,000 (US) while the 1954-55 programme envisages expenditures in the amount of \$110,000,000.

U.S. Report on Korean Atrocities

Concern was felt at the eighth session of the General Assembly over a report issued by the United States on atrocities committed by the Communist side in the Korean conflict. Speakers in the debate dwelt on their revulsion at such inhuman acts but made it clear that they were aware of the many practical and political difficulties which full investigation and punishment would involve. The U.S.S.R. representative charged that the report was without foundation and had been fabricated as a means of stirring up hatred and opposing peace. In a statement on November 30 the Canadian representative drew attention to the legal requirements for humane treatment of prisoners and recalled the Geneva Conventions of 1929 and 1949. He expressed the view that the least that could be done in the present situation was to demonstrate concern at the report of atrocities and to condemn such acts which violated international law and the basic standards of morality. It was the hope of the Canadian Delegation that when the judgment of world opinion had been passed upon any governments guilty of such atrocities, the Assembly would be able to close this gruesome chapter and look forward to the task of rehabilitating Korea and to the business of making peace. After a four-day debate in plenary session the General Assembly adopted a joint draft resolution introduced by Australia, France, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States, in which grave concern is expressed at the reports of atrocities, and the commission of such atrocities is condemned. The vote was 42 in favour (including Canada), 5 against (the Soviet bloc) with 10 abstentions.

President Eisenhower's Speech of December 8

In a speech to the United Nations General Assembly on December 8, 1953, President Eisenhower put forward the proposal that to the extent permitted by elementary prudence, the governments principally involved should begin and should continue to make joint contributions from their stock piles of fissionable material to an International Atomic Energy Agency set up under the aegis of the United Nations. The Agency would use this fissionable material for peaceful purposes only, experts being mobilized to advise methods whereby atomic energy would be applied for agriculture, medicine, electric power, etc. The President suggested that this proposal be examined during private conversations which might take place pursuant to the General Assembly resolution of November 28 last which suggested that "the Disarmament Commission study the desirability of establishing a special committee, consisting of representatives of the powers principally involved, which should seek, in private, an acceptable solution—and report on such a solution to the General Assembly and to the Security Council not later than September 1, 1954".

The Eisenhower proposal was presented as a measure designed to bring about East-West co-operation on one aspect of atomic energy, thus paving the way for a general settlement of all the problems of atomic energy including the prohibition of atomic weapons. Repeated efforts by the United Nations to solve this problem since 1946 have ended in a deadlock between the Western powers and the U.S.S.R. It is true that these efforts have produced the United Nations Plan for International Control of Atomic Energy which was approved by the General Assembly in 1948, but the Communist countries opposed the plan at the time and no progress has been made since then. The stumbling block in East-West negotiations has been the question of international control



—United Nations

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER VISITS THE UNITED NATIONS

President Eisenhower, second from left, visited the United Nations Headquarters on December 8 and delivered an address to the General Assembly. Before proceeding to the General Assembly auditorium, Mr. Eisenhower is shown above, left to right, with Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations; Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, President of the United Nations General Assembly; and Mr. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State of the United States.

of atomic energy without which adequate safeguards against the use of atomic bombs cannot be insured. The U.S.S.R. has up to now shown no indication that it is ready to accept all the implications of what is regarded by the West as an effective international control system including continuous inspection of national territories and plants. As pointed out by President Eisenhower, his proposal has "the great virtue that it can be undertaken without irritations and mutual suspicions incident to any attempt to set up a completely acceptable system of world wide inspection and control".

On December 9 the Prime Minister welcomed the President's "imaginative and constructive approach to what is perhaps the greatest problem of the day" and assured the Members of the House of Commons that the President's statement would receive "most careful and sympathetic consideration by the Canadian Government".

Measures to Reduce Tension

The Soviet Union's demands for the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and a one-third reduction of armed forces (see above) were repeated in the Soviet draft resolution on the subject of "Measures to avert the threat of a new world war and to reduce tension in international relations", which was belatedly placed on the agenda of the eighth session at the request of the U.S.S.R., and which was discussed by the Political Committee during the week of November 19-26. In addition to the usual requests concerning disarmament, the Soviet resolution urged the holding under the auspices of the Security Council of an International Conference on Disarmament, the elimination of military bases on foreign territories which should be recognized as "increasing the threat of a new world war" and the condemnation of war propaganda. The

debate on this resolution enabled Mr. Vyshinsky to make further propaganda speeches along familiar lines during which he accused "reactionary circles" in the United States who feared a depression, of deliberately increasing international tension in preparation for a third world war. Mr. Vyshinsky also attacked recent United States agreements with Greece, Turkey and Spain and the "prospective" treaty with Pakistan. He also mentioned in passing the United States-Canadian communiqué of November 15 concerning joint defence arrangements which he considered as "calculated to maintain and intensify international tension".

The Canadian Delegation pointed to the utterly unco-operative attitude adopted by the Soviet Union on the question of disarmament to which the U.S.S.R. attached the utmost importance and also to the indignation aroused by religious persecution in Poland which certainly did not help to reduce international tension. A number of countries including France, the United Kingdom, the United States, Peru and the Dominican Republic answered the Soviet representative's charges. The latter three also attacked religious persecution in Poland. In his effective reply to Soviet accusations, the Peruvian representative traced the source of present international tension to the failure of the Soviet Union to disarm after the war and its cynical pursuit of a "real politik" policy of pan-slavism and sovietization of Eastern Europe. Only the atomic bomb and subsequently NATO had kept the U.S.S.R. within bounds and had therefore served the cause of peace rather than the reverse.

The Soviet resolution was ultimately rejected by the Political Committee in a paragraph-by-paragraph vote, no vote being taken on the resolution as a whole since all its operative paragraphs were rejected. The Soviet Union reintroduced its resolution in the General Assembly, but the attempt of the Soviet Delegate to reopen the debate was defeated and the U.S.S.R. resolution was rejected on November 30 by a vote similar to that which had taken place in the Political Committee.

Disarmament

On November 28 last, the General Assembly approved by a vote of 54 in favour (including Canada), none against, with five abstentions (the Soviet bloc) a resolution asking the Disarmament Commission to continue its work with a view to ending the deadlock between the Western Powers and the U.S.S.R. and requesting the Commission to report to the General Assembly and to the Security Council not later than September 1, 1954. This resolution, which had given rise to a prolonged debate in the Political Committee, had been sponsored by 14 countries which are, or will be, members of the Disarmament Commission. The Commission normally consists of the eleven members of the Security Council and Canada when not a member thereof. The Soviet Union was the only member of the Commission which did not sponsor the resolution.

The resolution approved by the Assembly suggests that the Disarmament Commission study the desirability of establishing a special committee consisting of representatives of the powers principally involved, which should seek, in private, an acceptable solution—and report on such a solution to the General Assembly and to the Security Council not later than September 1, 1954. This suggestion for private talks did not appear in the original text of the Fourteen Power Resolution and was added at the request of the Indian Delegation.

During the debate on disarmament in the spring of 1943, the Soviet Union had given indications that it might adopt in the future a more co-operative atti-

tude on this problem. However, both in his opening speech during the Assembly general debate in the early part of the eighth session and during the discussion of the disarmament item later, the representative of the U.S.S.R. repeated his country's requests for the immediate unconditional outlawing of atomic weapons and for a one-third reduction in the armed forces of the permanent members of the Security Council. The majority of the countries members of the United Nations have up to now refused to accept the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons before the establishment of effective international control of atomic energy and unless there are clear indications that the Soviet Union is ready to accept the implications of this control, including inspection of national territories. A one-third reduction of armed forces is equally unacceptable by the Western Powers in view of the present numerical superiority of the Soviet forces. By putting forward requests which have been repeatedly rejected in the past, Mr. Vyshinsky made it clear that the position of the Soviet Union on the question of disarmament remained unchanged, even though the Soviet Delegate did not vote against the Fourteen Power Resolution but merely abstained.

Chinese Nationalist Troops in Burma

On November 5, the joint draft resolution, co-sponsored by Australia, Brazil, Canada, India, Mexico, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, which postponed discussion of the Burmese item in the First Committee until a date not earlier than November 23, was adopted. This postponement was designed to allow time for the implementation of the plans of the Joint Military Committee in Bangkok for the evacuation of 2,000 Chinese troops from Burma.*

On November 27, 1953, the debate on the Burmese item was resumed. After statements by the Burmese, Chinese and United States representatives, the debate was recessed and the First Committee did not consider this item again until December 4.

On November 27 the First Committee had for consideration a joint draft resolution, co-sponsored by Australia, Canada, India, Indonesia, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, on the situation regarding the evacuation of the foreign forces from Burma. On December 1, Thailand and the United States submitted amendments to this eight-power draft resolution which were designed to give some United Nations recognition to the activities of the Joint Military Committee in Bangkok and to express appreciation of the efforts of third parties in the dispute. Burma was opposed to any mention of the Joint Military Committee, since it thought its hands would be tied in making any further direct approach to the United Nations. A satisfactory revised resolution, with Uruguay as an additional co-sponsor, was submitted to the First Committee on December 4 and Thailand and the United States agreed to withdraw their amendments. On the same date, the representative of the U.S.S.R. proposed an oral amendment to delete paragraph 3 of the revised nine-Power draft resolution which expresses appreciation for "the efforts of the United States and Thailand in striving for the evacuation of these forces". On December 4, the Committee rejected the U.S.S.R. amendment by a vote of 49 against (including Canada), 5 in favour (Soviet bloc), with 2 abstentions (Afghanistan, Syria). The Committee adopted the revised nine-Power draft resolution by 51 votes in favour (including Canada), none against, and 6 abstentions (Soviet bloc and Syria). The representative of China did not participate

* See "External Affairs", December 1953, pp. 344-345.

in either of these votes. On the afternoon of December 8, 1953, the resolution from the First Committee dealing with the Burmese complaint against Nationalist China was adopted in plenary session of the General Assembly by a vote of 60 in favour (including Canada), none against, and 1 abstention (Afghanistan). The representative of China did not participate in the vote.

The revised resolution, which was adopted unanimously, states that the General Assembly has considered the report of the Government of the Union of Burma and "all other information on the subject laid before the Assembly" relating to the presence of foreign forces in Burma. It notes that "limited evacuation" of these forces began on November 7 and expresses concern that few arms have been surrendered. The resolution further appreciates the efforts of the United States and Thailand and "urges that efforts be continued on the part of those concerned for the evacuation or internment of these foreign forces and the surrender of all arms". The General Assembly reaffirmed the principle of the resolution adopted at the seventh session on April 23, 1953 and invites "the governments concerned" to inform the General Assembly of any action they have taken to implement this resolution. Lastly, it "requests the Government of the Union of Burma to report on the situation to the General Assembly as appropriate".

In a brief statement in plenary session, the Chinese representative, Dr. T. F. Tsiang, expressed the hope that the total number of evacuated troops might exceed 5,000. The United States Representative predicted that more than 2,000 troops would have been evacuated from Burma by December 11. Although a number of dependents were included in this figure, the percentage of officers among the evacuated combatants is high and includes nine "jungle generals". The main difficulty in the evacuation thus far has been the limited number of arms which have been surrendered to the Joint Military Committee. The Chinese Representative has explained, however, that these arms are being stockpiled for delivery *en bloc* at a later date.

Trusteeship Questions

The Assembly examined carefully the progress made by the eleven territories which are administered under the international trusteeship system established in accordance with Chapter XII of the Charter. The general report of the Trusteeship Council came in for close attention, as did several special reports, and also various petitions and letters from individuals and groups in the territories concerned. In discussions of trusteeship matters a gulf is often evident between administering powers and anti-colonial delegations. This gulf was very much in evidence at the eighth session of the Assembly, but at least it was not widened by developments in Committee and plenary discussions. In participating in these debates the Canadian Delegation has taken the view that the United Nations must endeavour to balance the legitimate hopes and interests of dependent peoples against both the necessity of recognizing the rights of the administering states and of fostering the orderly and gradual processes of evolution. The Assembly adopted nine resolutions relating to trusteeship questions. These involved the method of reporting followed by administering powers; target dates for the attainment of self-government; use of scholarships; dissemination of information about the United Nations; progress of Italian Somaliland; petitions from the French Cameroons; and the Report of the Trusteeship Council.

Race Conflict in South Africa

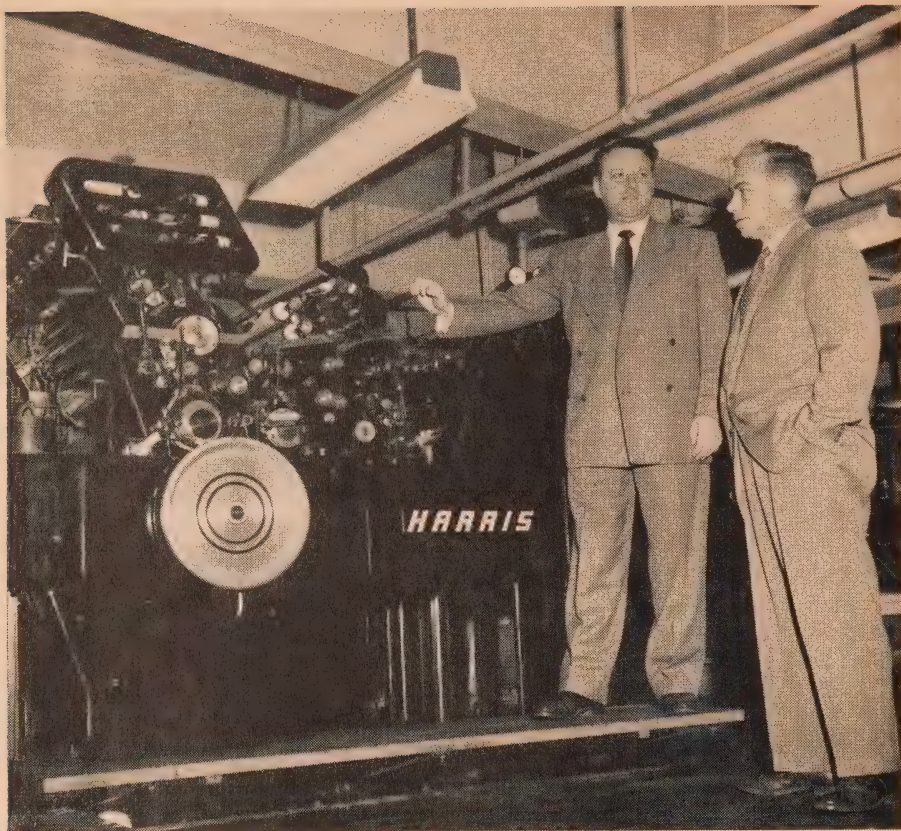
The question of race conflict in South Africa was first placed on the General Assembly agenda at the seventh session, when India and twelve other Arab-Asian states submitted the item, asserting that race conflict resulting from the Union Government's policies of *apartheid* was creating "a dangerous and explosive situation which constitutes both a threat to international peace and a flagrant violation of the basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations". At its seventh session the General Assembly adopted a resolution which established a Commission of three members to study the racial situation in South Africa and to report to the eighth session. As the South African Government regarded the establishment of this Commission as outside the competence of the United Nations under the Charter, it did not recognize the Commission and would not permit it to enter South Africa. The Commission accordingly prepared its report in Geneva.

At the eighth session the question of race conflict in South Africa was referred to the Ad Hoc Committee together with the report of the study Commission. The South African Delegate opened the debate by proposing a resolution which noted that the question of race conflict in South Africa was concerned with a number of subjects (such as social security, education, public health, etc.) which were matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a member state, and asserted that in view of the domestic jurisdiction clause of the Charter the *Ad Hoc* Committee had no competence to intervene in the matters above-mentioned. This resolution would in effect have denied the competence of the Committee to deal with the race conflict question. The South African Delegate based his main argument on the question of competence, but in passing questioned the accuracy and impartiality of the Study Commission report.

Indian Resolution

The Indian Delegation introduced a resolution co-sponsored by sixteen other countries which requested the Commission established at the seventh session to continue its study of the development of the racial situation in South Africa and to suggest measures which would help to alleviate the situation and promote a peaceful settlement. Delegates of forty-three countries participated in the debate which revolved around these two resolutions. On November 27, Mr. Alcide Côté made a statement to the Committee expressing Canada's opposition to all forms of racial discrimination and support for human rights and fundamental freedoms. He indicated that in Canada's view the United Nations was competent to discuss the racial conflict question because of the possible international repercussions of the racial policies of South Africa. He said that Canada would oppose the re-establishment of the Study Commission partly because of doubts concerning the competence of the United Nations but principally because further work by the Commission would not accomplish any useful result.

In the course of the debate the Chilean Delegation introduced an amendment to the seventeen-Power resolution which did not affect its principal terms but reiterated previous General Assembly resolutions in support of human rights and fundamental freedoms.



—United Nations

CANADIAN TECHNICAL EXPERTS AT U.N. HEADQUARTERS

Mr. James P. Carroll, left, and Mr. J. A. Kiefl, two Canadian printing experts who are being sent to Mexico by the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration to work with Mexican National Printing Office.

In the final committee vote the South African resolution on competence was rejected by 7 in favour to 42 against with 7 abstentions (including Canada). The seventeen-power resolution was adopted by 37 in favour to 10 against (including Canada) with 9 abstentions; and the Chilean amendment was adopted by 41 in favour (including Canada) to 4 against, with 7 abstentions.

In plenary session of the General Assembly the South African Delegation introduced a motion asking the Assembly to reject the Committee's recommendation on the grounds that it would involve intervention in the domestic affairs of South Africa. This motion was rejected by 42 to 8 with 10 abstentions (including Canada) and the seventeen-power resolution was subsequently adopted by 38 to 11 (including Canada) with 11 abstentions.

Palestine Refugees

On November 27, 1953, the General Assembly extended the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees until June 30, 1955. The vote approving this extension was 52 in favour, including Canada, none against, and 5 abstentions (Soviet bloc). Under the Blandford Three-Year

Plan approved by the Assembly in 1950, the Agency's activities should have terminated on June 30, 1954, by which time it had been hoped that all refugees would have returned to their homes or would have re-settled in the Arab countries where they took refuge, i.e. Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and the Gaza district under Egyptian control. While it was successful in carrying out its relief programme, the Agency has experienced difficulties in implementing its long-term programme for the re-settlement of refugees, and the number of refugees on June 30, 1953, was about the same as it was when the Agency began its operations.

The Assembly at the same time authorized an increase in the 1953-54 relief budget of the Agency from U.S. \$18 million to \$24.8 million. A 1954-55 relief budget, for which there is no provision in the Blandford Plan, was also authorized in the provisional amount of \$18 million.

In a second resolution on the Palestine Refugees item, the General Assembly authorized, by a vote of 51 in favour, including Canada, none against, and 6 abstentions (the Soviet bloc and Israel), the UNRWA Advisory Commission to increase its present membership of 7 by not more than 2 members. At present the Advisory Commission is composed of representatives from the United Kingdom, the United States, France, Turkey, Jordan, Syria and Egypt.

Financial Assistance for Libya

It was recognized during the sixth session of the General Assembly in Paris in the winter of 1951-52 that Libya, which had just achieved independence with the aid of the United Nations and the two occupying powers (the United Kingdom and France), would have to rely for some time to come on outside financial assistance if it was to remain a separate political unit. Although the United Kingdom and France were willing to meet reasonable budgetary deficits on the basis of separate bilateral agreements with Libya, certain Arab states proposed the creation of a special United Nations fund through which financial contributions toward Libya's economic and social development might be made by United Nations members generally. This, they argued, would help to prevent Libya from becoming unduly dependent on bilateral aid, to the possible prejudice of its political independence. The Chilean Representative then piloted through the Assembly successfully a resolution asking the Economic and Social Council to make a broad study of ways and means of furnishing aid to Libya; the creation of a special fund might be one aspect of this study.

At the eighth session the General Assembly had before it an ECOSOC recommendation that the United Nations should invite all Governments in a position to do so to give Libya, in the spirit of the United Nations Charter, the financial and technical assistance which was within their means. The resolution did not specify whether this aid should be given on the basis of bilateral agreements with Libya or indirectly through the United Nations itself.

On December 7, 1953, Libya and the United Kingdom exchanged ratifications of a friendship treaty accompanied by military and financial agreements under which Libya is assured substantial aid from the United Kingdom. On the following day the General Assembly adopted by 41 votes in favour, with none opposed and 5 abstaining, a resolution sponsored by the Arab States, Indonesia and Turkey which invited Governments willing and able to do so to

contribute toward the reconstruction and economic and social development of Libya through "appropriate mechanisms within the United Nations available for receiving voluntary contributions". The resolution asked the Secretary-General and the Specialized Agencies to give all possible favourable consideration to Libya's requests for technical assistance, waiving the payment by Libya of local costs. Should further means become available for helping to finance the development of under-developed areas, due consideration should be given by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies to Libya's specific needs. Nothing was said in the resolution about continued bilateral aid, which is thus not ruled out, and it is expected that Libya will continue to receive aid on this basis from two or three countries in addition to the financial assistance already promised by the United Kingdom in the recently-ratified treaty of July 29, 1953.

Ad Hoc Commission on Prisoners of War

The Commission on Prisoners of War was established by the General Assembly at its fifth session to determine what had happened to Second World War prisoners who had not been accounted for or repatriated to their homelands. Members of the Commission were chosen from El Salvador, Sweden and Burma. In its report to the eighth session of the Assembly the Commission was able to report very little progress, largely because of the refusal of the U.S.S.R. to co-operate. At the same time charges continued to be made by other nations, principally Germany, Italy and Japan, that large numbers of prisoners were still held by Soviet bloc countries. In a statement on December 2 the Canadian Representative, Mrs. A. L. Caldwell, regretted that it had not been possible to avoid emphasis on political differences in what was largely a humanitarian problem. She said that the recent return from the U.S.S.R. of a few German prisoners and the working arrangements established between Japan and Communist China on the prisoner question were encouraging. By a vote of 46 in favour (including Canada), 5 against (Soviet bloc) and 6 abstentions, the General Assembly passed a resolution praising the work of the Commission and asking it to continue its efforts. It noted with concern that certain governments had refused to co-operate with the Commission, and it urgently appealed to all governments to supply information to the Commission and to grant it access to areas in which prisoners are detained.

Forced Labour

The report of the joint United Nations-International Labour Office (ILO) *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labour was debated for a week in the Third Committee in November. The *Ad Hoc* Committee, which was appointed in 1951, reported that its investigations had shown that forced labour for political coercion and for important economic purposes existed in the world and that those governments which made use of it were contravening the United Nations Charter. The Soviet Union and the satellite countries were found to be particular offenders.

During the debate the Canadian representative on the Third Committee, Mrs. A. L. Caldwell, deplored the fact that in the last six years six countries with populations of some 200 to 300 million have passed laws permitting forms of forced labour. The Canadian Representative declared that "humanity has marched backward in this respect". She expressed full support for the resolution

put before the Committee by ten countries, including the United Kingdom and the United States, which affirmed the importance attached by the Assembly to the abolition of all forced labour systems, invited the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and ILO to give early consideration to the Committee's report and requested the Secretary-General to ask governments which had not yet provided the Committee with the necessary information to do so before the seventeenth session of ECOSOC. The resolution was approved by the Assembly in plenary by 40 votes to 5 (the Soviet bloc) with 12 abstentions (the Arab bloc, India, South Africa and Argentina).

The Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries

Aside from the technical assistance programme, which was dealt with in the November issue of *External Affairs*, the principal matters under the heading of economic development discussed at the eighth session of the General Assembly were the question of the establishment of a special United Nations fund for economic development and the status of the proposal for an international finance corporation. These two projects have now been under study for several years and the question to be decided at the eighth session was whether steps could or should be actively taken towards the establishment of either or both of the proposed institutions.

A Committee of Nine Experts had reported in March 1953, on the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. The report was considered at the sixteenth session of the Economic and Social Council which transmitted it to the General Assembly without specific comment except a recommendation, based on a United States proposal, that member states consider joining in a declaration that they stood ready to ask their peoples, when sufficient progress had been made in internationally supervised world-wide disarmament, to devote a proportion of the savings therefrom to an international fund, within the framework of the United Nations, to assist development and reconstruction in under-developed countries. This proposal was re-introduced by the United States at the eighth session and was adopted without negative vote. It was accompanied by statements, from the United States and the other industrialized countries which supported it, including Canada, that owing to the heavy burden of defence expenditures, they were unable at the present time to consider contributing to a development fund. In these circumstances, the countries which had hoped to initiate action at this session to establish the fund did not press their plans but instead supported a resolution which referred the report of the Committee of Nine to governments for comment and appointed Monsieur Raymond Scheyven of Belgium to examine these comments with the assistance of the Secretary-General, and where he judged necessary, to request elaboration of them "if desirable by direct consultation with governments". He is to make an interim report to the eighteenth session of the Economic and Social Council in the summer of 1954 and a final report to the ninth session of the General Assembly. This resolution was also passed without negative vote, Canada voting in favour.

Within Framework of U.N.

The proposed international finance corporation would be an organization, within the framework of the United Nations, which would help to stimulate private investments in its member countries by bringing together investment

opportunities, capital (both domestic and foreign) and experienced management and by helping to finance private productive undertakings through equity investments and loans without government guarantee. At the request of the Economic and Social Council, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has twice reported on this proposal. The second report, in the summer of 1953, summarized the results of inquiries addressed to governments and to private financing institutions and stated that, since countries on which the corporation would have to depend for the greater part of its funds had not yet indicated their willingness to subscribe to its capital, no point would be served "by greater formalization of the project at this time". The resolution adopted at the eighth session, which Canada supported, urged governments to give early consideration to the merits of establishing such a corporation and to make known to the International Bank their views on the possibility of supporting such a corporation. The Bank in its turn was requested to analyze in detail the questions raised and the views expressed by governments and non-governmental institutions on the methods of providing capital for an international finance corporation and to conduct its consultations "in a more intensive manner". The Economic and Social Council is requested to review the matter at its eighteenth session in the summer of 1954 and to report thereon to the ninth session of the General Assembly.

Personnel Policy

A wide measure of support for the Secretary-General was expressed in the debate in the Fifth Committee on his proposals for amendments to the Staff Regulations for the Secretariat. The Assembly approved amendments, largely based on the Secretary-General's proposals, which spell out his powers of dismissal and clarify their relationship to the jurisdiction of the Administrative Tribunal. An amendment to the Statute of the Tribunal has placed an upper limit on the amount of compensation it can award save in exceptional circumstances. The Canadian Delegation spoke in favour, by and large, of the Secretary-General's proposals but sponsored a resolution which calls on the Assembly to review in 1955 both the Staff Regulations and the principles of interpretation the Secretary-General uses in applying the new amendments. This resolution was passed unanimously.

The Fifth Committee then discussed a contentious personnel issue concerning the compensation awarded by the Administrative Tribunal to eleven United States employees of the United Nations who cited the Fifth Amendment when their loyalty was being investigated by a United States Senate Committee and a Grand Jury. The Tribunal had awarded a total of \$179,420 to the eleven former employees, whom it held to have been illegally dismissed by the Secretary-General. Some United States Congressmen and newspapers attacked these awards, and in the Assembly the United States Delegation opposed the appropriation for money to pay the awards on the grounds that the Tribunal had exceeded its competence. Despite the provision in the Tribunal's Statute that there was to be no appeal from its decisions, the United States representative claimed that the Assembly could reject the awards, because the Tribunal was merely a subsidiary body of the Assembly. This argument was not accepted by the spokesmen of many delegations in the debate, but several of them thought that the amounts of the awards were inconsistent and too high in some cases. The Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. Alcide Côté,

stated that his Delegation believed the Assembly legally bound to pay the awards, but in view of the conflict of opinion in the Assembly, thought the questions should be referred to a "higher judicial authority". Canada co-sponsored with the United Kingdom and Colombia a resolution which referred the question to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion as to whether the Assembly could reject awards of the Administrative Tribunal and, if so, on what grounds. The resolution was approved by the Assembly by a vote of 41 to 6 with 12 abstentions (including the United States). The Assembly elected a United States citizen to replace the Czech member of the Administrative Tribunal and re-elected Lord Crook, the United Kingdom member who was one of the three who made the disputed awards.

The Assembly endorsed the Secretary-General's far reaching proposals for simplifying the top structure of the Secretariat and reducing the total staff of the Secretariat by 15 per cent during the next two years, largely by a policy of not filling vacancies as they occur.

1954 Budget

After a close examination during the course of the 30 meetings of the estimates prepared by the Secretary-General for the 1954 financial year, the General Assembly approved on December 9 a budget of \$47,827,110 for the 1954 administrative expenses of the United Nations. This represents a reduction of some \$296,290 from the original estimate prepared by the Secretary-General. This year's budget is less by approximately \$900,000 than the 1953 budget. In addition, in submitting his proposals for the reorganization of the Secretariat to the Fifth Committee, Mr. Hammarskjöld declared that, if the tasks of the Secretariat were re-examined and the other revisions that he proposed were carried out, a financial saving of up to one million dollars might be achieved during the course of the year.

After various adjustments are made to this figure, a net figure of \$41,300,000 is reached to which contributions must be made by member states. Assessments of the various countries for the United Nations budget are approved by the Assembly on the basis of a report from the Committee on Contributions. This Committee annually examines the assessments of member states with reference to the various factors which determine countries ability to pay. On November 27, the Assembly approved the report of the Committee on Contributions recommending that the United States contribution be reduced from 35.12 per cent to 33.33 per cent, and the contribution of the Soviet Union be raised from 12.28 per cent to 14.15 per cent. The decision to lower the United States contribution was in accordance with a General Assembly directive in 1952 to the effect that from January 1, 1954 no member state should contribute more than one-third of the total Assessment. Several minor changes were recommended by the Committee. The Canadian assessment remains at last year's level of 3.3 per cent. During the debate strong objections were made by the Soviet Union and satellite countries to the proposed up-grading of the contributions of Eastern European countries. Most delegations spoke against these objections, however, pointing out that, while the Soviet Union and the satellites were pleading in the General Assembly that their economies were still badly dislocated from the ravages of the Second World War, their official publications were announcing daily the strength of the Eastern European economies and the rapid advances in the production of raw materials and the manufacture of capital and consumer goods.

Recess of the Eighth Session of the General Assembly

The eighth session of the General Assembly recessed on the evening of December 9, 1953, after taking up 73 items on its agenda. In the closing meeting, the Canadian Delegation paid tribute to Madame Pandit in her role as President. Mr. Vyshinsky took advantage of this occasion to deplore the fact that Communist China had not been accepted as the representative of China in the United Nations, and the fact that the Soviet disarmament proposals had not been adopted.

By the adoption of a resolution on December 8 sponsored by India and Brazil, under the UNCURK item, the Assembly recessed instead of adjourning. No action was taken on the substance of the UNCURK item. Under the terms of the resolution adopted, the Assembly can be called back into session by the President with the concurrence of the majority of members if, in her opinion, developments concerning Korean matters warrant re-convening of the eighth session or if for the same reason she is requested to take such action by one or more members. This resolution was carried in a plenary meeting on December 8 by a vote of 55 in favour (including Canada), no abstentions and 5 against (the Soviet bloc).

Security Council Observance of Armistice Agreements between Israel and its Neighbours

On November 24 the Security Council adopted a resolution relating to the Palestine question submitted to it on October 17 by the United Kingdom, the United States and France, the three Powers which had declared on May 25, 1950, their intention of intervening within and outside the United Nations should they find any of the Arab States or Israel preparing to violate existing frontiers or armistice lines. As finally formulated by the Security Council, the question under discussion was that of "compliance with and enforcement of the general armistice agreements with special reference to recent acts of violence, and in particular to the incident at Qibiya on 14-15 October", when more than two score Arabs were killed during a night attack by Israelis on a Jordanian village.

The Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, General Bennike, described to the Council the state of security along the armistice lines between Israel and its four Arab neighbours and listed serious incidents which had occurred along part of the armistice line between Israel and Jordan after the abrogation by Israel in January 1953 of two local agreements designed to check illegal border-crossing.

The representative of Jordan attributed the frequent infiltration into Israel by Arabs to the fact that Israel had occupied a good deal more territory than the United Nations had intended it to control. This had increased the number of refugees and intensified the pressure of the Arab population against the armistice line. Jordan's police force had done much to reduce Arab infiltration into Israel. Half the Jordanian jail population had been imprisoned for crossing the armistice line illegally. If Israel would police its side of the armistice line and withdraw military personnel from the vicinity the number of border incidents could be further reduced.

The representative of Israel, although deploring the loss of life at Qibiya, described the attack as an explosion of pent-up feelings of settlers who had been subjected to intolerable strain as a result of a long series of acts of violence by Arab infiltrators. He asked the Security Council to call on the Arab States to negotiate final peace settlements with Israel as the only way to put an end to the conditions of insecurity now prevailing. When it became apparent that the Security Council was not likely to do this, Israel formally requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to call a conference of Jordanian and Israeli representatives to review the terms of the armistice agreement. Under Article 12 of the agreement attendance at such a conference is mandatory.

The Security Council's resolution was adopted on November 24 with 9 in favour, none opposed and 2 abstaining. It expressed "the strongest censure" of the action taken at Qibiya "by armed forces of Israel" and the belief that the attack could only prejudice chances for peaceful settlement. The Security Council called on Israel to prevent such actions in the future. It asked Jordan to continue and strengthen the measures it is already taking to prevent infiltration and called on both Governments to ensure the effective co-operation of local security forces. Both were invited to co-operate fully with General Bennike, who was asked to consider with the Secretary-General the best ways of strengthening his truce supervision staff. In three months General Bennike is to report to the Security Council making any recommendations he considers appropriate, taking into account any agreement which may have been reached by that time in the conference of Jordanians and Israelis to be convoked by the Secretary-General.



PROGRESS IN THE COLOMBO PLAN

(Continued from page 15)

field stations in India and Pakistan to do experimental work on the biological control of insect and plant pests.

From 1950 to the end of June 1953, Canada provided training facilities for 116 fellows and scholars from countries participating in the Technical Co-operation Scheme in a large number of fields, among them aviation, business and public administration, co-operative marketing and film production. Special emphasis has, however, been placed on training in agriculture, medicine and engineering. Officials from India, Pakistan and Ceylon have come to Canada on technical missions to study developments in medicine, agriculture, highway and bridge construction and hydro-electric power. A training programme was given in Canada over a five-month period to 12 junior administrative officers from the Pakistan civil service. Following on the visit of a medical mission, training is now being provided for 20 Indian doctors and nurses. With the co-operation of WHO, active consideration is being given to the provision of training facilities for trainees from Thailand in public health and medicine. Some 20 Canadian experts have been appointed to Commonwealth countries in the area and arrangements are being made to recruit a technical education expert to head the Technical School in Cambodia. In connection with projects being considered for capital assistance, engineering experts have been sent to India, Pakistan and Ceylon while a visiting Canadian team has explored the feasibility of extending assistance relating to co-operatives and agriculture.

HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

Text of statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, broadcast over the CBC network on Human Rights Day, December 10, 1953.

On the pathway of human progress, certain great documents have served as mileposts. One was Britain's Magna Carta—which became the great Charter of personal and political liberty. It has guided the aspirations of men for freedom in many continents for seven hundred years. Another was the Declaration of Independence upon which rest the foundations of liberty in the United States, but whose influence has been universal.

Another document in this historic series was the United Nations Charter in which the nations agreed that one binding purpose of the world organization must be to promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms. To show the way to the fulfilment of that purpose the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly five years ago, on December 10, the day now known throughout the world as Human Rights Day. This Declaration sets a common standard of achievement toward which peoples and governments throughout the world can strive.

The road toward such achievement has not been easy. There have been disputes and disappointments in the discussions which have taken place concerning it at the United Nations. There have been differences and difficulties in our effort to translate into reality the high principles set forth in the Declaration. There have been disagreements and dissension over the best methods to be adopted and over the pace at which progress should be made.

Some countries, like my own, consider themselves fortunate in possessing traditions and being able to build on experience which simplifies the task of ensuring broad acceptance and support of the principles in the Declaration. But all countries face real difficulties in devising precise legal forms which will fit in with the existing pattern of their constitutional systems. All member countries of the United Nations have not been able to

agree upon the form of the international instrument which should codify human rights and be binding on all those signing it. There have been a multitude of suggestions, often cancelling each other out.

It is not surprising, however, that we have not found it easy to arrive at a formula which will provide even the necessary minimum of satisfaction for all. In this and in other problems in the United Nations, we are bringing together peoples with widely different legal, economic and social backgrounds; with varied philosophical and intellectual approaches; differing, even opposed ideologies.

Without elations, then, but certainly without despair, on this fifth anniversary of Human Rights Day, we should pause and assess our progress. It should concern us deeply that there are large areas of the world where essential human rights have been eliminated, where personal liberty, freedom of expression, and freedom of religion have been stamped out.

In other parts of the world, however, there has been real progress and we should be gratified that the very firmness and determination shown on this question in United Nations debates and elsewhere is a sign of the deep-rooted support these great principles have gained.

Let us resolve, therefore, to press forward on the long and difficult road leading to the objective we set for ourselves in the Charter in 1945, and reaffirmed in the Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

There can, however, be no rights, without obligations; as there can be no freedom without law.

In the last analysis, therefore, the manner in which we discharge our obligations as citizens of our countries, and as members of the international community, will determine whether we are to have and to keep—or whether we deserve to have—the rights of free men.

JANUARY 1 CBC BROADCAST

Text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, broadcast on January 1 by the International Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

The year just past has seen some heartening achievements in the weary and seemingly endless struggle for world security. It has also seen some old problems remain unsolved and new ones arise which demand action.

During the year we have become more conscious than ever of the fact that many of the problems which we face are long-term ones, and that there is no quick or easy way to solve them. Great wisdom, great patience and great effort will be demanded of us, if we are to develop the strength and co-operation among the free democratic nations which is required if the right solutions are to be found and put into effect.

Prominent among the achievements of 1953, in the search for security, was the signature of an armistice agreement in Korea, which has brought—if not yet peace—at least an end to fighting.

The fact that aggression has been stopped in Korea by the collective action of the free world is in itself a major achievement of the United Nations; and especially of the United States, which has provided the leadership and by far the largest proportion of the United Nations forces involved. That the armistice was signed only after twenty-five months of weary and often exasperating negotiations, is also important as an illustration of the prin-

ciple—no less true in diplomacy than in other fields of human action—that patience and perseverance can produce results, even in the face of obstacles that often seem to make further effort futile. In the pursuit of peace, whatever the difficulties, hope must never be abandoned.

Korea, however, is only one phase of the great challenge presented by forces now on the move in the Far East, demanding national freedom and better conditions of life; as well as by the attempt of Communism to exploit these forces for their own purposes. We of the West must be careful lest differing views as to how we should face these Far Eastern questions should disrupt the unity of our coalition against Communist imperialism. Anti-Communism or anti anything else will not be enough to hold us together. Our Asian policy must comprise much more than mere opposition to Communism. We must have a positive policy and convince the peoples of Asia, by deed and word, that free democracy is a vital liberating force and can do more for the individual, and for society, than Communism can ever hope to do.

In Europe, as in Asia, there has been progress towards security and stability, but here also the outlook gives no reason for complacency.

Menace to Security Remains

At the December meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Paris, from which I have just returned, there was general recognition that international tensions have somewhat diminished, and that the danger of open military aggression is perhaps less than it was a year or two ago. But it was also agreed that the menace to our security from the forces of Communist imperialism remains, and that the Communist conspiracy against freedom still persists.

Furthermore, any comfort which we might derive from such easing of tension as may have occurred during the year, is neutralized, to some extent at least, by the knowledge that if war *does* come, it will now be far more terrible even than it would have been a year or so ago; because of developments, in the U.S.S.R. at well as on our side, in the power and the quantity of nuclear weapons and in the means of delivering them.

It would be folly, therefore, to allow ourselves to be lulled into a sense of false security. But it would also be wrong to so harden our hearts, or close our minds to the point where we could not respond to any genuine peace move, to any sincere offer to negotiate, that might eventually appear from behind the iron curtain.

One such move of encouraging and far-reaching significance was made from our side early in December, 1953, when President Eisenhower, in a memorable address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, outlined a new and imaginative approach to the problem of international co-operation in the field of atomic energy. His plan calls for the establishment of a United Nations agency to develop the peaceful possibilities of atomic energy. All men of good will must welcome

such a proposal. What its ultimate fate will be, it is too early to say. However, as the year ends, we perhaps may take some hope in the acceptance (however cautiously expressed and however hedged with conditions) by the Soviet Government of the invitation to negotiate on this all-important matter.

Another major problem which demands a decision during 1954 concerns the relations of the Western democracies and Germany; more specifically, whether the European Defence Community is to come into being, as a framework, within the general system of the North Atlantic coalition, for the association of Germany with the defence of the West. No one with any sense of history can fail to understand and, indeed, to sympathize with the hesitations and doubts of our French friends over this issue; doubts derived from a cruel and tragic national experience. But some solution must be found, for it is not possible for a political vacuum to remain in the centre of Europe. Nature abhors a vacuum, but a potential aggressor relishes one. It is essential, therefore, that some way be found of completing the arrangements for collective security, begun with the inception of the North Atlantic Treaty system. That completion requires that the German people play an appropriate part in collective defence. The method of achieving this will have to be settled soon.

In our preoccupation with regional and limited security and political arrangements, we should not overlook or minimize what has been done during the year by our world organization.

"Under-Development" Problem

At the United Nations there has been achievement—notably in the Korean armistice. There has also been frustration. The work, however, goes on, and this indispensable piece of international machinery remains at the service of its members in their efforts to realize the ideals of the Charter which established it.

In many fields which, if not spectacular, are of great long-term importance, encouraging and useful progress has been made in 1953. I have mentioned two of the principal long-term problems of the Western democracies—defence against Communist imperialism, and relations with the peoples of Asia. There is a third basic question which sometimes overlaps with the two, but which has a fundamental and distinct importance in itself. In United Nations circles this is called the question of "under-development"—the social and economic relations between the advanced industrial nations and the peoples in those parts of the planet whose economies are still relatively primitive and whose standards of living are consequently low. Particularly through its expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, the United Nations has developed a realistic and practicable method whereby the technically more advanced nations can help the economic and social development of those less fortunate. Through this and through other

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APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. G. S. Patterson, Canadian Consul General in Boston, died suddenly, December 8, 1953.

- Mr. V. Dore, relinquished his appointment as Canadian Ambassador to Switzerland and Minister to Austria and proceeded on leave pending retirement, effective October 29, 1953.
- Lt. General M. A. Pope, Ambassador, proceeded from Brussels to the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, effective December 1, 1953.
- Mr. C. F. Elliott, formerly High Commissioner for Canada in Australia, retired from the public service effective December 12, 1953.
- Mr. C. P. Hebert, Ambassador, proceeded from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective December 12, 1953.
- Maj. General George P. Vanier, Ambassador, proceeded on leave pending retirement effective December 31, 1953.
- Mr. J. W. L. H. Lavigne was posted from Ottawa to the Office of The High Commissioner for Canada, Pretoria, South Africa effective November 28, 1953.
- Mr. G. Ignatieff was posted from Washington to the Imperial Defence College, London, effective December 1, 1953.
- Miss P. A. McDougall was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective December 3, 1953.
- Mr. K. W. MacLellan was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Berne, effective December 22, 1953.
- Mr. G. C. McInnes was transferred from New Delhi to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Wellington, New Zealand effective December 24, 1953.
- Mr. A. R. Crepault proceeded from New York (Permanent Delegation to the United Nations) to home leave effective December 28, 1953.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

- (a) Printed Documents:
- International Court of Justice — Yearbook 1952-1953*. Pp. 255. Sales number 107.
- International Labour Organization Financial Regulations* (1953 Edition). Geneva. Pp. 21.
- Year Book of Labour Statistics 1953* (Thirteenth Issue): Labour Force. Employment. Unemployment. Hours of Work. Wages. Consumer Prices. Family Budgets, Social Security. Industrial Injuries. Industrial Disputes. Migration. Geneva, 1953. Pp. 375. \$5.00.
- UNESCO
- The Gandhian Way* by Humayun Kabir. A report on the seminar to consider the contribution of Gandhian outlook and techniques to the solution of tensions within and among nations held at New Delhi from 5 to 17 January 1953. (Reprinted from the "International Social Science Bulletin" Volume V, No. 2, 1953) Paris 1953. Pp. 23.
- Records of the General Conference — Second Extraordinary Session, Paris 1953: Resolutions and Proceedings*. Paris 1953.
- 2XC/Resolutions and Proceedings. Pp. 150. \$2.00.
- National Bibliographical Services* by Knud Larsen — Their creation and operation. (UNESCO Bibliographical Handbook — 1) Paris 1953. Pp. 142.
- Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Tensions and Technology Series) Paris 1953. Pp. 348. \$1.75.
- U.N.
- The Impact of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. 29 June 1953. Document ST/SOA/5/Rev.1. Sales No.: 1953.XIV. 1. Pp. 56. 25 cents. (Department of Social Affairs).
- Special Study on Social Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories*. April 1953. Document ST/TRI/SER.A/7/Add.2. Pp. 270. \$2.00. Sales No.: 1953.VI.B.2.
- (b) Mimeographed Document:
- Questions of atrocities committed by the North Korean and Chinese Communist forces against United Nations Prisoners of war in Korea*; 26 November 1953. Document A/2563.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1953, page 36.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

Standing International Bodies on Which Canada is Represented

(Published annually; this listing as of December 1953. Date of establishment of each body given in brackets)

1. CANADA-UNITED STATES

1. *International Joint Commission* (1909) Canadian Section: Chairman: Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton; Commissioners: J. L. Dansereau and G. Spence. Section: The terms of reference specify the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Ministers of Finance and Trade and Commerce and either the Minister of Agriculture or the Minister of Fisheries.
2. *International Boundary Commission* (1912). J. E. R. Ross, Dominion Geodesist, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
3. *Permanent Joint Board on Defence* (1940). Canadian Section: Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton; Rear-Admiral W. B. Creery, Vice-Chief of the Naval Staff; Maj. Gen. H. A. Sparling, Vice-Chief of the General Staff; Air Vice-Marshal F. R. Miller, Vice-Chief of the Air Staff; R. A. MacKay, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; Secretary: W. H. Barton, Department of External Affairs.
4. *United States-Canada Joint Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs*. Canadian
5. *Joint United States-Canada Industrial Mobilization Committee* (1949). Canadian Section: C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce and Defence Production.
6. *International Pacific Halibut Commission* (1935). G. R. Clark, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries; Richard Nelson, Vancouver; Harold S. Helland, Prince Rupert.
7. *International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission* (1947). Senator T. Reid; H. R. MacMillan, Vancouver; A. J. Whitmore, Department of Fisheries.

2. CANADA-UNITED KINGDOM

1. *Canada - United Kingdom Continuing Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs* (1948). W. F. Bull, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce; Dr. J. G. Taggart, Deputy Minister of Agriculture; J. J. Deutsch, Department of Finance; H. H. Wrong, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. (N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom is Chairman of the Committee when it meets in London).

3. COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

1. *Commonwealth Shipping Committee* (1920). N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London. United Kingdom, London.
2. *Commonwealth Economic Committee* (1925). F. Hudd and D. A. B. Marshall, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
3. *Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux* (1928). Executive Council: J. G. Robertson, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
4. *Commonwealth Telecommunications Board* (1948). J. H. Tudhope, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
5. *Commonwealth Air Transport Council* (1945). J. H. Tudhope, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
6. *Commonwealth Advisory Aeronautical Research Council* (1947). A/V/M D. M. Smith, J. H. Parkin and Dr. J. J. Green, Department of National Defence; R. J. Brearley, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
7. *Commonwealth Liaison Committee* (1948). L. Couillard and J. Grandy, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
8. *Imperial War Graves Commission*. N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
9. *Imperial Institute* (1888). N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
10. *Commonwealth Committee on Mineral Resources and Geology*. Dr. G. S. Hume, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.

4. NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (1949)

1. *North Atlantic Council* (1949). Permanent Representative: L. D. Wilgress; Minister: A. F. W. Plumptre; Military Adviser: Maj. Gen. J. D. B. Smith; Counsellor: M. Cadieux.
2. *North Atlantic Military Representatives Committee* (1949). Rear Admiral H. G. DeWolf.

5. UNITED NATIONS (1945)

1. *General Assembly* (Canada, as a member of the United Nations, is represented in the General Assembly which meets at regular sessions. Its representatives are appointed by the Government for each session).
 - i. *Interim Committee of the General Assembly* (1947). Representative: L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs; Alternate: D. M. Johnson, Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
 - ii. *Board of Auditors*. Watson Sellar, Auditor General of Canada.
 - iii. *Collective Measures Committee* (1950). D. M. Johnson, Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations, New York; Alternate: J. George, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
2. *Security Council*. (Canada is not at present a member of the Security Council).
 - i. *Disarmament Commission* (1952). D. M. Johnson, Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations, New York; Alternate: J. George, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
3. *Economic and Social Council* (Canada's membership in the Council expired on December 31, 1952).

Functional Commissions:

 - i. *Fiscal Commission*. A. K. Eaton, Assistant Deputy Minister of Finance.
 - ii. *Statistical Commission*. H. Marshall, Dominion Statistician.
 - iii. *Commission on Narcotic Drugs*.
 - iv. *Population Commission*. J. T. Marshall, Bureau of Statistics.
4. *Special Bodies of the Principal Organs*:
 - i. *United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund* (1946) *Executive Board*: Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Welfare, Department of National Health and Welfare.
 - ii. *Drug Supervisory Body*. Col. C. H. L. Sharman (a Canadian elected by the Narcotics Commission to the Drug Supervisory Body).
 - iii. *United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency Advisory Committee* (1950). Delegate: D. M. Johnson (Chairman), Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
5. *International Court of Justice*. (The parties of the Statutes of the Court automatically include all members of the United Nations. The Court consists of fifteen judges, in no way representatives of their country of origin, elected for a nine year term of office by the General Assembly and the Security Council voting independently. A Canadian citizen, John Erskine Reid, presently sits on the Court, his term of office due to expire in 1958).

6. UNITED NATIONS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

1. *International Labour Organization* (1919)*
 - i. *General Conference*. (Canada sends delegations comprising two Government Members and one Member each representing management and labour together with their advisers to each session of the Conference which meets at least annually. Delegations to the conferences are not permanent and are appointed for each session).
 - ii. *Governing Body*. Dr. A. MacNamara, Deputy Minister of Labour. (Canada holds a seat as one of the States of chief industrial importance).
2. *Food and Agriculture Organization* (1945)
 - i. *Conference*. (Canada, as a member of FAO sends a representative, together with his alternate and advisers to each session of the Conference which meets bi-annually. Canada's representative

* The Specialized Agencies marked with an asterisk set up from time to time, through their main organs, standing bodies, committees or commissions, in which Canada may or may not be invited to participate. Because of the large number of such bodies, committees or commissions to which Canada is a party, and their relative importance, it has been felt that they might be excluded from this list.

- is not permanent and is appointed by the Government for each session).
- ii. *Council*. (Canada has always been a member and was re-elected at the 1953 Rome Conference for a further term of membership).
3. *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* (1946)
 - i. *General Conference*. (Canada sends delegates to each session of the General Conference. Delegations comprising delegates, alternates and advisers are not permanent and are appointed by the Government for each successive session).
 4. *International Civil Aviation Organization* (1947)*
 - i. *Assembly*. Brig. C. S. Booth, Permanent Delegate of Canada to ICAO; H. A. L. Pattison, Deputy Delegate.
 - ii. *Council*. Brig. C. S. Booth, Permanent Delegate of Canada to ICAO.
 5. *International Bank for Reconstruction and Development* (1946).
 - i. *Board of Governors*. Governor: D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Alternate: J. J. Deutsch, Department of Finance.
 - ii. *Executive Directors*. Director: L. Rasminsky, Bank of Canada.
 6. *International Monetary Fund* (1945)
 - i. *Board of Governors*. Governor: D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Alternate: G. F. Towers, Governor of the Bank of Canada.
 - ii. *Executive Directors*. Director: L. Rasminsky, Bank of Canada.
 7. *Universal Postal Union* (1875)
 - i. *Universal Postal Congress*. (Canada, as a member of the UPU, is represented at each meeting of the Congress, usually held at intervals of five years. Canadian Delegations are appointed by the Government for each meeting. The next (14th) Congress of the UPU will be held in Ottawa in 1957).
 8. *World Health Organization* (1948)*
 - i. *World Health Assembly*. (Canada as a member of the WHO, sends delegations to each annual session of the Assembly. Delegations are not permanent and are appointed by the Government at each session).
 - ii. *Executive Board*. Dr. P. E. Moore, Department of National Health and Welfare, serves as an independent expert on the Executive Board.
 9. *International Telecommunication Union* (1947)
 - i. *Plenipotentiary Conference*. (Canada, as a member of ITU, is represented at the Conference which meets every five years. Canadian Delegations to the Conference are appointed by the Government for each session).
 - ii. *Administrative Council*. C. J. Acton, Department of Transport.
 - iii. *Administrative Conferences*. (These meet in principle at the same time and place as the Plenipotentiary Conference and, as a rule, every five years. Canadian representatives at the Administrative Conference usually form part of the Delegation appointed by the Government to represent the country at the Plenipotentiary Conference).
 10. *Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization***
 11. *International Trade Organization***
 - i. *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* (1947). (The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is an international trade agreement. It is not a Specialized Agency of the United Nations, but is serviced by the Secretariat of the Interim Commission of the International Trade Organization (ICITO). The regular sessions of the contracting parties are, as a rule, held once a year and these sessions are supplemented by intersessional meetings at the call of the Secretariat. Canada is one of the original contracting parties).
 12. *World Meteorological Organization*
 - i. *Executive Committee*. A. Thompson, Department of Transport.
 - ii. *Regional Association I*. President: A. Thompson, Department of Transport.

* The Specialized Agencies marked with an asterisk set up from time to time, through their main organs, standing bodies, committees or commissions, in which Canada may or may not be invited to participate. Because of the large number of such bodies, committees or commissions to which Canada is a party, and their relative importance, it has been felt that they might be excluded from this list.

** Canada has indicated its willingness to become a member of each of these Organizations once they have been formally established, and is at present a party to the principal preparatory organs of these proposed agencies set up at the instigation of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in 1946 and 1947 respectively.

7. MISCELLANEOUS

1. *Inter-Allied Reparation Agency* (1946). J. P. Erichsen-Brown, Canadian Embassy, Brussels.
2. *International Whaling Commission* (1949). G. R. Clark, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries.
3. *International Commission for Northwest Atlantic Fisheries* (1951). S. Bates, Deputy Minister of Fisheries; S. H. MacKichan, United Maritime Fisheries Board.
4. *Organization for European Economic Co-operation* (1948). Representative: A. D. P. Heeney; Minister: A. F. W. Plumptre; Counsellor: M. Cadieux.
5. *International North Pacific Fisheries Commission* (1953). S. Bates, Deputy Minister of Fisheries; John M. Buchanan, Vancouver; Roger T. Hager, Vancouver; James Cameron, Pender Harbour, B.C.
6. *Permanent Committee of the International Copyright Union* (1948). Canadian Minister to Switzerland.
7. *International Wheat Council* (1949). Delegations vary from meeting to meeting but are usually headed by a Senior Official of the Department of Trade and Commerce or by one of the Commissioners of the Canadian Wheat Board).
8. *Consultative Committee for Co-operative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia* ("Colombo Plan", 1950). (Annual sessions attended by Government appointed delegates usually of Ministerial rank).
 - i. *Council for Technical Co-operation in South and Southeast Asia* (1950). J. J. Hurley, High Commissioner for Canada in Ceylon.
9. *International Hydrographic Bureau* (1921). F. C. G. Smith, Dominion Hydrographer.
10. *International Committee on Military Medicine and Pharmacy* (1921). Chairman of the Inter-Service Medical Committee, Department of National Defence.
11. *Inter-American Statistical Institute* (1940).
12. *Postal Union of the Americas and Spain* (1921).
13. *Inter-American Social Security Conference* (1942).
14. *International Bureau of Weights and Measures* (1875).
15. *International Criminal Police Commission* (1923).
16. *International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property* (1883).
17. *International Cotton Advisory Commission* (1939).
18. *International Wool Study Group* (1947).
19. *International Rubber Study Group* (1944).
20. *International Tin Study Group* (1947).
21. *Inter-American Radio Office* (1937).
22. *International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs* (1890).
23. *International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works* (1886).
24. *Commissions on Geography and Cartography of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History* (1928).
25. *Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration* (1952, succeeded the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe, established in 1951).
26. *Inter-American Statistical Institute* (1940).

JANUARY 1 CBC BROADCAST

(Continued from page 35)

social and economic programmes, and through its various Specialized Agencies, the United Nations has continued to do a great deal of useful, if little publicized, work for human welfare. The amount of resources that can be devoted to such activities may be limited, particularly so long as the threat of aggression necessitates large expenditures for defence; but it would be foolish to forget that for most of the so-called "under-developed" nations of the world, it is precisely in the social and economic articles of the United Nations Charter that they see the main appeal and the greatest value in international co-operation.

Comparing the situation of the Western world with that of a few years ago (and with that too of the 1930's), and looking forward to the problems which lie ahead, we can, I think, feel measured confidence that the general lines of the policies pursued by the Western democracies are sound. If complacency is unjustified, so too is defeatism or despair.

If the free nations, together, with patience and persistence, follow the lines of international policy now laid down, 1954 may bring us closer to the kind of world for which all right-thinking and peace-loving men and women pray.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

The Prime Minister's Tour

THE Prime Minister of Canada left Ottawa by Air on February 4 on a round-the-world tour which will enable him to have discussions with leaders of government and other personalities in eleven countries, including the Asian members of the Commonwealth. When he returns to Ottawa on March 17 the Prime Minister will have travelled more than 26,000 miles and will have spent more than five full days in flying time on his journey.

Mr. St. Laurent, who is travelling in a RCAF C-5 aircraft, is being accompanied by his daughter, Mrs. Hugh O'Donnell; his son, Mr. Jean-Paul St. Laurent; Mr. C. S. A. Ritchie of the Department of External Affairs; Mr. Ross Martin of the Privy Council Office, and a small group of other officials.

In the United Kingdom where the Prime Minister was to spend a day and a half on his way to Europe, Sir Winston Churchill was to be his host at lunch.

Europe

In Paris where his visit was to extend from February 7 to February 10, Mr. St. Laurent expected to call on President Coty and have conversations with the Premier and other Ministers. During his stay the Prime Minister was to broadcast to the people of France and to lay a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier under the Arc de Triomphe. Mr. St. Laurent was to be the guest of honour at functions given by the French Government and to meet the representatives of the North Atlantic Council at a reception.

Early on February 10, the Prime Minister was scheduled to fly to Bonn where, after lunch with President Heuss, he was to have talks with Chancellor Adenauer, hold a press conference and be guest of honour at a dinner given by the Chancellor. The Prime Minister planned to inspect members of the 1st Canadian Brigade in the Soest area on February 11 and speak to the troops. He was to lunch with Brigade officers at Fort York. The following day, the Prime Minister was to view an air demonstration when he visited the RCAF station at Grostenquin. After lunch at the station, Mr. St. Laurent was to fly to the RCAF station at Zwiebrucken where he would inspect the airfield facilities. At both air bases the Prime Minister planned to speak to the airmen.

Mr. St. Laurent will visit Italy from February 12 to February 16. The morning following his arrival at Rome, he will lay a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, will lunch with President Einaudi and have conversations with the Prime Minister and other prominent Italians. On Sunday, February 14, he will visit Vatican City and will be received in audience by His Holiness the Pope. On Saturday evening Mr. St. Laurent will be guest of honour at a Government banquet at Villa Madama and on Monday morning will be the guest of the Mayor of Rome at a reception at the Capitol. He will lunch at the Canadian College on that day.

Pakistan, India, Ceylon

From February 17 to 21, Mr. St. Laurent will be in Pakistan. He will spend two days in Karachi as the guest of the Governor General, H. E. Ghulam



—National Defence

THE PRIME MINISTER'S TOUR AIRCRAFT

The Royal Canadian Air Force C-54 aircraft which Mr. St. Laurent is using for his tour, February-March, 1954.

Mohammed. He will lay wreaths on the graves of the Pakistan leaders, Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, have conversations with the Prime Minister Mr. Mohammed Ali and some members of the Cabinet, hold a press conference, and record a speech for broadcast to the people of Pakistan. On the afternoon of February 19, Mr. St. Laurent will fly to Peshawar, the capital of the North West Frontier Province, where he will be the guest of the Governor. After a drive up the historic Khyber Pass, the Prime Minister will travel to Lahore, where he will stay with the Governor of the Punjab, and visit historical monuments in the city.

The Prime Minister will be in India from February 21 to 28. He will spend three days in New Delhi where he will be the guest of the President, Mr. Rajendra Prasad, and will then make short visits to Agra, Bombay and Madras. In New Delhi, Mr. St. Laurent will lay a wreath at the monument erected to the memory of Mahatma Ghandhi. He will have conversations with Prime Minister Nehru and other Indian leaders, receive a degree from Delhi University and address the members of the Indian Houses of Parliament. He will also visit a village and a community development project close to Delhi, hold a press conference, and attend various government functions. The visits to Agra, Bombay and Madras will take the Prime Minister to important cities where he will see historical monuments including the Taj Mahal and meet Indian leaders outside the capital. These will include Mr. Morayi Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay State, and Mr. C. R. Rajagopolachari, Chief Minister of Madras State.

Late in the afternoon of February 28, the Prime Minister will arrive in Ceylon for a three-day visit. That evening he will be the dinner guest of the Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala, at the official residence, "Temple Trees". The next day he will call on the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, record a brief radio address to the people of Ceylon, and hold a press conference. Mr. St. Laurent will then drive to Kandy in the hills where he will be the guest of the Governor General, Lord Soulbury. He will stop en route at the shrine of the late Prime Minister, Dr. D. S. Senanayake. His stay in Ceylon will include visits to the University of Ceylon and the famous Botanical Gardens at Peradeniya.

Far East

Late on March 4 Mr. St. Laurent will arrive in Djakarta where he will be the guest of the Indonesian government and will have conversations with President Soekarno, Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo and other prominent Indonesians.

En route from Indonesia to Korea, the Prime Minister will stop overnight in Manila and will meet President Magsaysay.

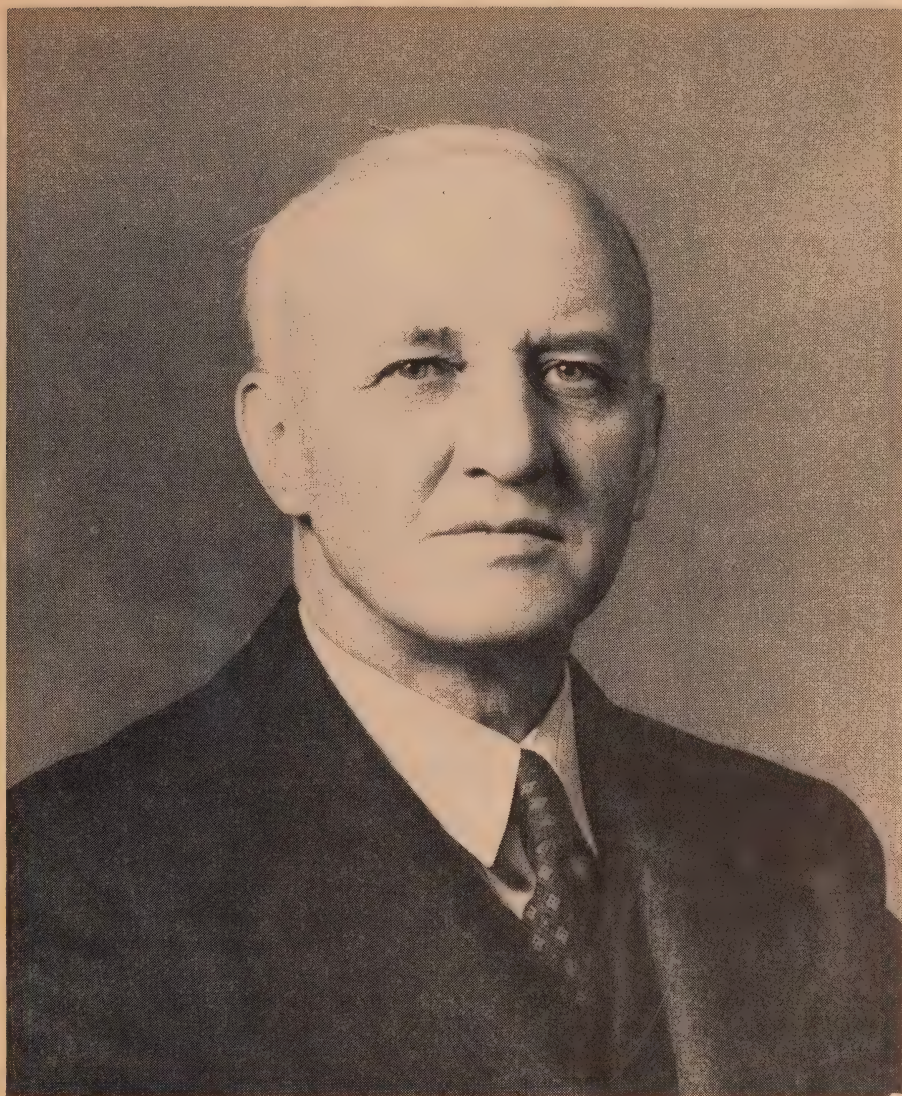
After calling on President Rhee following his arrival in Seoul on March 7, Mr. St. Laurent will spend the greater part of his two days in Korea with the Canadian Brigade. The day following his arrival he will proceed to Brigade headquarters where, after lunch, he will have discussions with General Taylor, U.S. 8th Army Commander, General Murray, Commander of the Commonwealth Division, and Brigadier Allard, Commander of the 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade. During his stay with the Brigade, the Prime Minister will visit the Royal Canadian Horse Artillery, the Royal 22nd Regiment where he will lunch on March 9, the Royal Highlanders of Canada, and the Royal Canadian Regiment.

In Japan, where he will arrive on March 10, the Prime Minister will call on His Majesty the Emperor. He will have conversations with Prime Minister Yoshida and Foreign Minister Okazaki, and will meet General Hull, Commander-in-Chief UN Command. The Prime Minister will visit three destroyers of the Royal Canadian Navy at Tokyo on March 11 and will speak to the ships' companies. The following day, the Prime Minister will address a luncheon meeting sponsored jointly by the Canada-Japan Society and the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Japan. Later he will attend a performance of traditional Japanese theatre as the guest of Foreign Minister Okasaki and afterward will meet members of the Canadian colony at tea at the Canadian Embassy.

The Prime Minister will leave Japan on March 13 returning via Midway, Honolulu where he will stop briefly, and San Francisco where he will arrive about noon on March 16. He will reach Ottawa on March 17.



As the February issue of "External Affairs" was going to press, the untimely death of Mr. Hume Wrong, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, was announced. A tribute to Mr. Wrong will appear in the March issue.



TRIBUTE TO DR. GEORGE PATTERSON

During the eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Canada lost one of its senior Foreign Service Officers, Dr. George S. Patterson, who was serving at the time as Alternate Delegate.

Dr. Patterson joined the Department of External Affairs in 1943, bringing with him a broad experience in Y.M.C.A. work in Japan and Canada. He served in a series of difficult assignments in the Far East where his knowledge of Asian affairs and great-hearted human sympathies endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. He was Counsellor of the Canadian Embassy in Chungking and Nanking during the difficult war years; Canadian representative on the U.N. Temporary Commission on Korea when the United Nations first tried in 1948 to unify that unhappy peninsula by peaceful democratic means. He was appointed Consul General in Shanghai just before the Communists took over in May 1949, and served nearly two years there under difficult circumstances trying to look after Canadian citizens and interests. On returning from China, Dr. Patterson was appointed Canadian Consul General in Boston in 1952, the appointment he held at the time of his death. I wish to pay tribute to the services rendered our country by this devoted civil servant.

—L. B. Pearson

Progress and Achievements of UNICEF

BY ADELAIDE SINCLAIR*

UNANIMOUS votes are rare in the General Assembly of the United Nations, but on October 6, 1953, every hand was raised in favour of a resolution authorizing the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) to continue its work indefinitely on the lines laid down in earlier Assembly resolutions.

For seven years this phase of United Nations activity has contributed to the health and welfare of millions of children throughout the world. It is at present assisting more than two hundred projects in seventy-five countries and territories.

The Fund was established by resolution of the General Assembly in December 1946, with the primary purpose of providing assistance for children in war devastated countries. As the more urgent needs of the post-war period were met, the problems of the under-developed areas with their chronic and recurring needs claimed a larger and larger share of the attention of the United Nations. This change of emphasis was reflected in an increasing number of requests to UNICEF for assistance in developing children's programmes with long term benefits in under-developed countries. In 1950 the General Assembly instructed UNICEF to give priority to projects of this kind and to continue its work for a further period of three years. The result has been that while up to 1950 76 per cent of UNICEF aid was for emergency programmes, in 1953 less than 20 per cent was voted for this purpose.

Long Range Programmes

Long range programmes take various forms. They may attempt the control or elimination of certain diseases to which children are particularly susceptible; they may assist in carrying out demonstration projects; in training personnel; in improving the milk supply or in equipping rural health and welfare centres. At present over one half the programmes are mass health campaigns against such diseases as malaria, tuberculosis and yaws. About one fifth are in the field of maternal and child welfare, one fifth deal with child nutrition and the remainder are emergency programmes to meet unforeseen disasters, such as famine, flood and earthquakes.

As the scope of the programmes increased so too did the number of countries receiving assistance. The seventy-five countries and territories being assisted at the present time include fifteen in Africa, nineteen in Asia, eleven in the Eastern Mediterranean, five in Europe and twenty-five in Latin America. The Asian group receive about 40 per cent of the present allocations.

UNICEF is designed to assist governments in developing their own services for children. Every country applying for UNICEF aid must be prepared to invest an amount at least equal to the UNICEF contribution in the

* Mrs. Sinclair, who is Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Welfare, has been Canadian Representative on the Executive Board of UNICEF since its inception. She was Chairman of the Board in 1951 and 1952.



UNICEF IN THAILAND

—UNICEF

A week-old baby being weighed by Sumsuk Surwanbul, a midwife trained and equipped by UNICEF as part of the programme of the development of child health services in the rural areas of Thailand.

programme. In many cases the UNICEF grant is more than matched locally. In 1952 UNICEF allocations of over \$15 million were matched by recipient government commitments of over \$23 million. UNICEF aid consists mainly of imported supplies and services, the receiving countries bearing the local costs.

No Overlap

The United Nations with its wide variety of interests and activities has always to be on guard against overlapping and duplication of work. UNICEF programmes fall into fields which closely concern the United Nations Department of Social Affairs, the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization. Over the years a satisfactory relationship has been evolved in which UNICEF provides the supplies needed for a programme, but seeks the help of one or more of the other groups for the technical approval of its programmes and for the recruiting of the international professional personnel agreed upon. The payment of the personnel is sometimes assumed by UNICEF, sometimes by the agency which recruits it. UNICEF's special competence and experience in supplies has in turn led to requests to make its procurement facilities available to other United Nations agencies, such as UNWRA and UNKRA.

Mass campaigns against disease have been one of the largest and most spectacular forms of UNICEF work. The earliest of these was an attack on

tuberculosis. The cure of this disease is expensive and many countries cannot afford the necessary treatments, but prevention can be offered at a relatively low cost per child. A high degree of protection can be given by the vaccine BCG (Bacillus-Calmette-Guérin). Children are tested to see whether they have tuberculosis or have developed a natural resistance. Those with a negative reaction are given an injection, and the chances are four out of five that they will be protected thereafter. Up to the end of 1953, 42 million children have been tested. The UNICEF share of this programme consists of the vaccine, the imported equipment necessary for the campaign including the transportation and the payment of foreign professional staff. WHO gives technical approval of the programme and recruits the necessary foreign medical personnel. The local governments are responsible for the local costs for personnel and facilities and for organizing the campaign. Local doctors and nurses must be available to carry on, after training by a small international staff.

The original BCG campaigns were provided with vaccine from the Danish laboratories but because of the limited period of effectiveness of BCG, local sources of supply had to be established for campaigns in countries distant from Europe. UNICEF, therefore, has assisted certain countries with equipment to make possible the local production of BCG.

Mass campaigns have also been used to combat yaws, an extremely crippling disease which attacks children through any simple scratch and which eats away the flesh, then bone and then tendon. Modern medical science has made it possible to cure most cases with one shot of penicillin. In the last four years nearly 3 million children have been treated for this disease under UNICEF programmes and there is reason to hope that within five or ten years the disease will be under control in many countries where it has been a burden for centuries.

Malaria Campaign

Malaria claims about 300 million victims a year and kills about 3 million. DDT spraying has proved a most effective weapon to combat this disease. Teams of workers spray the houses once or twice a year to kill the infected mosquito. UNICEF supplies DDT, sprayers, vehicles and other essential equipment, WHO gives technical advice and supervision and the local government provides organization and labour. The Fund in 1953 was assisting campaigns in thirty countries which gave protection to an estimated 17 million people. The results have been so encouraging that other agencies and governments are undertaking to carry on this work on an unprecedented scale. There is hope that in time malaria may cease to be a major cause of illness and death in the areas where it is most prevalent.

The Fund has also contributed on a smaller scale to campaigns against whooping cough, diphtheria, trachoma and leprosy.

The basic health education which accompanies any campaign against a particular disease can have important results for the general health of a country and UNICEF is becoming increasingly active in assisting the development of child health services, mainly through the setting up of rural health centres. The work is less spectacular than the mass campaigns, but quite as fundamental. Approval has been given for the provision of supplies and equipment for over 5,300 maternal and child welfare centres mostly in rural areas. Here it is hoped



—United Nations

ANTI-TUBERCULOSIS CAMPAIGN

Local nurses observe while Dr. Eric Roelsgaard, a Norwegian, vaccinates a new born baby with BCG serum at Lady Dufferin Hospital in Karachi. This wide-scale anti-tuberculosis international campaign is sponsored by UNICEF, the United Nations World Health Organization, the Scandinavian Relief Societies, and the Pakistan Government.

there may be follow-up work after the mass campaigns as well as pre-natal, post-natal and public health services. But supplies alone will not solve problems and the lack of trained personnel in many under-developed areas has limited the rate at which such services could expand. UNICEF in co-operation with the World Health Organization has helped to organize courses in midwifery and in public hygiene and has helped with the establishment of local training centres to continue this important work. Training centres such as the International Children's Centre in Paris and the All India Institute of Hygiene also receive aid from the Fund.

Nutrition Problems

Nutrition was the first concern of UNICEF and in the early years mass feeding in the war devastated countries of Europe was its main pre-occupation. The nature of its work in nutrition has changed with the increasing emphasis on long-range programmes. Demonstration school-feeding programmes are undertaken where it is the intention of the government to make these a permanent part of their child welfare programme. Where countries have a sufficient milk supply UNICEF has also given assistance to conservation schemes by supplying milk processing machinery for pasteurizing and drying milk. The countries receiving this help agree that a portion and in many cases all of the additional milk will be used in children's programmes. In some countries lack of sufficient milk makes it necessary to look for other sources of proteins. Some

interesting experiments are underway to assist the drying of soybean milk in the hope that this may help to meet the deficiency.

Economic Significance

Programmes such as those outlined could no doubt be justified on humanitarian grounds alone but they are not without economic significance as well. Children who grow up well nourished and without disease will be much more productive citizens than those unable to support themselves because they are crippled by yaws or invalidated by tuberculosis. The land which breeds the malaria mosquito is usually highly productive agriculturally. The destruction of the mosquito not only brings improved health but a substantial increase in the local food supply.

The extent to which UNICEF can contribute to the health and welfare of the world's children, beyond the small fraction who have so far benefited, depends in part on its resources. The fact that UNICEF depends entirely on voluntary contributions from government and private sources has influenced its planning. Limited funds have led it to favour programmes where the largest benefits could be secured from small per capita costs. Administrative costs have been kept to the lowest level compatible with the efficiency of a world-wide operation.

The board does not vote funds on an annual basis. The full amount required for the UNICEF share of a programme is allocated when the project is approved. So, regardless of the time required for completion or the fluctuations of total income, the Fund is always able to complete its undertakings.

Contributions Increasing

Both the number and amount of government contributions have increased each year since 1950. In 1950 thirty governments contributed approximately \$8 million. In 1953 fifty governments contributed over \$14 million. Though encouraging, this still falls short of the Fund's target of \$20 million. The Canadian Government has contributed \$8,375,000 (Can.) to UNICEF since its establishment out of total governmental contributions amounting to approximately \$136,645,000 (US). UNICEF has also proved popular among the Canadian public which has contributed more than \$1,500,000 to the Fund's operations.

UNICEF received encouraging and heartwarming tributes in all speeches made during the General Assembly debate. It has been given a mandate to continue its work. Provided it receives sufficient financial support it can do so. The situation was well summed up by the Assembly president, Mrs. Pandit, in announcing the unanimous vote on the Fund. "Its value lies not only in the lives saved, but in the entire communities which it strengthens and in the faith in the United Nations which it establishes and renews wherever it operates. The support from as many governments as possible is vital if the Fund is to sustain the high hopes which this Assembly has experienced in it."

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

THE establishment of the new Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in October 1953 marks the emergence of a new and important political unit in Africa under the British Crown. The Federation commands special interest because it joins together three territories at different stages of constitutional advancement, and is based on the principle of partnership between the European and African inhabitants.

With an area of 485,973 square miles, the new Federation is one of the largest political units in Africa. Although the new Federation is located in the tropics, the climate of the two Rhodesias is temperate owing to the fact that the altitude is mainly over 3000 feet. The topography of Nyasaland is somewhat different, its chief characteristic being the long Rift Valley at the bottom of which lies Lake Nyasa. The climate tends to be more variable, and consequently the territory has been less attractive to European settlement.

The total population of the new Federation is approximately 6,470,000 with roughly one-third of the total in each territory. The white population forms only about 3 per cent of the total; there are about 145,000 persons of European descent in Southern Rhodesia, about 43,000 in Northern Rhodesia and about 4,300 in Nyasaland. Persons of Asian and mixed races amount to about 18,000 throughout the Federation. The density of the population varies considerably among the territories, the figures being fourteen persons per square mile in South Rhodesia, seven per square mile in Northern Rhodesia and forty-nine per square mile in Nyasaland.

Development Began in 1889

Development of the Rhodesias was begun by the British South Africa Company, which, in 1889, obtained a Royal Charter to promote, under the supervision of the High Commissioner of South Africa, "trade, commerce, civilization and good government in the area." In what is now Southern Rhodesia, a Legislative Council with some representative members was set up and subsequently twice enlarged. In 1920 the Legislative Council petitioned the United Kingdom Government for the establishment of responsible government. Before a new constitution was put into effect, however, a referendum was held to determine whether the colony should join the Union of South Africa. A majority voted in favour of responsible government, which was granted in 1923 when the territory was formally annexed by the United Kingdom as the Colony of Southern Rhodesia.

Southern Rhodesia is the most advanced of the three territories economically. Prior to the war, mining occupied a particularly important position in the economy, and gold was the most important mineral. During the period 1934-38 gold accounted for nearly 60 per cent of Southern Rhodesia's total exports. The picture has since changed considerably. Other minerals, particularly chrome and asbestos, have become relatively more important. Tobacco has replaced gold as the colony's chief export, accounting for 40 per cent of its exports in



1949. The government's economic policy has laid great stress on the development of a more balanced economy. Wartime shortages hastened the development of secondary industry, and this trend has continued since the war. There is a good heavy industry basis for this development in the growing steel and cement industries. The growth of the Southern Rhodesian economy generally is partly indicated in the trade figures: in 1938 imports and exports were valued at £9.7 millions and £11.9 millions respectively, and at £85.8 millions and £51.8 millions respectively in 1951.

What is now Northern Rhodesia had been included in the terms of the charter granted to the British South Africa Company in 1889. The Company's administration of the territory was more clearly defined by Orders in Council

passed in 1899 and 1900. Company administration of the territory continued until 1924, subject to the exercise of certain powers of control by the Crown. The Crown took over direct control of Northern Rhodesia as a protectorate in 1924. At that time, the office of Governor was created, an Executive Council was constituted, and provision was made for the establishment of a Legislative Council. As now constituted, the Legislative Council is made up of nine official members, ten unofficial elected members and four unofficial nominated members representing African interests. Two of these latter are Africans selected by the African Representative Council.

Important Copper Producer

The economy of Northern Rhodesia is dominated by copper, which constitutes 90 per cent of its exports. The protectorate is now the third largest producer of copper in the world and the second largest exporter. Other important minerals are zinc, lead and cobalt. Government policy has been directed towards the achievement of a more diversified economy, and some progress has been made in the establishment of secondary industries. Although some tobacco is grown, Northern Rhodesia's agricultural products do not bulk large. Cattle farming cannot be extensive because five-eighths of the country is infested with the tsetse fly, and crop production is limited because of certain deficiencies in the soil. Northern Rhodesia's exports and imports were valued at £4½ million and £10 million respectively in 1939 and at £81 million and £43 million, respectively, in 1952.

British influence in Nyasaland was extended mainly as the result of missionary endeavour. The first missions were established shortly after Livingstone's discovery of Lake Nyasa in 1859. The first representative of the British Government in the territory did not arrive until 1883, when a Consul was accredited to "the Kings and Chiefs of Central Africa". The territory was made a protectorate in 1891. Nyasaland is administered by a Governor assisted by an Executive Council made up of four official and two unofficial members. There is also a Legislative Council made up of nine official members and nine unofficial members, all of whom are nominated.

Nyasaland's economy is on a relatively small scale and is primarily agricultural, the chief products being tea, tobacco, maize and tung oil. Total exports amounted to £6 million in 1952, while imports were valued at nearly £9 million. Nyasaland contributes substantially to the labour force in adjoining territories and in the Union of South Africa. As many as 148,000 Africans were absent as migrant labourers from the protectorate in 1951. Of this total it was estimated that 90,000 were in Southern Rhodesia and 6,000 in Northern Rhodesia.

Federation Considered in 1938

The idea of closer association of the three Central African Territories was considered by a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Bledisloe in 1938. This Commission, while anticipating that the three territories would become progressively more interdependent, recommended against immediate amalgamation. Federation as an alternative was not seriously considered. One recommendation of the Commission was implemented immediately after the war in 1945: this was the establishment of a Central African Council, a con-



—U.K.I.O.

HEALTH SERVICES IN RHODESIA
An African baby clinic at Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia.

sultative body which was intended to promote closer contacts between the three territories and the co-ordination of policy and action in matters of common interest. The next few years showed that because of its purely advisory status, the Council could not do a great deal to promote collaboration between the three governments.

The first real step towards federation was taken in March 1951, when the United Kingdom Government called a conference in London of representatives of the Central African territories to examine afresh the question of closer association of the three territories. The report of the conference stated the case in favour of closer association mainly in economic terms. The interdependence of the economies of the three territories was seen to necessitate a co-ordinated economic policy in the interests of the maximum development of the area as a whole. It was pointed out that the narrow scope of the economies of the individual territories made them very vulnerable, and that they might suffer acutely from a fall in the world price of commodities such as tobacco, copper, cotton or tea. Economic integration of the territories would reduce this danger. The clear advantages of closer association in defence, communications and the maintenance of public services were also noted in the report.

In connection with native policy, the conference reached the conclusion that the similarities between the policies and practices of the three territories were a good deal more important than the remaining differences. The ultimate objective of the three governments was regarded as being broadly the same—the economic, social and political advancement of the Africans in partnership

with the Europeans. It was noted that African opinion in the two northern territories was opposed to closed association, and this was recognized as a serious obstacle. The hope was expressed that African apprehensions could be overcome if the form of closer association contained adequate provision for African representation and adequate protection for African interests. Referring to the growing political consciousness among Africans, the report stated: "We believe strongly that economic and political partnership between Europeans and Africans is the only policy which can succeed in the conditions of Central Africa". It was asserted that closer association of the three territories should provide a sounder basis for developing and extending the policy of racial co-operation and partnership than would be the case if each territory pursued its separate course.

Having established a case in favour of closer association, the conference made detailed recommendations as to the form it should take. Amalgamation and the establishment of a "league" with delegated powers were rejected on the ground that neither solution would be generally acceptable. The conference unanimously recommended that closer association should take the form of a federation, in which specific powers would be allocated to the central government in such matters as external affairs, defence, customs, trade, economic planning and development, transport, electricity supply and distribution, higher education and research. Residual powers would rest with the territorial governments, and, in respect of these, the authority and the constitutional position of each of the three territories and their relation to the United Kingdom Government would be unaltered. It was particularly intended that matters pertaining to the daily life of the Africans (e.g. African education, health, agriculture, land and settlement questions) should remain within the purview of the individual territories. None of the governments concerned was committed to the recommendations of the conference, which were published as a basis for consideration and discussion.

In August 1951, the Secretaries of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies visited the Central African territories to discuss the federation proposals with representatives of the European and African communities. Their tour concluded with a consultative conference at Victoria Falls in September.

Victoria Falls Conference

Whereas the conference of March, 1951, had produced a report containing unanimous proposals, the Victoria Falls conference brought out differences in points of view that led to the conclusion that further discussion within the territories and exchanges of views between the four governments were desirable. The federation conference was accordingly adjourned. The final communiqué stated that the conference, with the exception of the African representatives, was favourable to the principle of federation. It was reaffirmed that the principle of economic and political partnership between the races was basic to the whole idea of closer association. It was observed, however, that one of the main obstacles to the general acceptance of federation rested in the "apprehensions felt by the Africans in the two northern territories that federation might impair their position and prospects in the respective territories". The communiqué asserted that in any further consideration of proposals for federation the protectorate status of the two northern territories would be accepted and preserved, and that questions concerning land and land settlement in Northern

Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the political advancement of the peoples of the two territories, both in local and territorial government, must remain the responsibility of the territorial governments, subject to the ultimate authority of the United Kingdom Government, and not of any federal authority.

The misgivings of the African populations of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland about federation were not entirely overcome by the assurances given in the final communiqué of the Victoria Falls conference and in a subsequent statement made by Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, who had taken over the Colonial Office in October 1951. Representatives of the African Representative Council of Northern Rhodesia and the African Protectorate Council of Nyasaland were invited to attend the federation conference when it was reconvened in London in April 1952 by the new United Kingdom Government. Although these representatives came to London for informal talks with the Colonial Secretary, they declined to attend the conference; the two African members of the Southern Rhodesian delegation, however, did attend and took an active part in the proceedings.

Detailed Plan Drafted

The reconvened conference proceeded to prepare a detailed draft scheme of federation which could be readily translated into a constitutional instrument. The scheme as drafted followed fairly closely on the recommendations of the March 1951 conference.

The draft federal scheme did not attempt to set out in detail the financial arrangements for the federation, nor the arrangements for the federal public service and the federal judicature. It was decided that three special commissions should be set up to study these problems and to make recommendations to the governments concerned. These commissions, which were appointed in June 1952, took evidence during the ensuing two months in Central Africa, and published their reports in October 1952.

The final conference met in London during January 1953. Its main task was to consider the draft federal scheme in the light of the reports of the Fiscal, Civil Service and Judicial Commissions; to consider any amendments to the draft federal scheme and to prepare a revised scheme which could be submitted to the electorate in Southern Rhodesia, to the legislatures of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and to the United Kingdom Parliament. Once again African representatives from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were invited to attend the conference, but declined.

In the federal scheme drawn up at this conference, division of legislative powers is provided for by means of two lists, the first, or Exclusive List, setting forth those subjects on which the Federal Legislature alone will be empowered to make laws, and the second, or Concurrent List, containing matters on which both the Federal Legislature and the territorial legislatures will be empowered to legislate, with federal law prevailing in case of inconsistency. It is provided that exclusive power to make laws with respect to matters not included in either the Exclusive List or the Concurrent List will rest with the territorial legislatures.

The legislative powers of the federation are vested in the Federal Legislature, which consists of the Queen (represented by a Governor General) and



—U.K.I.O.

NORTHERN RHODESIA POLICE FORCE

A warrant officer and sergeants of the Northern Rhodesia Police Force.

the Federal Assembly. The Federal Assembly described in the scheme consists of a Speaker and 35 members. Of these 26 are elected members, six are Specially Elected African Members, and three are European Members charged with special responsibilities for African interests (one of these latter is "the Specially Elected European Member" and two are "Specially Appointed European Members"). The Speaker may be chosen either from among the thirty-five members mentioned above or from outside the Assembly. The maximum life of the Assembly is set at five years.

Distribution of Members

Of the twenty-six elected members, fourteen are to be returned from Southern Rhodesia, eight from Northern Rhodesia, and four from Nyasaland. Territorial electoral law is to apply in the Rhodesians in the first federal general election and subsequently until the Federal Legislature provides otherwise. In Nyasaland, where no territorial electoral law exists, the Governor General is to make regulations with the agreement of the Governor of Nyasaland.

Each territory is to return two Specially Elected African members. Southern Rhodesia will, in addition, return one Specially Elected European Member for African interests. The other two territories will each return one Specially Appointed European member for African interests nominated by the Governor of the territory.

The reserve powers granted to the Governor General in the federal scheme are of special interest. Bills which the Governor General is obliged to "reserve for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure"—or the approval of the Secretary of State for Colonies—include those which amend the Federal Constitution, those designated for this procedure by the African Affairs Board, bills relating

to the electoral law, and any bill "the provisions of which appear inconsistent with the obligations of Her Majesty under any international agreement". The scheme also reserves to the Queen the power to disallow a federal law at any time within twelve months after it has been assented to by the Governor General.

African Affairs Board

A distinctive feature of the federal scheme is the African Affairs Board, which is given the status of a standing committee of the Federal Assembly. The Board is to consist of the Specially Elected European Member and the two Specially Appointed European Members, and one Specially Elected African Member from each of the three territories. The Chairman of the Board is to be appointed from among these six members. The Board is given the general power to make representations to the Prime Minister concerning matters in the Federal field affecting the interests of Africans, and the power to assist the Government of any territory on request in relation to the study of matters affecting Africans. In relation to legislation, the Board is given power to report a bill as a differentiating measure if it is considered to discriminate against Africans; if such a bill is proceeded with, the Board may request that the Governor General reserve the bill for the signification of Royal pleasure. The Board is given similar functions in relation to subordinate legislation.

With regard to finance, the scheme provides that income tax revenues will be distributed between the Federation and the three territories in the following proportions:

	%	
The Federation	64	Northern Rhodesia
Southern Rhodesia	13	Nyasaland
		6

Provision is made for a federal emergency tax for use during periods of war or when the security of the Federation is threatened. This tax will be for the sole use of the Federation and no part of it would be distributed to the territories. The scheme also enables a territorial government to authorize the Federal Government to collect a territorial surcharge at a rate not exceeding 20 per cent of the federal income tax.

Amendments to Constitution

Amendment of the Constitution must be carried out by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the total membership of the Federal Assembly and the amending legislation must be reserved for the signification of Royal pleasure. During the first ten years of federation, amendments to the constitution affecting the division of powers between the Federation and the territories can only be made with the express approval of the territorial legislatures. Provision is made for a review of the Federal Constitution at a conference to be held between seven and nine years of its coming into force.

At the conclusion of its report, the conference on federation made the following statement:

We have reached the moment for decision. We are convinced that a Federation on the lines proposed is the only practicable means by which the three Central African Territories can achieve security for the future and ensure the well-being

and contentment of all their peoples. We believe that this Federal Scheme is a sound and a fair scheme which will promote the essential interests of all the inhabitants of the three Territories, and that it should be carried through.

The scheme was debated in and approved by the United Kingdom House of Commons on March 24, 1953. It was later approved by the Legislative Councils of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The crucial test was its submission to the electorate of Southern Rhodesia in April, which resulted in a substantial majority in favour of the federal scheme—25,570 for and 14,729 against, with over 80 per cent of the electorate voting. In June and July enabling legislation was passed by the United Kingdom Parliament, paving the way for the establishment of the Federation in September and October.

Lord Llewellyn was sworn in as Governor General and Commander in Chief of the Federation on September 4. Subsequently Sir Godfrey Huggins, who had been Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia for twenty years and was one of the chief architects of federation, was sworn in as Prime Minister. Two other Ministers were appointed to make up a temporary Executive Council. With the appointment of an Interim Public Service Commission on September 7, and the secondment of officers from the three territories, Federal Government departments were set up and begun functioning. The Constitution was brought fully into force by proclamation on October 23.

First General Election

The first general election in the Federation was held on December 15 after a spirited campaign in which the leading contenders were the Federal Party led by Sir Godfrey Huggins and the Confederate Party led by Mr. Dendy Young. Of the 26 seats for elected members in the Federal Legislature, the Federal Party won 24, the Confederate Party won one and one seat went to an independent. The first Federal Parliament met for the first time on February 2, 1954.

The establishment of the new Federation does not add a new member to the Commonwealth. Full self-government in the normal sense has not been granted to the new Federation, since its constitution provides some measure of control to the United Kingdom Government through the Queen's power of disallowance and the reserve powers of the Governor in respect of certain types of legislation. In the international field the status of the Federation will be similar to that which has obtained in the case of Southern Rhodesia: the United Kingdom will retain general responsibility for the external relations of the Federation, but this will not preclude the Federal Government from dealing directly with neighbouring countries on matters of a local character, nor from entering on its own account into certain types of international agreements concerning trade and technical matters.

The ultimate object of the Federation is set forth in the preamble to its constitution—"to go forward with confidence towards the attainment of full membership in the Commonwealth".

The Imperial Defence College

ARTICLES in *External Affairs* of October 1950 and November 1952 mentioned the close contact maintained between Canada's National Defence College and the Imperial Defence College in the United Kingdom. It was pointed out that the Imperial Defence College was the pioneer institution of this kind whose success stimulated the formation of similar establishments in the United States, Canada and elsewhere. Indeed it came into being in 1927 at a time when much thought was being devoted to improving the machinery for the higher direction of war, and after Sir Winston Churchill, who foresaw the future need for combined staffs, had propounded the idea of a College where senior and carefully chosen officers of the Fighting and Civil Services, drawn from all parts of the Commonwealth, should study jointly the problems of the higher direction of Commonwealth defence.

Objective of IDC

Experience has shown that defence involved almost every aspect of a nation's life. The military and civil effort had become so integrated that it was obvious that those taking part in strategic planning and direction had to possess, besides a specialized knowledge of their own field, a sound appreciation of all other aspects of the national effort. It followed, therefore, that the object of the Imperial Defence College should be "to produce throughout the Commonwealth a body of senior officers of the fighting Services and Civil Services who will be capable of holding high commands and key appointments in the structure of Commonwealth defence both in peace and war."

The experiences of the Second World War not only confirmed the need for such an institution for training on the highest level, but enabled many past students of the Imperial Defence College to provide the most convincing evidence of their value in key appointments all over the world. At the end of hostilities there was complete unanimity among the Governments and Services of the Commonwealth that the College, which had had to close at the beginning of the war, should resume its work. In 1946 it re-opened in Belgrave Square, London, with General (later Field Marshal) Sir William Slim as Commandant. Not only were the new premises much more suitable for their purpose, but the number of students attending was more than double the pre-war number.

It is natural that in organization and in method of study there should be much in common between the Imperial Defence College and the National Defence College in Kingston, since the former was the prototype after which the latter was to a large extent modelled. The Imperial Defence College is administered by the United Kingdom Ministry of Defence. At its head is a Commandant, who is responsible to the Chiefs of Staff Committee for the instruction at the College. The Commandant is drawn in turn from each of the Fighting Services of the United Kingdom. The Directing Staff is supplied, in equal proportions, by the Royal Navy, the British Army, the R.A.F., and the U.K. Civil Service. Members are selected not only because of their background as administrators, commanders or planners, but because they have all had considerable experience of the widest aspects of defence.



The Imperial Defence College, "Seaforth House" Belgrave Square, London, S.W. 1.

A study of the higher direction of the effort of the Commonwealth countries in war covers, as will be realized, a vast field—military, economic, scientific, social, industrial, political and financial. It entails a knowledge of national trends, of the relations of Commonwealth countries with other powers, of the development and importance of the United Nations and other international organizations, and of the world economic situation and its effect on almost every field of activity within the Commonwealth. In order to increase and clarify the students' knowledge and thinking on this very broad range of subjects to be examined, a series of problems is studied by student syndicates, or seminars, consisting of members of the Services represented at the College in balanced proportions, with the assistance of lectures by the highest authorities available on the various subjects under discussion. The lectures are given by Cabinet Ministers, ex-Ministers, Ambassadors, Commonwealth High Commissioners, Service Chiefs of Staff, Heads of Government Departments, Naval, Military and R.A.F. commanders, civil servants, university professors and lecturers, together with leading political theorists, economists, writers, businessmen, trades union officials, scientists, and specialists on the particular problem under discussion. There is no need to emphasize the advantage, from the point of view of obtaining lecturers of the kind just mentioned, which the College derives from being situated in London.

The studies in the College are supplemented by visits to specialized Navy, Army and R.A.F. establishments in the United Kingdom, as well as to a wide variety of industrial undertakings including heavy and light engineering, electrical, and chemical plants, coal mines, shipyards and others. In the summer recess the students have an opportunity of visiting a number of parts of the world. They are divided into three groups: one spends five weeks in North America, mostly in Canada; a second spends the same time touring a wide area

of the Middle East; and a third spends just under three weeks visiting Western European countries.

In this way the students are afforded a practical and most valuable insight into some of the many and varied problems which have to be considered not only at the Imperial Defence College, but wherever they may be serving afterwards. To the practical value of the College must be added the more intangible but equally important benefits which the students derive from associating with one another. There are fifty-eight of them on the course, of whom about one quarter are from Commonwealth countries other than the United Kingdom (there are usually four from Canada each year). By being brought to work together intimately but informally for a year these men deepen their understanding of each other's part of and special interest in the Commonwealth, sharpen their appreciation of the ties which bind the Commonwealth countries to each other, and thus cannot fail in their ensuing career to make some contribution to the preservation and strengthening of those ties. Finally, the friendships which they form at the College are themselves a not insignificant contribution to the Commonwealth tradition of informal, friendly and, when necessary, very close co-operation.



—United Nations

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY RECESSES

The Permanent Canadian Representative to the United Nations, Mr. D. M. Johnson, greets Madame Lakshmi Pandit, of India, President of the Assembly, as the eighth session recesses.

INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC RELATIONS

Text of an address delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Canadian Public Relations Society, Ritz Carlton Hotel, Montreal, January 5, 1954.

This is the first week of a new year, a time for resolution, retrospect, and speculation.

As for the first, I gave up making New Years' resolutions many years ago, deciding about 1923 that I shouldn't add to my burden of resolutions until I had succeeded in disposing of some of those solemnly taken previously. I am still trying to do that, but it may be that by 1960, say, I can conscientiously feel that the Statute of Limitations has come into operation, and that my inability to carry out old resolves should not prevent me from making and breaking new ones.

So far as retrospection is concerned, as I look back on 1953, my personal prayer is that never again will there be a year when I have to carry out the duties of Foreign Minister, as well as those of President of the United Nations Assembly, and also engage in the somewhat feverish activities that flow from participation in a Canadian general election.

Though 1953 was, for me, a little too crowded for comfort, it was one which, in international affairs, gave cause for some sober satisfaction, if none for jubilation or complacency.

A Year of Transition

It has been said recently that 1953 was a year of transition. Of course it was. Every year is a year of transition from the preceding one to the next one; in this case from 1952 to 1954. But in a serious and important sense, there may be something in this description. The general feeling during the year seemed to be one of waiting and wondering; waiting for some concrete move which would ease international tensions, and lighten the awful shadow of approaching atomic destruction; wondering whether Russian words and gestures really meant that such a move was coming and whether changes were taking place in the ruling circles of the U.S.S.R., that tight little group of autocrats, which would effect it.

The New Year, if I may move now into speculation, may clear up some of these wonderings. But let us not count too much on this; or expect too much from any particular meeting, at Berlin or Bermuda or Panmunjom; or read too much into plausible answers from the Kremlin to selected questions.

Very far-reaching developments may be taking place behind the Iron Curtain. If so, we should keep an open mind and a clear head about them. These developments may make it possible to advance the policy of peaceful co-operation between states to which we of the free world are committed.

On the other hand, words of peace and goodwill which come now from the Communist camp may represent merely an orthodox and normal shift in party tactics, designed to disarm and deceive us.

We had better wait and make sure, before

we draw cheerful conclusions and alter present policies; wait with as much calmness as is possible when exposed to all the weapons of mass propaganda which have now reached such an amazing state of technical efficiency. So many and powerful are they, in fact, that it is at times difficult to decide what actually is going on; to separate facts from fancies, the important from the inconsequential. No wonder that public opinion, while ultimately right, is sometimes immediately wrong. That is itself a strong argument against hasty action on many international problems. Yet public opinion, spurred on by propagandists and pundits, often demands just that; quick and clean-cut solutions for international problems which are not susceptible to this treatment.

Note of Caution

It may, therefore, from the point of view of good international relations and healthy domestic morale, not be amiss to sound a note of caution as we enter a year which could be filled with conferences and discussions from which we may expect too much. It would be a mistake to pitch our hopes too high for a speedy and satisfactory solution at these conferences of all the cold-war problems which plague us. Many of these problems arise not so much for particular situations, as from the very nature of the relationship between Communism and the free world; a relationship which is likely to be with us as long as we live.

We would also be wise, I think, not to get unduly exercised over the meaning of every Kremlin word or gesture. We might recall the good advice of Harold Nicholson when, in discussing the practice of diplomacy, he said: "... it is better to concentrate upon rendering your own attitude as clear as possible, rather than to fiddle with the psychology of others". Nicholson then quoted the words of an experienced diplomat, and they seem particularly apt at this time, "Don't worry so much about what is at the back of their minds; make quite sure that they realize what is at the back of yours".

I hope that, as we enter 1954, we keep at the back, and in the front of our minds, the necessity of following patiently, steadily and persistently the policy that we have now laid down; of building up and maintaining the collective strength and unity of the free world, to be used not to provoke or threaten others, but as the solid foundation for diplomatic negotiation and political settlement. This involves the search for solutions for specific international problems, one by one, so that in so far as we can bring it about the cold war will have begun to disappear by the end of 1954 without having become a hot one.

We must assume, however, that this unity and strength, especially under NATO, is bound to be the object of increasing attack in the coming year from the Communists,

within and without our gates; not so much, I feel, from direct frontal assault as from the insidious pressure of enticing double-talk and bewildering blandishment.

There never was much doubt that the really serious strain on the Western coalition would begin when the menace of immediate aggression seemed to recede. We are in that period now, with new problems and difficulties—and also new possibilities.

This is certainly no time to weaken the common front by dissension or doubts or indifference. It is no time to lower our guard; or start wrangling among ourselves.

Quiet Negotiations Needed

In meeting these problems, in negotiating with the Communist states and keeping the coalition together in the face of what may seem, or be made to seem, diminishing dangers, diplomacy should, I think, play a greater part than in recent years. By diplomacy I mean something more than monologues at international gatherings, or public press conferences, or calculated leaks to frighten potential adversaries, or to "put the heat on" reluctant friends; or even political quiz programmes before the microphone or camera. There should be more room for and greater reliance on quiet and confidential negotiation, as I am sure you, as public relation experts, will agree. If Moscow, by the crudity of Communist diplomatic methods, and by its incessant and direct appeal to peoples over the heads of governments, makes this procedure difficult or even impossible, we should keep on trying to restore it. In any event, we need not follow these Communist tactics of propaganda diplomacy in conferences and negotiations between friends.

There are, of course, important situations in which the most effective instruments of diplomacy are open conferences with a maximum of publicity. The General Assembly of the United Nations, and the Economic and Social Council, have accomplished a great deal through the opportunities they provide in public sessions for the clarification and mobilization of international public opinion. The Security Council, too, has often found its ability to bring to bear in public the pressure of world opinion on particular issues, a strong instrument for peace.

But there are also situations—and they are sometimes the most difficult and most important ones—where highly publicized meetings offer the least promising method of negotiating. An atmosphere of drama is inevitably generated when the eyes of the world are focussed on a single meeting. Too much drama is not always good for discussion or decision. It may neutralize the value of talks and even doom them in advance to futility. Where public expectations are over-stimulated, deliberation is apt to be confused with dullness and compromise with capitulation. The purpose of negotiation is, necessarily, to seek agreement through mutual adjustments. But adjustments are not made easier, and may well be made impossible, when the negotia-

tors fear that any concession, or compromise is, within the hour, going to be printed, pictured or broadcast as a capitulation.

There is another difficulty which you will appreciate. Quiet and constructive achievement often has no one to write or speak its praise. But conflict is its own publicity agent. A clash looks more exciting than a slow edging towards compromise. It is, therefore, more likely to get the front page.

But when it reaches the front page, the honour and pride of politicians and peoples become engaged. Headlines harden convictions, without clarifying them. As I have said more than once, there is nothing more difficult for a political negotiator to retreat from than a bold, black headline!

Please do not misunderstand me. I do not advocate secret deals around green baize tables in a dim light with all curtains drawn. No genuinely democratic state can or should countenance commitments secretly entered into; or adopt policies or make engagements without the people knowing about them and parliament passing on them.

But full publicity for objectives and policies and results, does not mean, or at least should not mean that negotiation must always be conducted, step by step, in public. Certainly no private business, not even a public relations business, could be operated successfully by such methods. And government is the most important business of all.

Diplomacy is simply the agency for the conduct of that business with other states. As such it involves the application of intelligent public relations procedures to the conduct of foreign affairs.

Job for Diplomats

There are times when I think we might be well advised to leave more of it to the diplomats. They are trained for the job and they are usually happy to conduct a negotiation without issuing a progress report after each 20 minute period.

I hope that I won't be considered as disloyal to my Trade Union of political negotiators if I suggest that there are certain things that ambassadors and officials can do better than foreign or other ministers, especially in the early stages of negotiation.

If governments fail to reach agreement through official diplomatic channels, they can go on trying or, at worst, fail without fury. But when Foreign Ministers or, even more, when heads of governments meet, with their inevitable retinue of press, radio and television companions, with experts, advisors and advisors to advisors, things become more complicated and often more difficult.

There is always the danger that if agreement cannot be reached at meetings on which so much public hope and expectation have been centred, this will inevitably be interpreted as conclusive evidence that agreement never will be possible. The reaction to this may become, in its turn, unnecessarily despairing and pessimistic. Consequently, there is the strong temptation to conceal or deny

the fact of disagreement or to concentrate on blaming the other person or persons for it. In this latter technique the Communists are past masters. Their participation at international conferences is, in fact, often for propaganda purposes only. Their tactics to this end are worked out long before the conference opens, and their exploitation of failure by attributing it to others, continues long after the conference ends.

One reason why there is a reluctance to revert more often to normal methods of diplomacy, using what we call "official channels" rather than political conferences, is that diplomacy as a profession still has a somewhat dubious reputation. This is a 'hang-over' from the days when professional diplomats were the agents of autocratic rulers, in carrying out policies that had little or nothing to do with the welfare of people, or little concern for their interests.

In its origin and in its practice until recent years diplomacy has tended to remain aloof and exclusive. Its spirit and its appeal has often been more dynastic than democratic.

With a faint aura of wickedness still about it, this calling is considered by many to be full of trickery and skull duggery, practiced by sinister, if distinguished looking gentlemen, who have replaced the knee breeches of the 18th century by the striped pants of today.

This is, of course, unwarranted and unfair. No doubt it could be corrected if a good public relations firm was retained to convince the public that the striped pants are really overalls. Striped pants, in any event, are not a garment but a state of mind. That state of mind, I hope and believe, does not exist in the Canadian External Affairs Department or in its Foreign Service. Striped pants and bow ties do not go well together!

Unfortunately, also, the failures of diplomacy have often been charged with responsibility for resulting wars which men have had to fight long after the diplomat has asked for his passports. Diplomatic failures—as is the case with other failures—linger in memory and persist in history long after successes and achievements are forgotten.

Good Public Relations Required

In the past diplomacy has suffered from bad public relations—or—even worse, you will admit—from no public relations at all. It is important to alter this in the future because the public relations aspect of international politics, and hence diplomacy, is now so important as at times to be decisive. The main reason for this is, of course, the inescapable necessity, in a democracy of basing foreign policy, and its conduct, on public opinion, which is now determined by all, not merely a few of the citizens. It is essential, therefore, that public opinion should be kept fully and honestly informed; not, as I have argued, of every step in negotiation, but of every principle of policy, which is something different. Public opinion must, however, be convinced that, even if its representatives in government are to be given—as I think they should—room

to manoeuvre in negotiation, they will not abandon any principle that has been laid down to guide such negotiation.

This is no easy task, especially in dealing with Communist states. Our fear of Communism is understandably so great that if in negotiation we make a concession on any point of detail, and this becomes public as it nearly always does, we may be accused of deserting a principle or of being "soft". This, in fact, can be carried to such a point that fear, both of the Communist *and* the critic, can freeze diplomacy completely so that no progress of any kind can be made. I hope that we can avoid this purely static position in the coming year just as I hope we can avoid clutching at every proposal as promising peace.

The other difficulty is that any concession or compromise of any kind can be and often is interpreted by a Communist opponent as a sign of weakness generally, and will, therefore, encourage him to be more intransigent than ever.

We have plenty of examples of both these difficulties in contemporary negotiations with Communist governments, especially over Korea and Germany.

Negotiation Methods

The best way, as I see it, to deal with this situation—negotiating with Communist Governments—is to decide in advance what the points and principles are on which you will stand fast and then not to budge from them. At the same time, it is necessary to be flexible on non-essential matters, without worrying too much about the misinterpretation which may be given to a conciliatory attitude on these matters. There are other useful rules to follow. We should not permit the Communists to drag us down to their level of debate and dialectic. In discussion we should not mistake villification for vigour, or sound and fury for sense and firmness.

We would be wise, I think, to follow the advice of a distinguished United States delegate to the United Nations, Senator Warren Austin when he said; "Always leave your enemy room to retreat". That seems to me to make sense, if not in war, at least in negotiation, even with Communists. Equally good advice would be not to allow yourself to be manoeuvred into a blind alley.

Finally, we should resist the Anglo-Saxon failing of making a moral issue of every separate political problem. There are some problems that can be dealt with on the basis of political expediency; others only on the basis of moral principle. It is desirable, though often difficult, to recognize the distinction.

To the Communists, of course, there is no such difficulty, because there is no such thing as a moral issue. This may seem to give them a short-run advantage. But in the long-run a foreign policy which has a sound moral basis will prevail over one which has not, providing we build on that base a structure of strength with freedom.

There is, however, one definite advantage
(Continued on page 68)

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. Désy, Q.C., was appointed Canadian Ambassador to France on January 1, 1954 and he assumed his functions on January 4, 1954.
- Mr. J. S. Nutt was posted from home leave (Rio de Janeiro) to Ottawa effective January 5, 1954.
- Mr. J. R. MacKinney was posted from home leave (Belgrade) to Ottawa effective January 11, 1954.
- Mr. G. Choquette was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective January 15, 1954.
- Mr. C. S. Gadd was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Havana, effective January 20, 1954.
- Mr. J. H. Cleveland was posted from the Canadian Consulate General New York, to Ottawa, in preparation for his transfer to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi. Mr. Cleveland left for Karachi on January 22, 1954.



INTERDEPARTMENTAL TOURNAMENT

—*Capital Press*

Harmony and co-operation normally characterize relationships between foreign service personnel of the Departments of Trade and Commerce and External Affairs, but in their recently-inaugurated annual golf tournament competition was keen. The first contest at the Royal Ottawa Golf Club last year resulted in a triumph for Trade and Commerce. In the above photograph, Mr. Fred Bull, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce (right) accepts the victory trophy from Mr. Charles Ritchie, former Acting Under-Secretary of State for the Department of External Affairs. At the left in the photograph is Mr. Evan Gill, Head of the Personnel Division, Department of External Affairs. On Mr. Bull's left is Mr. Hugh Aitken, General Manager of the Export Credits Insurance Corporation. The imposing trophy was presented for annual competition by Mr. Dana Wilgress, Canada's Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council. Mr. Wilgress has served both as Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce and Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 53/48—*Report of the Disarmament Commission*, statement given on November 10, 1953, by the Canadian Representative, Mr. D. M. Johnson, in the First Committee of the eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

No. 53/49—*Measures to Reduce International Tension*, the text of a statement made on November 23, 1953, by the Vice-Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. Alcide Côté, in the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly.

No. 53/50—*Don't Let Asia Split the West*,

The following serial number is available abroad only:

No. 53/51—*Review of Canada's Economy in 1953*, a statement issued on December 29, 1953, by the Minister of Trade and

by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson (Reprinted from "World", December 1953).

No. 54/1—Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, broadcast on January 1, 1954 over the International Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

No. 54/2—*International Public Relations*, text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made to the Canadian Public Relations Society, Montreal, January 5, 1954.

Commerce and Minister of Defence Production, Mr. C. D. Howe.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

A SELECTED LIST

This list of United Nations documents recently received in the Department of External Affairs contains the titles of those documents which may be of general interest. It consists of reports by subsidiary bodies of the United Nations on the more important current activities of the organization, research activities of the organization, research notes by the Secretariat and general surveys of the work of the United Nations. The following list has been divided into two sections, section (a) — printed publications — which may be obtained by the general public from the following addresses: Agents: the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. W., Toronto; Periodica, 4234 De La Roche, Montreal. Sub-Agents: Book Room Ltd., Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Bookstore, Montreal; University of Montreal Bookstore, Montreal; Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec; University of Toronto Press & Bookstore, Toronto; University of British Columbia Bookstore, Vancouver; Winnipeg Bookstore, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; and section (b) — mimeographed United Nations documents — which can only be procured by the general public, by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat at New York. They are available to university staffs and students, teachers, libraries and non-governmental organizations, from the United Nations Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. UNESCO documents may be procured from the University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Ontario (English), and Le Centre de Publications Internationales, 4234 Rue de la Roche, Montreal, P.Q. (French). The publications and documents listed below may be consulted at the following places in Canada:

University of British Columbia (English printed and mimeographed documents).

Provincial Library of Manitoba (English printed and mimeographed documents).

University of Toronto (English printed and mimeographed documents).

Library of Parliament, Ottawa (English and French printed documents and English mimeographed documents).

McGill University (English printed and mimeographed documents).

Laval University (French printed documents).

Dalhousie University (English printed and mimeographed documents).

University of Montreal (French printed documents).

Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto (English printed and mimeographed documents).

(a) Printed Documents:

Report of the International Monetary Fund 1953 (Annual Report of the Executive Directors for the fiscal year ended April 30, 1953); Washington, D.C. Pp. 160. (E/2496, 14 January 1954).

Commodity Trade and Economic Development; 25 November 1953; Document E/2519. Pp. 102. 75 cents. Sales No.: 1954. I.I.B.1 (Department of Economic Affairs).

UNESCO:

XVth International Conference on Public Education—Proceedings and Recommendations. Publication No. 151. Pp. 172. \$1.25.

Humanism and Education in East and West—An International Round-Table Discussion organized by UNESCO (Unity and Diversity of Cultures). Paris 1953. Pp. 224. \$1.50.

Films on Art by Francis Bolen. Panorama 1953. Illustrated International Catalogue. Paris 1953. Pp. 79. 75 cents.

The teaching of the social sciences in the United Kingdom (Teaching in the Social Sciences). Paris 1953. Pp. 140. \$1.00.

WHO:

Proposed Programme and Budget Estimates for the financial year 1 January - 31 December 1955 with the proposed programme and estimated expenditure for technical assistance for economic development of under-developed countries. Geneva, December 1953. Official Records No. 50. Pp. 479. \$2.75.

(b) Mimeographed Document:

Report on the Administration of the British/United States Zone of the Free Territory of Trieste for the period 1 January to 31 December 1952 by Major General Sir John Winterton, KCMG, CB, CBE, Commander, British/United States Zone, Free Territory of Trieste (Report No. 12); 23 December 1953; document S/3156. Pp. 46.

INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC RELATIONS

(Continued from page 65)

which Communists have in negotiation. They speak with one voice. But in a coalition of free states, large and small, powerful and weak, each has its own voice, each has its own pride, prejudice and public opinion. For this reason we hear too often the "voices" rather than the "voice" of freedom.

There may be no more imperative necessity facing us in 1954 than that of working out the applying satisfactory and effective methods of consultation and co-operation within the coalition, so that we can negotiate with the Kremlin—and Peking—as a well-knit and cohesive group.

The United States, the United Kingdom and France have the main responsibility for this but Canada too has a part to play. Our reputation as a people is good, our strength and stature is envied, our objectivity and good faith is recognized. In short, Canada's international public relations are healthy, which is another way of saying that our position and prestige is high.

This gives us justifiable reason for pride. But it also imposes on us obligations and responsibilities.

We have general obligations as a member of the United Nations and NATO. We also have a special responsibility—which involves a special problem in international public relations—in respect of our relations with the United States. That responsibility is, however, reciprocal—for friendship and mutual understanding require two-way effort.

These relations with the United States are becoming more and more important to both countries; and more varied and complicated.

It is not surprising, therefore, that problems are increasing. We must meet and solve them with a minimum of bickering and a maximum of that good will that has been characteristic in this century of the relations between our two countries. Any other approach—or any other result—would be unthinkable. If Canada and the United States cannot grow closer together in good neighbourhood and friendship—and in the mutual respect and understanding on which friendship must rest—what chance is there for peace and stability in the world.

I want to end on this note and in doing so I beg your forgiveness if I repeat as my concluding words something I said in New York a few weeks ago. "We Canadians claim the special privilege, as a close neighbour and a candid friend, of grousing about our big, our overwhelming partner, and of complaining at some of the less attractive manifestations of her way of life. But we Canadians also know, from our own experiences and from our relationship with the United States, which is closer than that of any other country, that the sound and fury of contemporary clamour, while it may at times mar and even conceal, cannot destroy the noble qualities and the deep strength of that land on whom there now rests (for there is no other strong foundation) the hopes of all peoples, for peace and for free existence."

If we can make real progress during 1954 towards that good objective—peace and free existence—then indeed it will be a year for thanksgiving.

Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P., Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, Controller of Stationery, 1954.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Survey of World Affairs

THE Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, and the Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Roch Pinard, reviewed the international situation in the House of Commons on Friday, January 29. Before beginning his discussion of international affairs Mr. Pearson paid tribute to the memories of the late Mr. Gordon Graydon, M.P., the late Mr. Hume Wrong, and the late Mr. George Patterson. He extended good wishes to Mr. John G. Diefenbaker, M.P., as the new critic for the official opposition in matters of external affairs.

Europe

Turning to the present situation in Europe Mr. Pearson mentioned two important developments in the course of the last year. In the first place the death of Premier Stalin had produced more flexible Soviet policies, both domestic and foreign. The changes in internal policy had been marked by a new emphasis on collective leadership, a modification of the policy of denationalization of minorities within the Soviet Union, some redirection of production to consumer goods and provision of increased incentives for farmers. Soviet foreign policy, the Minister observed, presented a mixed pattern. While the Soviet Government had extended minor concessions, Mr. Pearson believed that there had been "nothing in all this to give us cause to believe that basic Soviet objectives in foreign policy have changed". Secondly, there had been the "remarkable" recovery of West Germany. While this development had been the cause of anxiety to some people, Mr. Pearson believed that "we can understand this fear without agreeing with the conclusions which are sometimes drawn from it". In any case Mr. Pearson believed "the harnessing of German rearmament to a defensive collective purpose" provided a better solution to the problem of Germany than the old alliances between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe against Germany which had failed to prevent war in 1914 and in 1939. Mr. Pearson examined alternative forms of the European Defence Community and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and various possible relationships between them, and concluded that however the German problem was to be settled, the solution should involve a "close and organic association of a free, strong and cohesive international community, European and Atlantic in character". This, he felt, was the best guarantee that the military strength of a revived Germany would only be used for defensive purposes.

The Secretary of State warned that the Communists would use the question of Germany to divide the free Western coalition, and stated that the willingness of the Soviet Government to see Germany unified on acceptable terms, involving "a government freely elected by the whole of the German people", would be tested at the Berlin Conference. Mr. Pearson held out hope of some good results from the Berlin Conference, but warned the House not to expect too much.

In examining the progress made by NATO the Minister stated that while a good job had been done so far, much remained to be done. NATO forces had doubled in number since 1951 and had improved in quality to the point where



—Capital Press

THE PRIME MINISTER'S GOODWILL TOUR

"I think these relations (with other members of the Commonwealth) will be even closer and even more friendly as the result of the voyage of friendship, goodwill and exploration which our Prime Minister is beginning at the end of next week" the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson said in his statement on world affairs in the House of Commons on January 29. Above, Mr. St. Laurent is shown with his son and daughter, Mr. Jean-Paul St. Laurent and Mrs. Hugh O'Donnell, who are accompanying him on his tour, and Mrs. St. Laurent.

Mr. Pearson believed them sufficiently strong to deter aggression. However, Soviet and satellite forces were also still growing and at the recent Ministerial meeting of NATO it was therefore agreed that the North Atlantic alliance should remain on its guard, while promoting economic and social development and political unity and wherever possible negotiating with the Soviet Union on outstanding differences. Future NATO military planning would emphasize modern equipment, new weapons and swift retaliation on aggressors, including atomic retaliation, the Minister explained. He announced that, by the end of 1954, it was planned that NATO should have forces only slightly larger in number than those existing at present, but substantially improved in quality.

Far East

Turning to a discussion of Far Eastern affairs Mr. Pearson reviewed the situation in Korea since the signing of the Armistice Agreement. He told the House that the Canadian Government had informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations that Canada did not favour reconvening the General Assembly in February. The reasons behind this decision were the possibility that talks might be resumed at Panmunjom, the fact that Far Eastern items had been included on the agenda of the Berlin Conference, and the impossibility

of restricting discussion in the United Nations to a consideration of Indian action in the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. As for the recent release of Chinese Communist and North Korean prisoners-of-war, Mr. Pearson held the view that this move was "not only legally correct, but morally sound and quite consistent with the terms of the Armistice Agreement itself". He blamed the obstructionist attitude of the Communist side on the prisoners-of-war issue to the blow to Communist prestige suffered during the examination of the prisoners-of-war.

Mr. Pearson then proceeded to outline certain principles which he believed should act as a guide in the conduct of Canadian policy towards the Asian countries generally. There should be no compromise with Communist military aggression, he argued; at the same time, we should not assume that every nationalist, anti-colonial or revolutionary movement in Asia was Russian Communist in origin and direction, any more than we should assume that every Asian Communist was a potential Tito.

We should attempt, Mr. Pearson said, to convince the Asian peoples of the superiority of Western democracy over communism through constructive domestic policies of our own, through mutual aid and through avoiding the impression that the West associated only with reactionaries. Our policy, he stated, must be constructive and anti-communism should not be the only claim to our assistance. Further, we should recognize that changes in the social, national and economic structure of Asia would have taken place had there never been a Communist revolution in Russia. This trend could not be reversed and should not be ignored, Mr. Pearson argued, while reminding the House of Canada's special obligation and opportunity as a member of a Commonwealth which included Asian and African as well as Western countries.

United States

Relations between Canada and the United States would continue to become more varied and complex, Mr. Pearson continued. In the conduct of these relations, Canada should not forget the heavy responsibility which the United States bears as the leader of the free world, while the United States should remember that partnership and co-operation are a two-way process. Best results would be achieved, Mr. Pearson said, if "neither partner asks the other to do what it would not like to be asked to do itself". Mentioning one important current problem Mr. Pearson referred to the recent removal of obstacles to power development on the St. Lawrence through action in the U.S. Courts.

So long as Canada and the United States continued to settle their differences in this way, Mr. Pearson believed that hope remained for the rest of the world. In conclusion, Mr. Pearson stated that we could take some comfort from the fact that there was somewhat more hope for peace in the world than had existed a year ago, so long as we remembered that "the world still remains an unsafe place for the weak, the weary and the unwary".

United Nations

Speaking for the first time as Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Roch Pinard discussed the activities of the eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly, which adjourned early in



—Capital Press

SIR EDMUND HILLARY VISITS OTTAWA

A few days after Mr. Pearson had made his statement on world affairs in the House of Commons, Sir Edmund Hillary visited Ottawa. He was presented with a sleeping bag by Mr. Pearson, similar to the one used in the Mount Everest ascent. Left to right: Mr. Pearson; Mrs. Hillary; the High Commissioner for New Zealand in Canada, Mr. T. C. A. Hislop; and Sir Edmund Hillary.

December. Mr. Pinard noted that the eighth session had not been characterized by a great deal of constructive achievement, since the United Nations was in a transitional phase between the termination of the Korean conflict and the development of post-Korea relationships. While major problems were being dealt with elsewhere the United Nations continued to struggle with the challenging problems associated with nationalism, colonialism and racialism. As an illustration of such problems, Mr. Pinard discussed the question of Tunisia and Morocco. He observed that, "as citizens of a country which has gradually and peacefully transformed its status from that of a simple colony to that of a free nation, it is our duty to look with sympathy upon problems of the same nature which are facing other peoples who are also trying to attain maturity and independence. But we also have our duty to perform according to the terms of the Charter of the United Nations."

Continuing, the Parliamentary Assistant examined Soviet policy as reflected in recent debates in the United Nations. The difficulties associated with convening a political conference on Korea, the debate on measures to reduce international tension, and in particular, the debate on disarmament, all indicated that at the eighth session of the General Assembly there had been no basic change in Soviet actions.

(Continued on p. 78)

H. Hume Wrong

(Mr. H. Hume Wrong, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, died in Ottawa on January 24, 1954. The following tribute to him was written by the Secretary of State for External Affairs.)

HUME WRONG had rare quality. Some of this he inherited, because his lineage was distinguished. He added to that distinction by his life, his work and his character. Like his father, Professor G. M. Wrong, he was a historian, and he succeeded in maintaining, even in the midst of making history, the historian's perspective; the capacity for calculating the distant consequences and withstanding the pressures and emotions of the moment. From his grandfather, Edward Blake, he inherited a brilliant intellect as well as strong convictions. When confronted with pomposity or pretence, he often displayed some impatience because of his dislike for sham of any kind. He was considered by some to be an austere person. He was certainly a shy and diffident one—and he never wore his heart on his sleeve. But when you got to that heart, and won his friendship, the reward was a rich one. No one could be a truer, more loyal or more warm-hearted comrade.

In childhood he had suffered an injury which resulted in the loss of sight of one eye. He refused to let this disability handicap him in any way: when he was rejected for the Canadian Army in 1915, he went to England and joined the Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry. He was invalided back to Canada after the Battle of the Somme and was later seconded to the Royal Flying Corps.

On demobilization in 1919, he returned to an academic career. After two years' study at Oxford, he came back to Toronto as, first, a lecturer, and later an Assistant Professor of History. During this period he published two books, "The Government of the West Indies" and "Sir Alexander MacKenzie Explorer and Fur Trader", both of which are distinguished for that combination of impeccable scholarship and style which were characteristic of everything he wrote, whether it was an important address or an office memorandum.

Joins External Affairs

It was a fortunate day for the Department of External Affairs when this admirably equipped young historian joined the staff of the new Canadian Legation in Washington. It was a time when Canada was beginning to build up her foreign service and take responsibility for her own foreign policy, a most important phase of which was the conduct of relations with the United States.

Hume Wrong was a good person to help build and strengthen these relations. He had a faith and pride in his country, tempered with discretion, good sense, and an absence of jingoism or national prejudice; qualities especially needed during the early days of Canadian foreign policy.

He remained in Washington until 1937, during which time he was for several lengthy periods Chargé d'Affaires. His experience in these years laid the groundwork for his success when he returned later as Ambassador. He acquired an extraordinary knowledge of the American political scene and the habits and practices of American government. He developed friendships



H. HUME WRONG
1894-1954

—NFB

and associations with many people who later held official positions of great responsibility.

After leaving Washington Hume Wrong became particularly interested in international organization. He had his first direct experience of this subject when he was posted to the League of Nations in Geneva in 1937 as Canadian Advisory Officer and later as Canadian Permanent Delegate. It was characteristic of him that, although he saw without any illusion the weaknesses and the frustrations of Geneva in those demoralizing years, his experience never became the basis of cynicism—a habit of mind at all times completely foreign to him—but rather the material from which he was able to make later an effective and salutary contribution to planning for the new United Nations.

What particularly distinguished his contribution in this field was its rational quality and its pragmatism. He did not suffer from apocalyptic delusions about the nature and the prospects of international government, but his fertile and flexible mind seemed never at a loss for devices to create the most practical and durable means of consultation and collaboration for keeping the peace and increasing the welfare of man.

Assistant Under-Secretary

The first years of the Second World War Mr. Wrong spent in London as a special Economic Adviser at Canada House. Then, after a short term in Washington as Minister-Counsellor, he came to Ottawa as Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. His special charge was the Commonwealth and European Division, which, during the period from 1942-1946 when he was in charge, embraced most of the major problems of war and peace. His responsibilities at this time were particularly heavy, and the volume of work enormous. The lightning speed with which he would read through the accumulation of papers on his desk and make his decisions became a legend to those who came after him.

It was during this period that Mr. Wrong made his particular mark on the work of the Department itself. With his fine intellect he combined unusual administrative capacity. His mind was in all things orderly and disciplined, his decisions not only shrewd but swift. He worked his staff hard and imposed upon them his own high standards, and they admired him for it. The flash of his blue pencil excising from memoranda the glandiloquent, the superfluous and the obscure until they attained some of the clean, terse quality of his own prose will not soon be forgotten by those who were fortunate enough to work with him in those difficult war years. From the first contact he won the respect of his staff, and this feeling he warmed into affection by his kindness, sincerity and his personal interest in their work and welfare.

Ambassador to Washington

His appointment in 1946 as Canadian Ambassador in Washington was a fitting climax to Mr. Wrong's career. It was the work for which he had trained himself, and both countries were fortunate to have in this post a man of such wisdom and experience during a long period when new problems and more complex relationships had to be worked out. Most of his work, as always, was unobtrusive. He insisted that it should be so. He had a horror of horn blowing. As a diplomat he knew his business, but considered no part of it to assert his

own importance. Consequently, only those who had direct association with him could fully appreciate the extent to which the good relations between Canada and the United States in a difficult period could be attributed to Hume Wrong's professional skill and wise counsel.

As Ambassador in Washington he was always an effective advocate of the Canadian viewpoint, not only because he always presented a case clearly, but also because he was listened to with the respect created by his reputation for good sense and objectivity. His meticulous carefulness and his uncompromising honesty meant that he never left a subject until it was clearly understood, first by himself and then by those with whom he talked. There was no place in his mind for sloppy edges, for unclarified assumptions or for the ambiguities which often lead later to recriminations and charges of bad faith. He was as courageous in presenting unwelcome considerations to his own government as he was in explaining to them the views of the government to which he was accredited.

During the many years spent in Washington, Hume Wrong developed a fondness for the country-side of Virginia and Maryland. He loved to roam in unfrequented spots in the nearby Blue Ridge Mountains. He was not afraid of solitude, and had a sensitive appreciation of beauty. He knew a great deal about birds and their habits, and he delighted in flowers of the field or the garden. While Murray Bay remained for him "the enchanted spot", because of the many happy summers spent there as a boy, later on he grew to love the Gatineau Hills, where he had a log cabin, high up on the rocks, overlooking a lake.

Return to Ottawa

Last Autumn Hume Wrong came back to Ottawa to assume, as Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, direction of the Department which he had done so much to create. Those who had worked with him before were eager to feel the effects of his penetrating mind on the new and even more difficult problems that they were now coping with, and the younger officers were no less anxious to see at work a man of whom their older colleagues spoke with such respect and admiration.

He spent only two short weeks in the Department before his collapse from an illness which had threatened him before but to which he, characteristically, had refused to submit. His passing has left among his associates a feeling of tragic loss and frustration. He had started on what was to be the crowning work of a distinguished career, and in spite of the weakness already upon him there were flashes of the old brilliance which kindled excitement. What he would have accomplished as Under-Secretary we shall never know, but our sense of official loss is diminished by a recognition of what he had already achieved. He had set standards, created patterns, and trained men to carry on his work. He had done much to earn for the Canadian foreign service a reputation abroad which those who come after him will seek to maintain. He had made an unexcelled contribution himself over twenty-seven years to devising the fabric of Canadian foreign policy and establishing principles and practices which others could follow. And he had infused into the service to which he belonged something of his own sincerity and simplicity and devotion to duty.

The fine qualities of Hume Wrong have been described with eloquence and discernment by a close friend of his for many years, Mr. Dean Acheson, the former Secretary of State of the United States. Mr. Acheson, in a letter to *The New York Times* of January 27, said:

As I think of our years of work and friendship, the qualities of his which keep coming back to my mind are his goodness and his integrity. There are many able men in this world, but not nearly so many—indeed, all too few—of whom one says, 'He is a good man.' Hume Wrong was that, and with it went his invincible integrity. What he thought was right, that he did—without bitterness, without aspersions upon a differing view, but without any compromise of his own conviction.

He will be sadly missed and deeply mourned. He was a gallant gentleman and an honourable servant of his country and of mankind.

Some of us were close to Hume Wrong for many years. We shall not soon forget the shy smile of greeting, the diffident warmth of friendly conversation, the look of stern concentration as he tackled some troublesome question. He served his country well and he left those who knew him much richer for his friendship.

—L. B. Pearson



SURVEY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

(Continued from p. 73)

Mr. Pinard summarized the work of the eighth session in the economic, social and administrative fields. In economic matters, he referred to the approval of the principle of an international development fund under United Nations auspices, to the renewal of the expanded programme of technical assistance, to the continuation of the United Nations Children's Fund, and to the assistance requested for the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency. Social questions debated at the eighth session had included the repatriation of prisoners-of-war from the Second World War, forced labour, the work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and a proposed programme of concerted United Nations action in the social field, he reported. Important developments in the administrative field had included the appointment of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld to succeed Mr. Trygve Lie as Secretary-General of the United Nations, the discussion of far-reaching proposals for simplifying the structure of the Secretariat and preliminary discussions of the "troublesome" question of the Awards of the Administrative Tribunal.

In summing up Mr. Pinard expressed it as his opinion that "the United Nations must remain a cornerstone in our policy in the modern world", and stated that he believed that this view was shared by the majority of Canadians.

(The texts of Mr. Pearson's and Mr. Pinard's speeches are available on request from the Information Division of the Department of External Affairs as S/S No. 54/5 and 54/6.)

GATT - Eighth Session

THE Eighth Session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was held in Geneva from September 17 to October 24, 1953. At this meeting representatives of the 33 member countries considered several important general trade questions and a large number of matters arising out of the administration of the General Agreement. They also welcomed Japan as a provisional participant. Of particular significance for the future of the General Agreement, the Contracting Parties decided that a review of its provisions should be undertaken in 1954 or 1955. At the end of the session Mr. L. D. Wilgress, Vice-Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, who had been closely associated with the development of the GATT and had been Chairman of the Contracting Parties from the establishment of GATT in 1947 until 1951, was elected Chairman for the coming year.

The Position of the General Agreement in International Commercial relations

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was negotiated at Geneva in 1947. It was the result of a decision among the countries then preparing a draft charter for an International Trade Organization that its job in the field of reducing trade barriers should be taken on at once, without waiting for the establishment of the Organization. The Agreement provides generally for the exchange of most-favoured-nation treatment among the participants and the negotiation of tariff concessions. It also establishes a framework of general rules on commercial relations. The ITO Charter has not come into force and the GATT therefore is the only international instrument governing trading relations on a more or less world-wide basis.

The General Agreement is applied provisionally by 34 countries who among them account for more than 80 per cent of world trade. It came into operation in January 1948 and under it there have been three rounds of tariff negotiations in addition to the eight regular business sessions of the Contracting Parties.

The Eighth Session

The Eighth Session proved once more the ability of the Contracting Parties to resolve difficult and important questions affecting their trade relations. It also successfully dealt with several complaints about actions of member countries and reviewed the discriminatory import restrictions which are maintained by a number of Contracting Parties. The more important issues of concern or interest to Canada are described below.

Review of the General Agreement

When GATT was concluded in 1947 it was contemplated that the ITO Charter would be in force within a short time. It was provided however that if the ITO did not enter into force, the Contracting Parties would consider in due course to what extent it might be desirable to amend or supplement the provisions of the General Agreement. The Contracting Parties have now



—Urs. G. Arni

GENEVA TRADE MEETING

Mr. C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce, second from right, front row, at a meeting of the Eighth Session of Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade, held in Geneva September-October 1953. Seated behind Mr. Howe is Dr. C. M. Isbester, Director of the International Trade Relations Branch, Department of Trade and Commerce, and a member of the Canadian Delegation.

decided that this review should be undertaken in October 1954 or possibly some months later.

A number of Contracting Parties, including Canada, expressed concern about the continued imposition by the United States of import restrictions on dairy products. These restrictions, although they had been modified since the Contracting Parties examined them in 1952, continued to be applied with substantially the same severity. A recommendation was addressed to the United States urging it to consider the harmful effects on international trade relations which resulted from the continued application of these restrictions. The United States was requested to report, before the next session, on action which it might take.

The Contracting Parties noted that Belgium had since their previous meeting, substantially relaxed import restrictions on dollar goods about which Canada and the United States had complained. The Canadian and United States delegations expressed disappointment that Belgium could not announce early plans for further liberalization and it was agreed that these three countries should hold informal consultations and that the question should be reviewed at the next session.

A waiver of the limitations under Article I regarding tariff preferences was granted to the United Kingdom to enable it to impose duties on certain goods

enjoying free entry from Commonwealth sources. These facilities were granted with certain safeguards and it was understood that the United Kingdom would not use them for the purpose of diverting trade from foreign to Commonwealth countries, but only to increase the duty on unbound tariff items as and when adjustments in these tariff rates were considered necessary by the United Kingdom Government.

Tariff negotiations have not been held under GATT since the Conference which took place at Torquay, England, during the winter of 1950-51. Action was taken at that time to extend the assured life of the concessions negotiated there, together with the rates previously negotiated at Geneva in 1947 and at Annecy in 1949, until December 31, 1953. As it appeared desirable not to undertake a fourth round of multilateral tariff negotiations until some time after new trade agreement legislation has been enacted by the United States, it was therefore necessary for the Contracting Parties, in order to assure tariff stability in the meantime, to arrange for a further validation of existing tariff schedules. The Contracting Parties extended the assured life of the concessions until July 1, 1955.

Provisional Participation of Japan

The Contracting Parties arranged for Japan to participate in their meetings and work pending a fourth round of multilateral tariff negotiations when Japan might negotiate with a view to accession. A Declaration was also prepared by which those Contracting Parties in a position to do so would agree to have the provisions of GATT govern commercial relations between themselves and Japan. Canada is expected to give this letter arrangement consideration when the most-favoured-nation trade agreement concurrently under negotiation with Japan has been approved and ratified.

Proposal for the Reduction of Customs Tariff Levels

With respect to the future for tariff relations, the most significant work which was done at the Eighth session possibly was the attention given to a proposal which has been under study since the Sixth Session for a general automatic reduction of tariffs. While this plan would require further elaboration of some of the technical problems involved before the possibility of implementing it could be given serious consideration, the Contracting Parties decided that work on the plan is sufficiently advanced for it to be submitted to Governments for their comments. In the light of prospects for further tariff negotiations and the elimination of quantitative restrictions, Contracting Parties will also examine the questions of principle which are raised by the plan.

The proposals outlined in the plan now before the Contracting Parties would replace bilateral negotiations between countries, on a product-by-product basis aimed at a strict balance of concessions, with an obligation on all participating governments to reduce the protective incidence of their tariffs in accordance with a common standard. The concept of mutual advantage, an essential principle of the negotiating procedures followed heretofore, would therefore remain. The principal features of this possible new approach are described below.

Each participating country would undertake to reduce the average incidence (calculated by the ratio of the total duty actually collected to the value of goods imported for home consumption) of its customs tariff in a base year

by 30 per cent, in stages of 10 per cent in each of three successive years. The tariff would be divided into ten sectors, each of which would cover a broad category of related products (e.g. primary foods, products of the chemical industry, textile products and clothing, etc.), and countries would be required to obtain a 30 per cent reduction in each sector. In this way, while countries would have a degree of latitude in choosing the tariffs on which reductions would be made, the reductions would have to be distributed throughout the tariff and not concentrated in any one part of it. All supplying countries, and even those whose interest might be limited to products of a certain class, should therefore obtain benefits from the various reductions which might be made.

The position of low tariff countries would be taken account of by the establishment of a standard—a demarcation line—in each sector. A country whose average duty incidence in any sector was already below the demarcation line would be required to make less than the 30 per cent reduction. If the incidence was below a floor rate, which would also be established for each sector, no reduction would be required.

As some high tariffs may completely prohibit imports and therefore would not enter into the calculation of a country's average incidence in any sector, countries participating in the proposed plan would also undertake to reduce all tariffs which exceed certain agreed levels. The reductions would be made during the first three years. They would count as part of any reductions required under the 30 per cent rule. The ceilings would be fixed for each of four categories of imports, namely industrial raw materials, semi-finished goods, manufactured goods and agricultural products.

The plan as formulated at present makes certain allowances for countries in the process of economic development. It would remain in operation for five years. The Governments of Belgium, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands have indicated their support of the plan in principle. After the views of governments are obtained, and when some of the formulae are further clarified and agreed upon, the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement will then be able to decide whether the plan provides an acceptable basis for agreement. Any such decision will be taken of course after it is apparent which countries are prepared to accept the plan in principle and in the light of modifications which may be made in the General Agreement as a result of the forthcoming review of its provisions.

Consultations and Report on Quantitative Restrictions

Consultations were held with a number of countries on the nature and effects of the import restrictions which they maintain in accordance with the balance of payments provisions of the General Agreement. These consultations are designed to examine the nature of countries' balance of payments difficulties, alternative corrective measures, and the effect of import restrictions on the economies of countries applying them as well as of countries against whom the restrictions are applied.

At the Eighth Session the United Kingdom reviewed the important measures of liberalization affecting imports of basic foodstuffs and raw materials which it had taken and explained the benefits accruing to the United Kingdom economy from these measures. It indicated how they injected a greater element of competition among sources of supply. The Netherlands and South Africa announced in the course of the session the abolition of various measures of discrimination against dollar goods.

Among the many questions arising out of routine operations which were considered at the Eighth Session were complaints about United States export subsidies on sultanias, oranges and almonds. The complainant countries secured assurances from the United States that it was fully prepared to consult with the Governments concerned and report to the Contracting Parties on action taken. Certain Greek import taxes and duties were also examined and the Greek Government settled the problems through domestic action. Australia was granted a waiver under the obligations not to impose any new preferences in order that it could provide certain import advantages for the primary products of the Territory of Papua-New Guinea. Australia proposes to accord certain preferences in order to encourage the economic development of the territory.

The Contracting Parties decided that their Ninth Session should be held in Geneva commencing October 14, 1954.



—Capital Press

MR. DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD

Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations, paid a two-day visit to Canada in late February in the course of which he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Carleton College, Ottawa. Mr. Hammarskjöld is shown here at the Convocation with Dr. M. M. MacOdrum, President of Carleton College. While in Canada Mr. Hammarskjöld spoke before a luncheon meeting of the Empire Club in Toronto, and also delivered an address at the Convocation.

In Ottawa he called on the Governor General, had discussions with Cabinet Ministers and other government officials, and met members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery. He also visited the House of Commons where the Speaker paid high tribute to his accomplishments in helping preserve peace.

(The texts of the addresses given in Canada may be obtained from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada (S/P 54/6 and 7).)

Conference of Commonwealth Finance Ministers

THE Conference of Commonwealth Finance Ministers which was held in Sydney, Australia, from January 8 to 15 provided an opportunity for Commonwealth Governments to review together developments in the economic field since the Commonwealth Economic Conference of December 1952. In this respect the meeting therefore differed from previous gatherings of the Commonwealth finance ministers which took place in the shadow of acute balance of payments difficulties for the sterling area. That a meeting now could be held without being pervaded by a sense of crisis was an indication of the substantial progress towards greater economic stability which had been achieved during the past year.

Mr. Menzies, the Prime Minister of Australia, in opening the meeting declared that it was the first time such a notable financial and economic conference had been held in Australia. It was in fact the first time in which Commonwealth Finance Ministers had met together elsewhere than London, at least since the last war. All the independent countries of the Commonwealth were represented by their Finance Ministers except New Zealand where the finance portfolio is held by the Prime Minister. Mr. Bowden, the New Zealand Associate Minister of Finance, attended. The Canadian delegation was led by Mr. D. C. Abbott and the other Canadian representatives included Mr. W. A. Irwin, the High Commissioner for Canada in Australia, Mr. W. F. Bull, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. J. J. Deutsch, Assistant Deputy Minister of Finance, and Mr. Louis Rasminsky of the Bank of Canada.

Object of Meeting

The object of the meeting was to consolidate the economic progress made by the sterling area and the Commonwealth during the last twelve months and to consider how, from this base, further progress could best be made in expanding world production and trade. Attention was given in particular to the outlook for world trade, development programmes, and the general plan elaborated at the 1952 Conference for obtaining an expansion in world production and for moving towards an effective multilateral trade and payments system.

Since January 1952 sterling area countries had made great strides towards their objectives of internal financial stability, paying their way in international commerce, pursuing sound development programmes and generally progressing towards conditions in which discriminatory trade controls could be gradually abolished and a wider and freer system of trade and finance achieved. Generally speaking these latter objectives are summed up in the Commonwealth "Collective Approach" to freer trade and payments—to which further reference is made below. An integral part of this plan is the eventual restoration of sterling convertibility. The plan rejects the notion that a lasting solution to economic problems can be found in a closed system of discriminatory arrangements and affirms that world prosperity can best be furthered by the free exchange of goods and services.



—*Sydney Morning Herald*

MINISTER OF FINANCE IN AUSTRALIA

The Minister of Finance, Mr. D. C. Abbott, right, is questioned by Mr. F. Coleman, correspondent of Reuters, at a press conference during the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Meeting held at Sydney, Australia, January 1954.

The Outlook for World Trade

In assessing prospects for the future the Conference considered the outlook for world trade. As the Commonwealth accounts for about one-third of that trade, actions and policies of these countries are of vital importance, especially when there may be some uncertainty about the future level of international trade. The Conference Communiqué affirmed that Commonwealth countries were prepared to take appropriate steps, both individually and in concert with one another, to sustain production, trade, and the sound development of resources, and to ensure that temporary economic fluctuations did not interfere with progress towards long-term objectives. The Commonwealth countries also affirmed that they were ready to co-operate with other countries and international institutions to this end.

The Conference Communiqué declared however that it was important for other countries, particularly European countries and the United States, to play their part in pursuing policies conducive to an expansion of world trade. President Eisenhower's declaration in his State of the Union message that his Administration was determined to keep the U.S. economy during the current transition stage both strong and growing was welcomed. The United States has of course a special part to play in view of its predominant position in international commerce.

At the meeting Mr. Butler, the United Kingdom Chancellor of the Exchequer, reported on developments in Europe and particularly in the Organization for European Economic Co-operation where active attention is being

given to measures for progressing towards convertibility of currencies. Mr. Butler called attention to the expansion of production and the strengthening of the economic position of European countries generally.

In considering measures for the maintenance of a high level of trade attention was given to the problem of financial reserves to which reference is made in the recent report of the International Monetary Fund to the U.N. Economic and Social Council. This report states that while primary reliance for the avoidance and cure of depressions must be placed upon appropriate measures at the national level, especially in industrial countries, in order to prevent any economic recession or deflationary adjustments from developing into a major depression, the provision of supplementary financial reserves should be facilitated.

The Conference Communiqué declared "The sound economic policies pursued by the Commonwealth countries, the publicly expressed resolve of the United States Government to keep the economy of the United States strong and growing, the expansion of production in Europe, and the substantial increase in monetary reserves outside the dollar area provide, in our judgment, solid grounds for confidence".

After noting the marked improvement in the balance of payments of the sterling area, prospects for the coming year were examined. The sterling countries agreed that the sterling area as a whole would seek to maintain a substantial surplus in its payments with the rest of the world. While at earlier meetings it had been necessary to place primary emphasis on dollar earnings, and while it is necessary to continue to earn a dollar surplus, it was recognized that today it is just as important to earn a substantial surplus in other non-sterling currencies. Sterling area countries declared that in the forthcoming year earnings should be increased by intensive efforts over the whole field of exports.

At the time of the severe crisis in 1951 extensive restrictions were placed by some Commonwealth countries on imports from all sources including other members of the sterling area. The communiqué of the December 1952 conference, referred to these limitations on trade within the sterling area and it was agreed at that time that these restrictions should be relaxed as the external financial position of these countries improved. The recent Conference noted that some relaxations of these restrictions had been made and that prospects for further progress seemed possible by continuing improvement in the balances of payments of the countries concerned.

Internal Policies

It was recognized that more remained to be done with respect to applying internal policies which would contribute effectively to the common objectives. The Communiqué observed that the importance of this part of the task could not be over-emphasized. "On the application of sound economic policies depends the purchasing power of money, the cost of living and the ability to sell exports in increasingly competitive world markets. Short-comings in the financial position of these countries improved. The recent conference noted sterling area by creating excessive demand for imports, diverting resources from export industries and throwing the balance of payments out of equilibrium." The Conference recognized that some adjustments in policy might be required so as to encourage increased production for export and to stimulate savings.



—Associated Newspapers

COMMONWEALTH FINANCE MINISTERS' CONFERENCE

Representatives of Commonwealth countries attending the Conference of Finance Ministers included, left to right: Sir Percy Spender, Australian Ambassador to the United States; Sir Arthur Fadden, Australian Federal Treasurer; Mr. R. A. Butler, United Kingdom Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. R. A. Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia; Mr. Eric Harrison, Vice-President of the Australian Federal Executive Council; Mr. C. M. Bowden, Associate Minister of Finance for New Zealand.

Development

Great industrial and natural resources exist within the Commonwealth, and most countries share substantially in this wealth. But much remains to be done in the way of development. The sterling area Commonwealth countries affirmed that their aim was to concentrate on the development of those resources which, directly or indirectly, contribute on an economic basis towards improving the balance of payments of the sterling area. In some countries, however, it has been necessary for development plans to provide for urgently needed basic improvements in standards of living. This is of course an essential foundation for further economic development. Commonwealth representatives reaffirmed their determination to press on with these development plans. Where private enterprise plays a significant role it will be encouraged. Governments will be concerned to promote balanced development, whether public or private, to pursue policies designed to increase the flow of savings, and to encourage private investment from both internal and external sources.

The Collective Approach to Freer Trade and Payments

The Commonwealth Economic Conference of December 1952 elaborated a number of proposals designed in general to bring about the widest possible system of multilateral trade and payments including convertibility of currencies.

These proposals are frequently referred to as the "Collective Approach" inasmuch as they are based on collective action by debtor and creditor countries and are designed to obtain the elimination of restrictions on both trade and payments. The proposals call for monetary and financial discipline, particularly among debtor countries, and some liberalization of trade policies by creditor countries. Commonwealth countries reaffirmed that such policies could be the only ones which would permit the most efficient use of resources and a strengthening of national economies.

Illustrative of the progress made by sterling area countries, the Conference noted the growing confidence in sterling and the increasing strength and flexibility of the economies of the sterling area countries. However it was recognized that decisive action in bringing about the objectives of the Collective Approach must be related to the fulfilment of the conditions laid down at the 1952 meeting. These conditions are the continuing success of internal policies of sterling Commonwealth countries, the prospect that they and other trading nations will adopt trade policies which are conducive to the expansion of world trade, and the availability of adequate financial support through the International Monetary Fund or otherwise.

In this connection the Conference noted with encouragement President Eisenhower's message to Congress in which he referred to the creation of a healthier and freer system of trade and payments in which all countries could earn their own living and in which the United States economy could continue to flourish. The Communiqué declared that all Commonwealth countries awaited the detailed recommendations on foreign economic policy which the President will place before the Congress.

Work Through Existing Organizations

Commonwealth countries reaffirmed their intention, as stated in the Communiqué of the 1952 conference, to work as far as possible through existing international organizations dealing with trade and finance in their efforts to implement the Collective Approach.

It was considered that the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the International Monetary Fund would become even more important when moves to freer trade and currencies are concerted; and that the rules, procedures and organization of these institutions could be usefully re-examined. The conference also noted that member countries of the European Payments Union are now studying how a transition can be best effected from the EPU to a wider system of trade and payments. This examination is of particular importance for the collective approach in view of the United Kingdom's membership in the Union and the use of sterling in its transactions.

Commonwealth Finance Ministers attend these periodic meetings in order to review together current developments and discuss the problems facing individual countries. While all the participants are important trading countries they are in varying degrees of economic development. Certain aspects of the deliberations may be of more importance to some countries than to others. Their common interest lies in understanding one another's problems and working together towards the common objective of creating an effective multilateral trade and payments system in which goods and services can be exchanged to the greatest advantage.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

SPEAKING in the House of Commons on February 10, on a resolution dealing with an increase in Canada's contribution to the United Nations Programme for Technical Assistance, the Secretary of State for External Affairs pointed out that the motion before the House dealt with a subject "the long range importance of which might be very great indeed for international co-operation, and indeed for international peace". Mr. Pearson drew distinctions between relief, economic development and technical assistance. He placed Canada's contribution to the important work done by the United Nations through the Children's Fund and in Korea in the first category. The second, he said, consisted in making loans through national or international agencies, and in making available credit and investment funds to help other countries in their capital and economic development.

"Canada," the Minister stated, "has made available to the International Bank, for purposes I have just indicated—lending and relending—the whole of her original dollar subscription to the bank's capital, amounting to some \$58,000,000." This contribution, one of the largest made by any of its members, had assisted the Bank in advancing by way of loans and credits, somewhat over \$1,700,000,000.

Two Types of Assistance

Mr. Pearson explained that technical assistance proper might be of two types: bilateral or multilateral. The United States Point Four Programme and the Commonwealth Colombo Plan were of the first type. "Canada has contributed in the first three years under the Colombo Plan something over \$75,000,000 for capital assistance and over \$1,000,000 for technical assistance", the Minister added, "and this year the Government will ask Parliament to vote \$25,400,000—I believe that is the amount tentatively agreed upon—of which a portion will be for technical assistance proper." Multilateral schemes to which he referred were those which came out of the annual budget of the United Nations and the budgets of the various Specialized Agencies, "through which Canada has already made a pretty respectable contribution in terms of money and in terms of men".

Unfortunately, while it was one of the most important aspects of the United Nations' work, it was not a phase of that work which received very much publicity or very many headlines. "Too often", the Minister continued, "do we interpret the United Nations in terms of political controversy and not in terms of constructive and economic activity." He warned also of the danger of attempting to do too much in the wrong way and called attention to the need to know existing conditions so as to be in a position to introduce change effectively. Citing a number of concrete examples, Mr. Pearson showed how

productive results had been achieved from small expenditures and minor improvements in technique.

Before considering the record of material support which, while admittedly small, was necessarily so in the early stages of effective international work, the Minister stressed the importance of the proper approach as follows:

In addition to this kind of technical help, as has been pointed out already to-day, these people need sympathy, understanding and a knowledge of their local customs. In some respects that kind of approach and that kind of understanding are just as important as material support. Having said that, I should add that material support must follow sympathy and understanding or they cannot be effectively used.

In the first 18 months of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance a total of \$20,070,000 was contributed by members of the United Nations; to this Canada contributed \$850,000. In 1952 the total was \$19,000,000 and Canada's contribution was \$750,000. In 1953 the total amount went up to \$22,000,000, Canada's contribution increased to \$800,000.

"We have been trying," the Minister explained, "to keep what we think is a fair relationship between our contributions and the total amounts contributed by the United Nations". In the current year (1954) 70 countries have pledged themselves to contribute to the technical assistance fund. The amount firmly pledged is something over \$24,000,000. In this regard the Minister stated:

We also played a most active part in the pledging committee last autumn. We did what we could to get the amount up, and as an earnest of our endeavour in that regard we indicated through our representatives to the United Nations, Senator McKeen, that we would increase our amount this year from \$800,000 to \$1,500,000 (U.S. funds) . . . It seems clear that the conditions which we have laid down in regard to the increase in our contribution are to be fulfilled, and therefore it will be the intention of the Government when that is confirmed to include a figure in a supplementary estimate that would bring our total contribution to the maximum amount pledged . . . The Canadian contribution to technical assistance has been exceeded only by that of the United Kingdom, the United States and France in the past. If Parliament votes the amount which probably will be requested this year in the main and supplementary estimates, Canada's contribution will be the third largest of the members of the United Nations.

Technical Personnel

In conclusion, the Secretary of State for External Affairs referred to the efforts being made to increase the number of trained personnel available:

We are also playing a part not only in the contribution of funds but in the contribution of experts through the United Nations. In Canada to-day there are 217 United Nations technical assistance trainees out of a total of 300; the rest of them, come under the Colombo Plan programme and there are 96 Canadian experts now serving abroad in the United Nations . . . In conclusion Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my agreement with the spirit and indeed the content of this resolution, and to emphasize that we are doing something to carry out the advice contained in it. I also express the hope that it will commend itself to all honourable members in this House because as it has been said more than once, the war on want and backwardness, on deprivation and distress, is the road to peace.

Rollins College Address*

Replying to a question raised in the House of Commons on February 24, 1954, by Mr. M. J. Coldwell, Mr. Pearson presented extracts from a speech made at Rollins College, Florida:

You will find Canada no automatic 'yes man' but a staunch and loyal friend, especially in time of difficulty.

After giving some evidence of this in peace and war, in his address, he concluded as follows:

Canada is a young country, crying out for development; a country of vast distances, expensive and difficult to govern and to administer. Hers is not a determining voice when the big international decisions are to be made, nor will her contribution be decisive in the conference room or where the conflict rages. It might therefore be tempting to try to stand aside in any struggle between the giants and excuse that course by arguing that those who call the tune should pay the piper.

But that is not the way we feel about it. The conflict today is not between empires, or between one super-power and another, but between freedom and slavery, despotism and democracy, right and wrong. So we range ourselves on the side of freedom, under the leadership of the United States of America, and we will play, I hope, a good part in the long and unending fight for peace and a decent world.

* The complete text of this speech is carried on p. 94 of this issue of "External Affairs".



CANADIAN CONTRIBUTION TO UNICEF

The Canadian Government's contribution of \$500,000 to the United Nations Children's Fund for the year 1954, subject to parliamentary approval, was announced on March 1 by Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Welfare, at the meeting of the Fund's Executive Board which is taking place in New York. The Board normally meets at this time of year to receive reports on the activities of the Fund and to make allocations for future programmes.

The Canadian Government has already contributed \$8,375,000 to the Fund since its establishment. In addition, voluntary contributions from individuals in Canada of approximately \$1,500,000 have been sent to the Fund.

UNICEF was created in 1947 under the name of United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund in order to help children from war-devastated countries. In 1950 the Fund was authorized to undertake for a period of three years ending December 31, 1953, long-range welfare projects for needy children in under-developed countries. On October 8, 1953, the General Assembly provided by a unanimous vote for the continuation of the Fund for an indefinite period.

Canadians at NATO Defence College

The fifth anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty will be observed in all NATO countries April 4. Statements made on the occasion on behalf of the Canadian Government will be published in a subsequent issue of EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

FIVE Canadians, including representatives of the three branches of Canada's Armed Forces, were among the 52 officers and Government officials who recently completed courses at NATO's Defence College in Paris.

On February 11, 1954, at the closing session of the fourth course, commemorative scrolls were presented to the following five Canadian representatives: Group Captain R. M. Cox, D.F.C., A.F.C., R.C.A.F.; Commander N. S. C. Dickinson, R.C.N.; Lt. Col. E. T. Munro; Wing Commander J. V. Watts, D.S.O., D.F.C. and Bar, R.C.A.F., and Mr. Ian R. Stirling, Department of Citizenship and Immigration. The fifth course of the NATO Defence College opened on February 22 and will close on July 30, 1954.

The plan for a multi-national Defence College at which military, political, economic and social problems of the Atlantic Alliance would be studied and discussed, was conceived by General Dwight D. Eisenhower when he became NATO's first Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. After member countries had endorsed the project, the first course, attended by 47 members, began on November 19, 1951. Members nominated by their respective countries are generally of the equivalent rank of lieutenant colonel or above, or civilians of corresponding senior grades.

The course, which lasts approximately 22 weeks, serves as a forum for discussions on subjects of common interest, as well as for instructive lectures. Morning lectures, simultaneously translated in both English and French, the two official languages, alternate with afternoon discussion groups. A flexible curriculum permits the treatment of a wide range of subjects. Visits to NATO member countries, their military bases, industrial centres and government departments, are included in the programme.

The Commandant of the Defence College is a senior officer from one of the three member nations composing the Standing Group—France, United Kingdom and United States—on a two-year rotation basis. He is assisted by four deputies, representing the three services and civil affairs, and by ten instructors.



—National Defence

PRIME MINISTER WELCOMED TO SHAPE

The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, during his recent tour of Europe and Asia, is greeted on his arrival at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) in Paris, by General Alfred M. Gruenther, the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe (SACEUR). At the right is Mr. L. D. Wilgress, the Canadian Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council.



AIR AGREEMENT WITH PERU

The Department of External Affairs announced on February 24 that a Bilateral Air Transport Agreement was signed at Lima, Peru, on February 18 by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. Emile Vaillancourt, on behalf of Canada, and by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Ricardo Rivera Schreiber, on behalf of Peru.

It provides, among other things, for the reciprocal exchange of air traffic rights to be exercised between Canada and Peru by the designated airlines of both countries over an eastern route between Montreal and Lima, and over a western route between Vancouver and Lima. For several months Canadian Pacific Airlines have been operating a service between Vancouver and Lima, via Mexico City, under a temporary authority granted by the Peruvian Government.

ROLLINS COLLEGE ADDRESS

An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, February 21 1954.

This is the time of the year when Canadians, exposed to their bracing and healthy, if somewhat frigid, climate, turn longingly to the sunshine and warmth of Florida. Some of them are even fortunate enough to get here!

Your neighbour to the north is, however, far more than an enormous cold spot on the map, inhabited, as some people on this side still seem to think, by Mounties, Eskimo, trappers, quintuplets and Rose Marie.

It is true, of course, that we have our picturesque citizens, and that they are surrounded by a lot of geography. Indeed, we have so much geography that if Canada could be turned over, with its southern-most point as a hinge, it would cover the whole of the U.S.A., including Texas, and reach far into the Gulf of Mexico.

I once boasted of this in Texas and in consequence had a narrow escape from injury or investigation. It isn't wise to suggest there that anything—even Canada—could possibly blanket Texas!

"Go North"

This great land of Canada, including, as we are now learning, its Arctic areas, is rich in wealth and resources. It is also rich in the energy and initiative of its people who are developing these resources at a pace and with results that are worthy of comparison with the great days of expansion in this country. Our frontiers of settlement are being pushed steadily northward, and at a time when these northern marches are becoming of great strategic, as well as economic importance. I hate to say it in Florida, but for us, "Go North" is now the summons to adventure and achievement.

Our population, which includes the million or so immigrants that have arrived since the end of World War II, is now growing about as fast as our economy can absorb the increase. It is now over 15 millions, with room for many more. We have secured a good population base for future development.

We are building a strong, stable nation north of your border. Our standard of living and our per capita wealth compares with yours and we have become the third trading nation in the world. Incidentally—though for us it is far from incidental—we buy more of your products, about 3 billion dollars' worth a year—than any other country; more, in fact, than all the countries of South America combined, a result which would give us more satisfaction if we could only sell as much to your 165 millions of people!

In short, Canada is on the march to a great destiny. You should get to know us better; learn more about a country which is becoming more and more important to you.

I can assure you that we know a great deal about this country. I sometimes wish, in fact, that we in Canada didn't get quite so much news; or rather that we got it in a more

balanced form. Through press, radio, screen, and television—which observe no boundary or immigration regulations—we learn in lurid detail about the sensational and controversial, often of the disagreeable and less desirable aspects of American life. Consequently, we are in danger of getting a distorted picture of this country. This perhaps does not do so much harm in Canada, as in other countries, because we know you so well that we are able to see below the surface and reduce these distortions to proper proportions and see them in proper perspective.

Lack of Knowledge

One writer on U.S.-Canadian relations has put it this way: "Americans are benevolently ignorant about Canada, but Canadians are malevolently informed about the United States". "Malevolent" is the wrong word. It might better have been "misleading", because, as I have said, we are often flooded with the wrong news. It is wise, therefore, to remember—and it would help us to do so if we were told about them more often—the deep and steady and beneficent currents of American history and opinion which in the past have always been able to push aside the froth and the fury. We should recall, for instance, your stubborn insistence on freedom and law and justice; the open-hearted generosity and unselfishness of the American character. We should think especially of the millions of quiet, hard-working, sober men and women who make up this great nation—but hardly ever make the headlines that appear in foreign newspapers. These headlines, however, are unfortunately too often taken as characteristic of the American way of life. A country—like a soap—can be 99-77/100 per cent pure, but the 23/100 of 1 per cent will get most of the attention—especially abroad.

The Canadian picture is also often distorted abroad, but with us—as I have said, the distortion is due to ignorance. We do not like, for instance, being considered in Great Britain or Europe as merely a northern extension of the U.S.A. because we talk American, play baseball, and prefer coffee to tea. We are equally touchy at being considered in this country as a species of British Colonial because, among other things, we cherish a monarchy that links us with our past and symbolizes our association with other free nations, in Europe, in Asia, in Africa and in Australia, in a world Commonwealth.

There are some, I fear, in this country who never will believe that Canada is a free and independent nation until we stage a successful military operation against the Red Coats and force them to sign a Peace Treaty. It might, in fact, be worth doing from a public relations point of view—and I know that the British would be happy to co-operate—if we didn't have more important problems to solve.

Canadians today do not wish to be a reflec-

tion of anybody—but to be themselves. They take an intense pride in their new nation which has made such progress; in spite of the fact that for 12 years out of the last forty their country has been actively engaged in overseas war.

Limitations on Sovereignty

Canada has also learned that independence must now be qualified by inter-dependence; that there are limitations on sovereignty—especially for smaller countries—imposed by the facts of international life. The most vital of these facts is that if World War III should break out—with all its atomic horror, freedom, personal and national—would be the first casualty. To avoid this, by preventing war, collective action is essential and this means limitation on national sovereignty in the interest of national and international security. We accept this when war waged collectively makes its necessity obvious. We should realize that collective action, based on co-operation and consultation, is equally necessary to prevent war.

One reason why we in Canada are particularly conscious of these limitations on our freedom of action is that we live under the friendly, if at times overwhelming shadow of a mighty neighbour. Because of this—and because of our close relationship—Canadians watch with a very special interest everything that you do; often with admiration, at times with anxiety but always, I hope, with friendly understanding. This intense preoccupation with your policies and practices is perfectly natural because we know that there is no way we can escape their consequences, political or economic. If, at times, we may seem to be a little critical or worried, our reactions are the same as yours would be if the positions were reversed; if we were the world's mightiest power, with control over atomic weapons, and with control, also, over the decision where and when and how to use them.

If we may be at times a shade anxious about your policies and your power, I can assure you that we would worry far more if you didn't have this power, or if your policies were concerned solely with continental matters.

We are the junior member of a North American partnership which will not be dissolved by Communist blandishment or isolationist timidity. You will not be surprised, however, if the junior partner occasionally expresses its own point of view and in the North American idiom. We do this because freedom is the basis and the glory of our partnership; a partnership far removed from the kind of relationship between a Communist dictatorial power and its obedient satellites. Occasional disagreement only emphasizes its fundamental unity.

Let those who would divide the nations of the free world coalition remember that the things that hold us together are far stronger than those that would pull us apart. That is especially true of the friendship between Canada and the United States.

If in the stormy world of today that friendship shines as a steady beacon of hope and confidence, it is not because we have no prob-

lems to solve or difficulties to face. There are lots of these—economic and political—and they will doubtless increase as the relations between the two countries continue to grow in importance.

We are more conscious of these problems than you are because they loom larger on our more limited horizon. All of them, continental defence arrangements, trade problems, St. Lawrence Seaway delays, border-crossing and security difficulties, all these and many others make up what could be quite a budget of trouble.

While we do not need to get too excited over these increasingly complex problems, we should not try to conceal them by comforting platitudes about the 125 years of peace or the undefended border.

It is in our joint interest and it follows our joint tradition to work out solutions to our mutual problems which will be fair and just; will leave no bitterness and breed no strife. In the process Canadians—being North Americans—will protect their own rights and interests. But we will also realize, I hope, that these rights and interests—indeed, our whole future—is inseparable from yours.

No Automatic "Yes-Man"

You will find Canada no automatic "yes-man" but a staunch and loyal friend, especially in time of difficulty. From 1914 to 1918, and from 1939 to 1945 Canada, when she was not as strong or united or self-reliant as she is now, gave proof—for us tragic proof—that her men were willing to die in battle for a good cause. We are also giving evidence now of our will to participate in a collective effort to prevent a recurrence of such a tragedy. In this spirit many thousands of young Canadians went to Korea. Many thousands are also serving today under the banner of NATO in Europe, including the men who are flying 300 Canadian-built front line jet fighters. Since the end of the war we have also made available to our friends mutual aid which if expressed in terms of your national income, would amount to almost 57 billion dollars' worth. Nearly half of our budget is today devoted to defence.

Canada is a young country, crying out for development; a country of vast distances, expensive and difficult to govern and to administer. Here is not a determining voice when the big international decisions are to be made, nor will her contribution be decisive in the conference room or where the conflict rages. It might therefore be tempting to try to stand aside in any struggle between the giants and excuse that course by arguing that those who call the tune should pay the piper.

But that is not the way we feel about it. The conflict today is not between empires, or between one super-power and another, but between freedom and slavery, despotism and democracy, right and wrong. So we range ourselves on the side of freedom, under the leadership of the United States of America, and we will play, I hope, a good part in the long and unending fight for peace and a decent world.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. H. T. W. Blockley was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Santiago, effective January 29, 1954.
- Miss Elizabeth Weiss was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, effective February 5, 1954.
- Mr. P. E. J. Charpentier was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, effective February 7, 1954.
- Mr. A. R. Crepault was posted from home leave (Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York) to Ottawa, effective February 8, 1954.
- Mr. J. C. G. Brown was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Berne, to Ottawa, effective February 12, 1954.
- Mr. T. W. L. MacDermot, proceeded on home leave from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Pretoria, effective February 12, 1954.
- Mr. J. B. C. Watkins appointed Canadian Ambassador to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, effective February 1, 1954, and proceeded to Moscow on February 19, 1954.
- Mr. G. B. Summers was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation in Prague, effective February 26, 1954.
- Mr. M. H. Coleman was posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York, to Ottawa, effective March 1, 1954.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

Treaty Series 1953, No. 2:—Agreement on German External Debts. Signed at London, February 27, 1953. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents)

Treaty Series 1952, No. 11:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United Kingdom constituting an agreement extending the double taxation agreement of June 5, 1946, with respect to Income Taxes to British Guiana and St. Lucia. Signed at Ottawa, May 9 and 22, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 18:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Italy constituting an agreement regarding the issuance of multi-entry visas to diplomatic representatives, officials and non-immigrants. Signed at Rome October 10, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 25:—Agreement for the promotion of safety on the Great Lakes by means of radio. Signed at Ottawa February 21, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 8:—Additional Protocol to the Brussels Agreement of December 5th, 1947, relating to the resolution of conflicting claims to German enemy assets, signed in Brussels on February 3, 1949. Signed at Brussels, December 5, 1947. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 15:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the Union of South Africa constituting an agreement regarding the temporary suspension of the margin of preference on unmanufactured logs. Signed at Ottawa January 3 and 16, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 20:—Convention (No. 88) concerning the organization of the employment service. In force for Canada August 24, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 24:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Venezuela constituting an agreement to renew the terms of the commercial Modus Vivendi of October 11, 1950, for a further period of one year. Signed at Caracas October 10 and 11, 1951. English, Spanish and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1950, No. 12:—Protocol amending the convention signed at Brussels, on 5 July, 1890, concerning the creation of an international union for the publication of customs tariffs as well as the regulations for the execution of the convention instituting an international bureau for the publication of customs tariffs, and the memorandum of signature. Signed at Brussels, 16 December 1949. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1950, No. 18.—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the U.S.S.R. constituting an agreement respecting the payment by the U.S.S.R. for supplies delivered by Canada in 1945-1946. Signed at Moscow, September 29, 1950. English, Russian and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1950, No. 20.—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Costa Rica constituting a commercial Modus Vivendi between the two countries. Signed at San Jose, November 17, 1950. English, Spanish and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1950, No. 21.—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Ecuador constituting a commercial Modus Vivendi between the two countries. Signed at Quito, November 10, 1950. English, Spanish and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1949, No. 1.—Exchange of Notes between the Governments of Canada and Belgium, constituting a reciprocal agreement relating to compensation for war damage to private property. Signed at Brussels, 17 August and 16 November 1949. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1949, No. 27.—Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Signed at Lake Success, December 9, 1948. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its Eighth Session during the period from 15 September to 9 December 1953. A/2630, New York, January 1954. Pp. 35. 60 cents. General Assembly Official Records: Eighth Session, Supplement No. 17.

Administrative Tribunal — Statute and Rules. A/CN.5/2/Rev.1, New York, January 1954. Pp. 12. 15 cents. Sales No.: 1954.X.1.

An International Bibliography on Atomic Energy, Volume 2: Scientific Aspects, Supplement No. 2. AEC/INF.10/Rev.1/Add. 2. New York, 1953. Pp. 320. \$3.50. Sales No.: 1953.IX.2.

Catalogue of Economic and Social Projects of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies 1953, No. 4. E/2393, 6 April 1953. Pp. 138. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.D.2.

A Study of trade between Asia and Europe. (Prepared by the Secretariats of ECAFE, ECE and FAO). E/CN.11/373. Geneva, November 1953. Pp. 146. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.F.3 (Department of Economic Affairs).

Development of Mineral Resources in Asia and the Far East (Report and documents of the ECAFE Regional Conference on Mineral Resources Development held in Tokyo, Japan, from 20 to 30 April 1953). E/CN.11/374, Bangkok, November 1953. Pp. 366p. \$3.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.F.5.

Public Utilities in Colombia (Technical Assistance Programme). New York, 1953. ST/TAA/K/Colombia/1, 28 December 1953. Pp. 65. 60 cents. Sales No.: 1954.II.H.2.

Social Services in Israel (Technical Assistance Programme). New York, 1953. Pp. 36. ST/TAA/K/Israel/2.

The Economic and Social Development of Libya (Technical Assistance Programme). New York, 1953. ST/TAA/K/Libya/3. Pp. 170. Sales No.: 1953.II.H.8.

I.L.O.

Constitution of the International Labour Organization and Standing Orders of the International Labour Conference, 1952 Edition (bilingual). Geneva. Pp. 77.

Indigenous Peoples — Living and Working Conditions of Aboriginal Populations in Independent Countries. (Studies and Reports, New Series, No. 35). Geneva, 1953. Pp. 628. \$4.00.

UNESCO

The Child Audience by Philippe Bauchard. A report on press, film and radio for children (Press, Film and Radio in the World Today). Paris 1953. Pp. 198. \$2.00.

Education and art — A symposium edited by Edwin Ziegfeld. Paris 1953. Pp. 129. \$5.00.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

The education of teachers in England, France and United States of America by C. A. Richardson, Helene Brule, Harold E. Snyder. (Problems in education — VI). Paris 1953. Pp. 340. \$2.00.

One Week's News by Jacques Kayser (Photographs by Jean Lhuer). Comparative study of 17 major dailies for a seven-day period. Paris 1953. Pp. 102. \$2.50.

Race Mixture by Harry L. Shapiro (The Race Question in Modern Science). Paris 1953. Pp. 56. 25 cents.

Index Translationum, No. 5 — International Bibliography of translations. (bilingual). Paris 1953. Pp. 511. \$7.50.

World List of Social Science Periodicals (bilingual). Paris 1953. Pp. 161.

(b) Mimeographed Document:

Freedom of Information — Encouragement and development of independent domestic information enterprises. (Report by the Secretary-General). Document E/2534, 14 January 1954. Pp. 48 and Annexes I to III.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 54/3 — *The Prime Minister's Round-the-World Tour*, a statement by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, made in the House of Commons on January 29, 1954, concerning his proposed trip to Europe and Asia.

No. 54/4 — *Federation of Agriculture Address*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at a Federation of Agriculture luncheon, at London, Ontario, January 27, 1954.

No. 54/5 — *Survey of World Affairs*, a statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the House of Commons, January 29, 1954.

No. 54/6 — *Survey of World Affairs*, a statement by the Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Roch Pinard, made in the

House of Commons, January 29, 1954.

No. 54/7 — *Arctic Weather Stations*, a statement by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, in the House of Commons, February 9, 1954.

No. 54/8 — An address by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, at a dinner given by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, at Bonn, Germany, February 10, 1954.

No. 54/9 — An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, February 21, 1954.

No. 54/10 — *Hommage de la France*, allocution du Premier ministre du Canada, M. St-Laurent, diffusée sur le réseau métropolitain de la Radiodiffusion française, Paris, 9 février 1954.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
“	Commercial Secretary.....	Melbourne (83 William St.)
“	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Austria.....	Minister (Absent).....	Vienna 1 (Strauchgasse 1)
	Chargé d’Affaires a.i.	
Belgian Congo.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (35, rue de la Science)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
“	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	High Commissioner.....	Colombo (6 Gregory’s Rd., Cinnamon Garden)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Avenida General Bulnes 129)
Colombia.....	Ambassador.....	Bogota (Edificio Faux, Avenida Jimenez de Quesada No. 7-25)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (Avenida Menocal No. 16)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d’Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Krakowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Trondhjems Plads No. 4)
Dominican Republic...	Trade Commissioner.....	Ciudad Trujillo (Edificio Copello 408 Calle El Conde)
Egypt.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara)
Finland.....	Minister (Absent).....	Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken 3-C. 32)
	Chargé d’Affaires a.i.	
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris xvi (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Ambassador.....	Bonn (Zittelmann Strasse, 22)
“	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Perthshire Block, Headquarters (British Sector) B.A.O.R.2)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatamala City (28, 5a Avenida Sud)
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
“	Trade Commissioner	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Indonesia.....	Ambassador.....	Djakarta (Tanah Abang Timur No. 2)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Bldg.)
Japan.....	Ambassador.....	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku)
Lebanon.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Beirut (P.O. Box 2300)
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)
Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza, Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Ayala Bldg., Juan Luna St.)

Poland.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Kępa)
Portugal.....	Minister (Absent).....	Lisbon (Avenida da Praia da Vitoria)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
Singapore.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building)
Spain.....	Ambassador.....	Madrid (Edificio Espana, Avenida de José Antonio 88)
Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvägen 7-C)
Switzerland.....	Ambassador.....	Berne (88 Kirchenfeldstrasse)
Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (Colonial Bldg.)
Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (Müdafaai Hukuk Caddesi, No. 19, Cankaya)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (24 Barclay's Bank Bldg.)
" "	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
" "	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Building)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador.....	Moscow (23 Starokonyushenny Pereulok)
	Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.	
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	London (Canada House)
" "	Trade Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
" "	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
" "	Consul General.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
" "	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
" "	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
" "	Consul General.....	Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.)
" "	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	New Orleans (215 International Trade Mart)
" "	Consul General.....	New York (620 Fifth Ave.)
" "	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street)
" "	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
" "	Consul General.....	Seattle (Tower Bldg., Seventh Avenue at Olive Way)
Uruguay.....	Ambassador.....	Montevideo (Victoria Plaza Hotel)
Venezuela.....	Ambassador.....	Caracas (2° Piso Edificio Pan-American, Puente Urapal, Candelaria)
Yugoslavia.....	Ambassador.....	Belgrade (Proliterskih Brigada 69)
North Atlantic Council.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (Canadian Embassy)
*OEEC.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (c/o Canadian Embassy)
United Nations.....	Permanent Representative.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
" "	Permanent Delegate.....	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)
	Deputy Permanent Delegate	

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



CANADA

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Prime Minister Reports on Tour

THE Prime Minister reported in the House of Commons on March 18 and 25 on his visit to Europe and Asia. His statement on March 18 reviewed highlights of his tour. The statement on March 25 explained the views of the Government on the recognition of China. Following are excerpts from the statement of March 18:

I want to assure hon. members that everywhere I went as a representative of Canada I was received with enthusiasm and every evidence of friendliness and good will. But nowhere was that more touching to me than it was last evening at the airport and here this afternoon in the House of Commons.

Everywhere I went I heard "O Canada" sung, and I was always moved and touched at the feeling of pride it gave one to be there as a representative of that country for which the hymn was being sung or played. But when I heard it on opening the doors of the airplane last evening I do confess that a lump rose in my throat, because it was a great pleasure and a great satisfaction to be back in this land, and because the sight of my friends on the field made me prouder than ever that I could as a Canadian come back to my homeland . . .

London

From London I bring you the greetings of Sir Winston Churchill, Lord Alexander, Lord Athlone, Lord Swinton, Minister of Commonwealth Relations, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Minister of Labour, and several others. I can assure hon. members that it gave me great satisfaction after leaving Canadian soil to make my first stop on the soil of the United Kingdom.

I might say, incidentally, that I received from Sir Winston Churchill a bit of advice which stood me in good stead during the whole of my trip. He told me he expected my trip would be a bit strenuous, but that he had always found it was wise never to stand too long when there was an opportunity to sit down, and not to be content to sit down when there was an opportunity to lie down.

France

In France I was most cordially welcomed by the new president of France, Mr. Rene Coty, and his charming lady, Normans like many of the Normans who were here in the early days, and some of whose descendants are here in this House at the present time; and also by the Prime Minister, the President of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Laniel, also a Norman. There was some suggestion in France at this time that the country was being run by the Normans. When I heard that suggestion I told them that from my experience with Normans, and perhaps from that of the people of the United Kingdom with Normans, we would not find that that was anything to worry about. I also had the privilege of meeting the President of the National Assembly who occupies a post similar to yours, Mr. Speaker, and the president of the Council of the Republic. Though that is its official name, it is still commonly called the Senate. To them and through them to the elected representatives of the Republic I conveyed our greetings and was charged by them to bring back to you and to all our colleagues their best wishes and most cordial regards. I also met several others, among whom was our friend Mr. Robert Schuman who, though he has reverted to the role of an ordinary member of the Assembly, is still taking a great interest in the international problems that are of such great concern to us all.

I had the privilege of dining with the members of the NATO Council and then, the next morning, of a visit to the headquarters of SHAPE where I heard



—Publifoto

ITALY

The Prime Minister, left, shaking hands with Signor Scelba, President of the Italian Council of Ministers.

a concise but very instructive report from General Gruenther. I was also shown some interesting old Canadian archives that are still in Paris, although I think we have photostats of them in our own archives here. But there is something in just feeling these things that have come down from two or three centuries, though perhaps after my visiting the Orient two or three centuries would not have appeared to me to be so impressive as they were when I was examining these old documents relating to Canada's early history.

Germany

From there we went to Germany and I was delighted when I met for the first time Dr. Heuss, the President of the German Republic. He is a man with a long university career, and with the appearance and the charm of a man of great culture. He confirmed the impression we had all formed of Chancellor Adenauer when he was here and which was also confirmed by the impression made upon me by the chancellor's colleagues in the ministry, namely that the leaders in these days in Germany are looking to a future where gains will not be dependent upon war but where they will be the result of good international relations between that country and all its neighbours. I think that the chancellor and his colleagues are most anxious to provide for a future where they will be allowed to live and where it will be their pleasure and satisfaction to let others live alongside of them.

I then had the privilege of visiting the troops at Soest under Brigadier Anderson. The barracks that are being provided there are magnificent. Everything has not yet been done but I should just like to give one little illustration that impressed me. When I asked the brigadier about the school facilities, he said they were coming along but that his own young son who is $7\frac{1}{2}$ years old was attending the German public school. When I reported that fact to the

chancellor, who I found had already heard of it, he said that our men were all behaving in the manner best calculated to make them accepted as true and sincere friends and as people for whom his German population would always have respect and admiration.

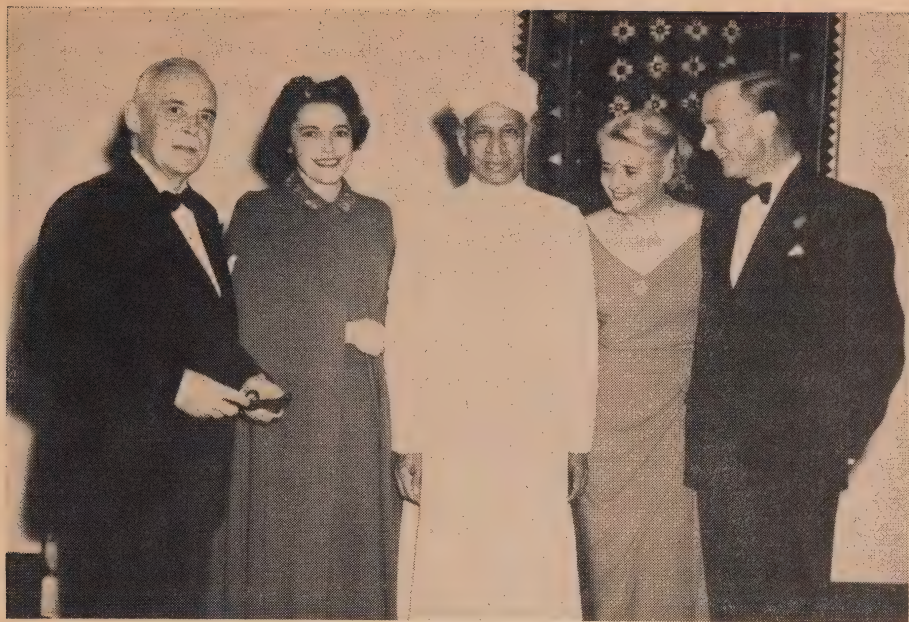
The next day we flew to Gros Tenquin. There I found the morale of our men to be very high, in spite of the fact that all the difficulties have not yet been overcome for them. The commander of the squadrons there, with his wife and their three children, are still living in a trailer but for that I had admiration. The officers are giving the men the impression that whatever are the difficulties, they are no greater for the men than they are for the officers themselves. I think that is one of the explanations of this high morale I found everywhere among our troops. They all felt that they were human units in a joint endeavour being made by themselves and by those who were commanding them. It was at Gros Tenquin that we had our first disappointment. We had expected to go the same afternoon to Zweibruecken but the weather was still bad; we were experiencing the seasonal continental weather at that time. The plane that had gone from Gros Tenquin to Paris to bring the ambassador up to take part in our visit had not been able to put down at Paris and had come back without him and we were not able to get into Zweibruecken. I am sorry because I greatly appreciated the privilege of saying to these men, on your behalf, Mr. Speaker, and on behalf of my colleagues, that we realize that they are doing a large portion of our share in this general undertaking to maintain peace in the world. The time that we would have taken to visit Zweibruecken was taken up by visiting Guesslin one of these farming villages in Lorraine. I must confess that I was somewhat depressed at the feeling that there might be still quite a large number of these villages or farming communities in France—the like of which we have not in this country—which do not appear to have changed greatly through many of the past decades. But every person we saw seemed to be good humoured and seemed to feel that they were living quite comfortably but it was obviously under conditions with which our people in Canada would not be perfectly satisfied.

Rome

From there we flew to Rome. We got there late in the evening and came down from considerable heights to ground level rather quickly. I therefore found, when I stepped off the plane, that there was not much that I could hear. Then there was such an array of klieg lights that I found that within a few seconds there was not much that I could see. Hence for a moment or two I was, more than usual, in strange surroundings. But that condition disappeared and the warmth of the welcome that was accorded to us there was really quite moving.

We were invited to meet President Einaudi, another university man whose whole career until recently has been in the field of study and teaching, and who certainly has no other desire than to see the whole world at peace and to see all the people of the world have the opportunity to pursue the kind of careers of which his own is one of the examples of what an intelligent man would prefer to do rather than engage in the horrible business of destroying each other. I met the new Prime Minister, Mr. Scelba, and several of his colleagues who are quite firm in their resistance to communistic influence in their country and quite confident that that resistance is and will continue to be successful.

Personally I had another disappointment in Rome, one that was shared by several of those who were accompanying me. We had hoped to be received in audience by His Holiness the Pope but the condition of His Holiness' health was such that he was not able to receive anyone at all. I went and paid my respects to Monsignor Montini who, as hon. members know, was here a little over a year ago. I also wished to see Monsignor Tardini but was told I might not



INDIA

Mr. St. Laurent, left; his daughter, Mrs. Hugh O'Donnell; the Vice-President of India, Mr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan; Mrs. Escott Reid; and the High Commissioner for Canada in India, Mr. Reid, during the visit of the Prime Minister to India.

be able to see him because he was at that moment closeted with the Pope. We went around to his office just the same to leave cards and just as we got there Monsignor Tardini was coming out and was able at that time to give us very encouraging news of the state of health of the Holy Father. Unfortunately there have been relapses, and the state of his health is still giving grave concern . . .

Pakistan

. . . we went on to Karachi. There we were received by our old friend, Prime Minister Mohammed Ali, with the cordiality those who know him can well imagine for themselves. We were put up at Government House with the Governor General, Ghulam Mohammed, who wanted to be especially remembered to our Minister of Finance (Mr. Abbott). It appears that for quite a long period he had some of the cares our Minister of Finance still has, and he always has retained an affectionate regard for a fellow sufferer as a result of their meetings at several international conferences.

I also had an interesting conversation with Sir Mohammed Zafrulla Khan and met for the first time there, although I did meet his opposite number in other countries as well, a Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. We do not call our Minister of Citizenship and Immigration (Mr. Harris) a Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, but it was explained to me that his functions were very much like those of our good friend, although he combines them with being Minister of Law. Here we prefer to call our minister the Minister of Justice, but there they are content with the feeling that their law may mean the same thing as justice.

We went up to Peshawar and stayed there with the governor, Mr. Shah-buddin, a brother of the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Nazimuddin, so that evidently political changes do not always have all the repercussions that they might be expected to have. These governors are appointed by the central government, and the brother of the former Prime Minister is still the Governor

and is a very cordial and very likable gentleman. We went up the Khyber Pass right up to the Afghanistan border. A barbed wire fence marked the border and there was a guard just on the other side. We were warned we must not step over the line marked by the barbed wire, but I did go right up to the fence and extend my hand which was taken very cordially by the captain of the guard. I expressed feelings of good will and he said he was sorry that I was not going to visit his country. We warned the photographers that perhaps it would be just as well not to make any pictures of that incident because we did not want to get the captain of the guard into any embarrassing situation . . .

Then we went to Lahore, that great old city, not the largest but perhaps one of the most interesting we did visit. Unfortunately the Governor, His Excellency Mian Aminuddin was indisposed but his Begum and members of the Government met us at the airport and took us to Government House where we were magnificently entertained and made most comfortable. There was a large dinner party given that evening, perhaps not only on our account, but it was the next to the closing day of the annual horse fair and agricultural show at Lahore. There were many people who had come, not because there was going to be a visitor from Canada, but to see the very interesting show that was being provided. Among others at this dinner there was the Prince Ali Khan, His Highness, the Maharaja of Jaipur, the Maharani of Jaipur, Prime Minister Malik Khan Noon and other members of the Government. It was a very impressive oriental dinner party in magnificent surroundings. We have not the like of these palaces that are being used by the native governors and were formerly occupied by the representatives of the controlling powers . . .

Then, of course, we saw some of the beauties of that spot, the Shalimar Gardens. These gardens were laid out certainly more than a century before those of Louis XIV at Versailles, which might seem to have been the pattern. Then when we got to India we saw the gardens that had been laid out around the palace at New Delhi, which was built only a quarter of a century ago. They are perhaps more like the Versailles Gardens than the Versailles Gardens are like the Shalimar Gardens, so it would seem these things can move from East to West and back to the East. Everything that is done by man, not to mar the beauties of nature, but to make the beauties of nature more apparent and striking is much the same all over the world.

I also had an opportunity to see for the first times these great red forts that were erected in the sixteenth century and afterwards by the Moghul emperors. This country must have been extremely prosperous at one time because these red forts, the temples they contain, the palaces and different apartments that are provided are of a splendor that cannot be other than the reflection of a state of considerable prosperity at the time they were provided.

India

At New Delhi we were also received in the Governor General's palace, that is the one that was erected when New Delhi was being provided as the new capital. I got the impression, and told Prime Minister Nehru, that it was a good thing it had been done before the Minister of Public Works had to get an appropriation from Parliament to provide it, because it was done on a scale for which it might be difficult to get appropriations in a democratic assembly. Perhaps it is a good thing. There are already 360 million people in India and the population is increasing all the time. It may be a good thing the palace was provided on that scale, with seventy-odd acres of gardens around it, for that set the scale for all the establishments of this new capital.

There is a lot of land there that does not look very attractive for agricultural purposes, so they are going to have plenty of space to develop their new capital to meet the requirements of these hundreds of millions of population. There is



INDONESIA

The Prime Minister chatting with the children of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Dr. Ahmed Soekarno.

a possibility, perhaps even a probability, that they will get back to a state of prosperity which enabled the red forts to be built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, devoted a lot of time to me, for which I am very grateful. Our conversations, were, of course, very frank and very intimate. I am not going to be guilty of any breaches of confidence, but he was at great pains to explain to me his views of the historical development of the political regimes and economies and the cultural developments of the successive civilizations of these old countries, and the results of the ferments that are now taking hold among those hundreds of millions of people . . .

I had been honoured at Peshawar with an honorary degree, and again received a similar honorary degree at Delhi. I found there was a generosity in the East in respect of this function that I had not experienced in the West. I brought back with me two gorgeous red robes that were presented to me as the accompaniment of the degree of Doctor of Laws that was awarded to me by these ancient seats of learning.

At Bombay we stayed with Governor Sir Girja Bajpae who is well known to many of us who have attended meetings of the international assemblies, and was also greeted by the chief ministers and charged by them, as I had been on other occasions, with the best wishes and greetings to our Houses of Parliament.

(Continued on page 130)

NATO's Fifth Anniversary

(April 4, 1954, was the Fifth Anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty)

FIVE years ago, on April 4, 1949, Canada joined eleven other countries of the Atlantic community in signing a treaty of collective defence. They all pledged their united efforts to preserving their common heritage and freedom against the immediate threat of aggression. The long-term significance of this joint understanding, and the unprecedented developments which have resulted from it, mark this as an outstanding achievement in the search for international security.

On this fifth anniversary it might be useful to examine the progress of our efforts to meet the original challenge to our security and to assess what we have so far contributed to the NATO "security bank". If international tension and insecurity have been reduced in the past five years, this fact would tend to demonstrate the validity of the underlying principle of collective security upon which the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is based.

Extent of Security

The first question to be asked, therefore, is: "What measure of security has NATO provided for its members?" The answer is evident if one but recalls the conditions existing in 1949. By that time growing anxiety and fear was replacing the high hopes for lasting peace which people the world over had had when the United Nations Charter was signed at San Francisco. The Security Council, created to implement a universal system of collective security, had become "frozen in futility and divided by dissension". Soviet obstructionism prevented the Council from dealing with even minor threats to the peace and blocked organization of the international enforcement contingents envisaged in Article 45 of the Charter. Outside the United Nations, the Soviet Union did its best to wreck the Marshall Plan, designed to aid the restoration of economic stability in Western Europe, and used subversion and external pressure to bring the Eastern European countries one by one under Soviet domination. Finally, in February 1948, the Iron Curtain closed suddenly upon Czechoslovakia. It then became evident that, although economic assistance had played an important part in the reconstruction of Europe, it was no longer sufficient by itself to provide adequate protection from the growing threat of Communism unless buttressed by the deterrent of military strength.

It was in response to this emergency that a defence treaty between the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands was signed at Brussels in 1948, establishing Western Union. It was just such an association of peace-loving states, willing to accept more specific international obligations in return for a greater measure of national security, that the present Prime Minister, then Secretary of State for External Affairs, had foreseen when he spoke before the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1947. It was significant, therefore, that both the Prime Minister of Canada and the President of the United States welcomed the creation of Western Union as the first concrete step towards an effective system for the defence of the West. Canada, the United States and the five nations of Western Union soon gave striking



—NATO

NATO HEADQUARTERS

The Palais de Chaillot, Paris, Headquarters of NATO.

evidence of their determination to set up as rapidly as possible an interlocking defence force. After several months of negotiations, the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington on April 4, 1949. The next task was to organize the enormous potential strength of this coalition to the point at which it would act as an effective deterrent to any potential aggressor contemplating an armed attack upon any of its members. Previous attempts to establish a security system had been thwarted by the unwillingness of members to make the advance commitments necessary to provide the necessary pool of military strength. This time, however, the parties to the treaty bound themselves to specific obligations to provide for their collective defence and agreed to furnish the means necessary to provide and maintain the peace and security of the North Atlantic area. Later, when Greece and Turkey were admitted to NATO, the area was extended to include the Eastern Mediterranean.

Treaty Ratified

In Canada, all major groups of opinion accepted the Treaty and it was ratified in Parliament without a single dissenting vote. In no countries did adherence to the Treaty represent a more profound revision of policy than in Canada and the United States. This change reflected the growing public recognition that the strategic frontiers of the western world lay far beyond the shores of North America, and that the threat must be met as far away as possible to provide the greatest depth for defence. Furthermore, the indivisibility of peace had at last made an appreciable impact upon political thinking, later indeed but parallel to the recognition on the economic plane that the prosperity of any one nation depended in the long run on the prosperity of all.

The Treaty itself, a concise document of only fourteen Articles, outlined the essential framework for the association. The core of the collective security system thus established was the provision that an attack against any member would be considered "as an attack against all". Each member undertook to assist a party or parties so attacked, by such action as deemed necessary, "including the use of armed force". Another article stressed the point that collective capacity to resist armed attack was to be maintained by maximum individual contributions, strengthened by concerted mutual assistance. Article 2, which has been regarded as the distinctive Canadian contribution to the Treaty, contained the pledge that every effort would be made by member nations to co-operate in promoting the attainment of a higher standard of living by their peoples. This Article, in conjunction with the Preamble and Article 1, recognized the need to develop a permanent foundation of political, economic and cultural co-operation in the common interests of the Atlantic community. Without a sound economic foundation, it would be difficult to maintain for long the rapidly erected and costly defences. Only a programme geared to the economic capacities of the member nations would be able to provide security for any considerable period. Only an association based not simply on the negative concept of fear of a common enemy, but on the conservation and development of the common heritage of the western world, would be likely to retain popular support when the immediate threat had receded. The strength of NATO is to be found not only in its armed forces but also in the like-mindedness of the members of the Atlantic community and their common belief that democratic freedom allows the fullest development of the individual.

Planning Stage

No matter how well drafted, a Treaty which has not been implemented remains nothing more than an expression of pious hopes. This paper pledge had to be translated into a concrete deterrent to aggression. First emphasis was naturally placed on military preparedness. Taking advantage of the valuable groundwork performed by Western Union, planning was expanded to encompass the whole Atlantic area. Five regional planning groups were set up; three for Europe, one for the North Atlantic Ocean and one for the Canada-United States area. Progress in setting up the actual military forces received an unexpected stimulus in June 1950, when the "cold war" suddenly changed to open hostilities in Korea. The Security Council, freed from its veto-bound stalemate by the temporary absence of the Soviet representative, called upon United Nations members for assistance, and aided by the military strength of the United States set about repelling the Communist aggressor. Korea afforded unmistakable evidence that Communist leaders would not hesitate to resort to armed aggression if it appeared to be the most effective way of extending Communist domination, and the organization of NATO defence arrangements consequently moved more rapidly.

In December 1950, General Eisenhower was appointed as Supreme Commander, Allied Powers Europe (SACEUR), and by the second anniversary of the signing of the Treaty his command was organized with headquarters near Paris. During the same year five subordinate commands in Europe were also created. Almost a year later the second high command, that of the Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic (SACLANT), was established to plan operations in the Atlantic Ocean region, an area of vital importance to communications



—NATO

FAMILY PORTRAIT

A group picture of the supreme governing body of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Canadian representatives at the lower right are, left to right: the Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr. K. W. Taylor; the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson; and the Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Mr. L. D. Wilgress.

between Europe and North America. In both these commands' staffs were drawn from the armed forces of the participating NATO members. The NATO Defence College, opened in Paris late in 1951, has played a significant role in preparing personnel from the member nations for the complicated task of civil and military co-operation.

At Lisbon, in February 1952, member countries for the first time committed themselves to the formation of specified forces, and detailed defence plans were developed for the employment of these forces. Since that time, joint service manoeuvres have demonstrated the capacity of various national units to operate as a combined force. Another of the important decisions taken at Lisbon was the establishment of a permanent Secretariat responsible for the organization of the work of the North Atlantic Council. Under the direction of Lord Ismay, the first Secretary-General, it was to deal with the involved budgetary problems of the Organization, the economic and financial aspects of defence and the co-ordination of defence production plans.

The weakened military position of the formerly powerful wartime coalition of western nations was the result of the gigantic scale upon which immediate post-war demobilization and disarmament had been carried out. Once peace had been established, the power reality which had brought it about was ignored, or it was perhaps felt that concerted action by the Big Three would take care of any future threats to the peace. What was lost sight of was the fact that two of the three major powers had voluntarily deprived themselves of that military strength which had brought victory. This power equation upon which collective security is based has been aptly described by a noted international jurist: "Peace will be assured", he states, "as long as the national forces which are willing to defend it are recognizably superior to those forces which are tempted to break it. It will cease to exist from the moment that the balance is tilted in the favour of the latter." It is because of the extent to which NATO has been able to effect a modified application of this basic principle that the outlook for peace has brightened. Today NATO forces are a deterrent to aggression because their growing strength reduces the possibility of a successful attack.

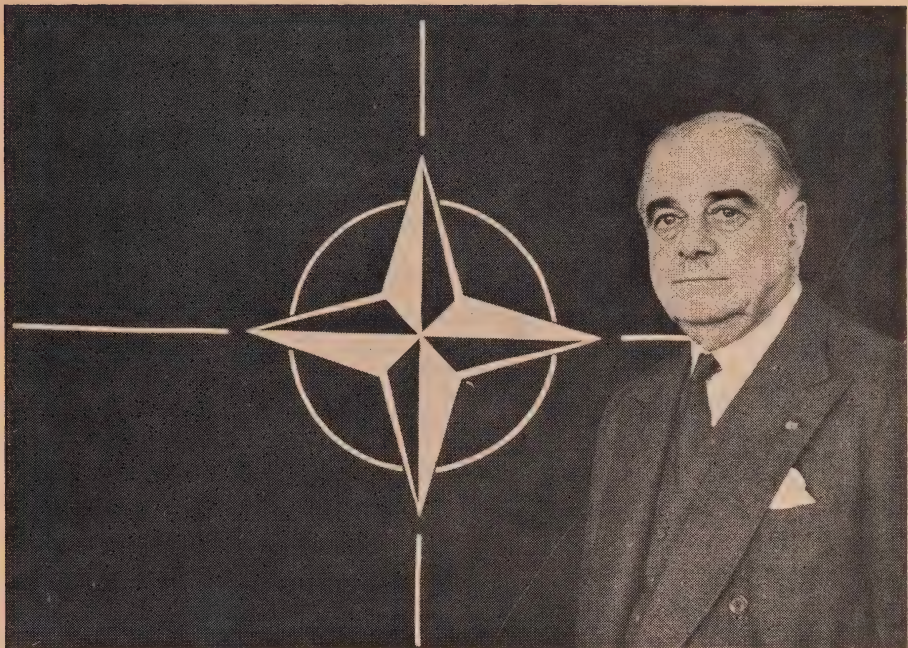
Although there is good reason for satisfaction with the progress which is being made by NATO and with the success of collective action in Korea, our security would be rapidly jeopardized if this feeling gave place to complacency. Continuing success depends on our maintaining the strong position which has been created by the contributions of each member of the Organization. It would be dangerous to assume that the need for further defence preparations no longer exists. As the Prime Minister of Canada said recently, a man does not give up his fire insurance just because his house has not burned down. Let us see then what premium we have been paying for our insurance policy and what the present state of our preparedness is.

Defence Expenditures Increase

It has taken time for these plans to materialize, but the total output of the economy devoted to defence is now reaching a peak in the majority of NATO countries. Collective defence, although it is the most economical method of preparation, is nevertheless an expensive proposition. The total defence expenditures of all NATO countries in 1953 were calculated to amount to about 65.5 billion dollars, an increase of nearly ten per cent over the corresponding figure for 1952 and three and a half times the figure for 1949. Canada was spending on defence in 1953-54 about five times as much as in the first year of NATO's existence.

General Gruenther, the present Supreme Commander in Europe, has reported that the forces under his command have approximately doubled since 1951, and the gain in their effectiveness is greater still. The Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic area recently stated that, from his position in charge of a defence "frontier" of some 4,000 miles, he had seen the Command, in three years, draw up defence plans and organize the assignment of forces in a manner calculated to deter any act of aggression.

The active part played in the preparatory work which led to the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty may be regarded as Canada's first contribution to Atlantic defence. An important service which was also rendered by Canada, especially significant since it came from a loyal supporter of the United Nations,



—NATO

NATO SECRETARY-GENERAL

The Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and Vice-Chairman of the North Atlantic Council, Lord Ismay, with the official NATO flag.

was the Prime Minister's warning delivered before the General Assembly in 1947 that nations in their search for security might be forced to seek greater safety "in an association of democratic, peace-loving states willing to accept more specific international obligations in return for a greater measure of national security".

Canada's contributions to the NATO defence arrangements depend to a large extent on the degree of her own military preparations. The 1953-54 Canadian defence estimates came to a figure of just over 2 billion dollars. Our contributions to developing NATO's strength are made in three principal forms: armed forces, mutual aid and financial support. The first of these consists of a commitment of army and air force units to the army and air commands of SACEUR (Europe) and of naval forces which have been earmarked for service under the Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic (SACLANT). In addition to the members of Canada's armed forces serving on the staffs of nine principal NATO headquarters, including SHAPE and the NATO Defence College, Canada has, since November 1951, maintained a Brigade Group in Germany in fulfilment of her commitments to the armies of NATO's integrated force in Europe. In the air, Canada made a noteworthy contribution by completing its commitments of twelve jet fighter squadrons ahead of schedule. Allied manoeuvres held during the past year, such as "Operation Mariner", have shown that there have been important improvements in the fighting efficiency of these forces.

In the field of mutual aid, the second principal category into which these contributions are divided, more than a billion dollars has been appropriated

in the last four years. Equipment has been furnished to NATO members both from reserve stocks and, in an increasing proportion, direct from current production. Transfers include such items as ammunition, military vehicles, radar and radio apparatus, mine-sweepers and jet aircraft. In addition to material aid, the training of airmen from the member nations is also included under the mutual aid programme. By the end of 1953, 925 pilots and 1,605 navigators from Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Norway and the United Kingdom had completed training in Canada. Another 965 trainees, including representatives from Turkey and Portugal, were undergoing training in early 1954, and Canada has offered training to 1,200 airmen over the next three-year period.

The third main form which contributions take is financial. This involves expenditure under three sub-divisions. The first is "NATO Common Infrastructure" (the cost of certain fixed military installations for the support of the NATO forces). The second consists of military budgets to maintain the military headquarters, and Canada's share in this section is some \$1,750,000.00. The third and last section concerns the contribution to the civilian budget and it is from this that the cost of maintaining the Secretariat of the Council is paid. Canada contributes ten per cent of the operational and 6.7 per cent of the capital costs of the total of these last two budgets. In the provision of men, money and material, Canada stands shoulder to shoulder with the members of the Atlantic community.

The Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, in a statement at the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council held in Paris in December 1953, paid tribute to the steady build-up of the Organization's forces and their ability to work as a team under unified command. Both because of this build-up and because of some decrease in international tension, he pointed out that the emphasis of future defence planning would be on "the long haul".

Unity the Key

While in 1949 the question of survival was paramount, today the key to the preservation of our security is *unity*. The continuing co-operation of all the Atlantic powers will be necessary to overcome the obstacles which may lie ahead. To ensure this, continued public interest and support for NATO is essential. The best evidence of the effectiveness of NATO in achieving its objectives has been the persistent Soviet efforts to disrupt the political solidarity upon which the Organization is based. Soviet tactics have changed recently to meet present conditions in recognition of the inadequacy of the coercive methods, which were so successful in expanding communist domination after the war. The naked act of aggression in Korea, instead of cowering opposition and adding a new era of the Far East to the communist world, had quite a different effect and led, in fact, to a tremendous strengthening of western defences and an increased recognition of the nature of the international Communist movement. In spite of the tactical change by the Kremlin since then there is no evidence that the objectives of Soviet policy do not remain basically hostile to the free world.

If we keep our defence strong, however, promote social and economic advancement, strengthen our political unity, and remain willing to negotiate from a position of strength, we have every reason to hope that we shall continue to be successful in maintaining peace and preserving our freedom.

Canada and the United Nations

THE FOLLOWING IS a summary of activities concerning the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies since the end of the General Assembly in December 1953. Notes will appear next month on the discussions of the Security Council on the Palestine question and on the proceedings of the Commission on Human Rights and the Trusteeship Council which have both been meeting in New York.

Reconvening the General Assembly

Before the General Assembly adjourned it adopted a resolution on December 8, 1953, which provided for its recall. This would take place with the concurrence of the majority of member states, if: (a) in the opinion of the President of the General Assembly, developments in respect of the Korean question warranted its reconvening, or (b) one or more members requested the President to reconvene the Assembly because of developments in respect of the Korean question.

On January 10, 1954, the President notified the member states that, in conformity with the December resolution, India had asked that the Eighth Session of the General Assembly be reconvened. Madame Pandit suggested that this should take place on February 9, 1954. In view of India's special responsibility in respect of the prisoners-of-war issue, both as Chairman and executive agent of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, India thought that the General Assembly should consider the Korean question in reasonable time before the Repatriation Commission dissolved. India also felt that the lack of progress at Panmunjom in the discussions preliminary to the Korean political Conference, and the lack of any other step which would help towards settlement of the Korean question also rendered consideration of it by the Assembly necessary, appropriate, and urgent.

The Canadian view, submitted to the Secretary-General on January 29, was that it would not be advisable for the General Assembly to reconvene on February 9. There was a possibility that the Korean Conference talks might be resumed at Panmunjom, and at Berlin the conference of Big Four Foreign Ministers had agreed to inclusion on the agenda of Far Eastern questions. In addition, it appeared that it would not be possible, if the session reconvened on February 9, to restrict its deliberations to the handling by the NNRC of the prisoners-of-war problem. Since the majority of members had similar views, the session was not reconvened.

Prisoners-of-war in Korea

On September 23, 1953, prisoners-of-war in Korea who had declared that they would forcibly resist repatriation, were turned over by both sides to the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, (NNRC) composed of Czechoslovakia, India, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland. The custodial forces were provided exclusively by India whose representative, General Thimayya, was the Chairman and executive agent of the Commission. Explanations to those pris-

oners concerning their right to repatriation were to follow during the 90 days, which expired on December 23, 1953. By that time only a portion of the prisoners held by the Indian Custodial Force had received explanations. As the Korean Political Conference had not been convened by then, the question of those still non-repatriated could not be referred to such conference for settlement within the 30 days proposed in the terms of reference of the NNRC.

The NNRC presented its Interim Report, consisting of a majority and a minority report, to the two Commands on December 28, 1953. The report called attention to the Commission's inability to submit the prisoner disposition question to the Political Conference and referred the problem to the two Commands for consideration. On this issue, there was a difference of interpretation as to the correct procedure among India, the Communist and United Nations Commands.

Disposition of Prisoners

General Thimayya, on January 14, 1954, informed the United Nations Command of India's interpretation of the prisoner disposition question. It was to the effect that the competence of the NNRC to declare the release of prisoners from prisoner-of-war status depended upon the full implementation of the explanation procedures and upon the convening of the Political Conference. However, since the Commission would not be able to hold the prisoners beyond January 23, 1954, they would be restored to the former detaining side on January 20. For the same reasons, he argued, any unilateral action by the United Nations Command to free the prisoners thus restored would not be in conformity with the relevant provisions of the terms of reference of the NNRC.

The Communist Command said that prisoners should be held by the NNRC until the Political Conference found a solution and that in the meantime explanations should be resumed.

The United Nations Command's interpretation of the same provisions of the Commission's terms of reference was that if the Korean Political Conference had not met before the expiration of the 120 days during which the prisoners were held by the Commission, then the NNRC was obliged to declare the release of the prisoners in its custody from prisoner-of-war to civilian status. Canada interpreted these provisions in the same way.

Thus, on January 20, 1954, the NNRC transferred to territory under the control of the United Nations Command, more than 22,000 prisoners who refused to be repatriated to the Communist side. On January 22 the Custodial Force withdrew from the camp where 347 prisoners were held who refused repatriation to the United Nations side. These later moved into North Korea. As of January 23, 1954, General Hull of the United Nations Command, announced that the Chinese and North Koreans who had been released by the Indian Custodial Force to territory south of the Demilitarized Zone had become free men. In accordance with its previous declarations, the United Nations Command assisted the Chinese to Formosa, the destination of their choice.

The Indian Custodial Force withdrew to India early in February, taking with it 104 Chinese and North Koreans who, as non-repatriable prisoners, had elected to go to neutral countries.

Chinese Nationalist Troops in Burma*

As the activities of the "foreign forces" in Burma were universally condemned in the United Nations General Assembly, the Chinese Nationalist Government in Formosa agreed to make an effort to persuade the Chinese forces in Burma to leave that country. Accordingly, desultory evacuation took place from November 7 to December 8, 1953, by which time approximately 2000 troops and dependents had left Burma for Formosa. After some further negotiations, a second series of evacuations commenced on February 14, 1954. Approximately 150 persons have been flown to Formosa every other day since February 14 and by the end of February over 1000 had already been evacuated. The Burmese complained that most of the firearms surrendered in November and December were obsolete, but a considerable number of modern weapons have been brought out in the second phase. The Burmese extended the cease-fire to March 15 and promised to extend if necessary. The target for the current programme is 3000 evacuees, including dependents. If this is achieved, over 5000 Chinese Nationalist guerrillas will have left Burma in the two operations and it is to be hoped that the back of the problem will have been broken.

Ad Hoc Commission on Prisoners-of-War

At the eighth session of the Assembly a resolution was passed by 46 in favour (including Canada) to 5 against (Soviet Bloc) and 6 abstentions reiterating the Assembly's concern at evidence that large numbers of prisoners of the Second World War had not yet been repatriated or accounted for. It appealed to all governments which had not yet done so to make information about prisoners available and to give all prisoners the opportunity of repatriation. It praised the *Ad Hoc* Commission on Prisoners-of-War for the work it had done and asked it to continue its endeavours. Although the Commission has not been able to make much progress in a direct way, there is no doubt that its continued existence and the discussion of its work have served to focus public opinion on this continuing problem. Of special interest is the rapid repatriation of German prisoners that has taken place in recent months. In a communique following Soviet-East German negotiations last August, Tass News Agency announced that certain measures would be undertaken to release German prisoners-of-war. Since then some 10,000 German prisoners including approximately 1500 civilian internees have been repatriated. Some have remained in East Germany and others have gone on to West Germany according to where their homes have been. In addition the Soviet Government recently announced that 28 military and 6 civilian prisoners of Italian nationality would be released during the first two months of 1954. Working arrangements were completed some time ago between Chinese and Japanese Red Cross societies for the return of a number of Japanese prisoners. The Soviet Government has claimed in the past that only some 13,000 German prisoners were in their custody although the estimates of the German Government were many times more than this. Soviet press reports have indicated that the Italians now being released are the only ones detained in the Soviet Union "as far as the Russian authorities know".

* See "External Affairs", January 1954, pp. 23-24.

Canadian Comments on the Draft International Covenants on Human Rights

In accordance with a resolution of the Economic and Social Council passed at its sixteenth session in August 1953, the Secretary-General asked Member Governments to submit their comments on the articles of the two international covenants on human rights completed by then by the Commission on Human Rights and contained in the report of its ninth session. These two draft covenants are at present under consideration at the tenth session of the Human Rights Commission in New York. A statement of the Canadian Government's comments was submitted to the Secretary-General and published as a United Nations document on March 10, 1953.

The statement gives the Government's views on the draft covenant on economic, social and cultural rights and the articles added to the draft covenant on civil and political rights since March 1951, when the last Canadian statement was submitted. The new statement declares that the Government of Canada appreciates the motives underlying the Commission on Human Rights' endeavours to formulate the international covenants on human rights, but declares also that the Government of Canada believes that the articles of the draft covenants contain many "serious defects". It is pointed out in the statement that in Canada human rights and fundamental freedoms are enforced on a basis rather different from that in some countries, "because they are protected by judgments of the courts and by specific statutes rather than by general declarations, statements of principles or a bill of rights".

The Canadian statement repeats the position made clear in the 1951 statement and stated most recently by the Canadian Representative in the Third Committee of the General Assembly on November 11, 1953, that "in the absence of a satisfactory Federal State Clause, Canada could not become a party to the covenants, due to the nature of its constitution which divides legislative powers concerning human rights between the national parliament and the provincial legislatures". (A Federal State Clause is one designed to relieve federal states from obligations which lie outside the jurisdiction of their national parliaments). General comments are also included in the statement on the proposed Territorial Application Clause and on the principle of self-determination. Detailed comments on the articles in the draft covenant on civil and political rights are included in the annex to the statement.

The Question of Refugees

The first quarter of 1954 was noted for the fact that the Convention on the Status of Refugees which was drawn up at a conference in Geneva in 1951 finally came into force with the deposit of the sixth ratification by Australia on January 22. The Convention seeks to establish minimum rights for the refugees under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees including the right to asylum, to work, to education, to public relief and to freedom of religion. It also establishes a procedure for the issuance of travel documents to refugees. At the present time, Belgium, Denmark, the German Federal Republic, Luxembourg, Norway, Australia and the United Kingdom have ratified the Convention.

A matter of increasing concern to international organizations in the refugee field has been the problem of a small handful of European refugees, approxi-

mately 15,000, who are still in Communist China. Two organizations, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration, are co-operating in a programme for the relief and resettlement of these refugees in other lands. The High Commissioner for Refugees is responsible for maintaining many of these persons who are in desperate straights in Shanghai and other parts of China. He provides relief from a Refugee Emergency Fund for this purpose. The Migration Committee, on the other hand, is responsible for moving these people from Shanghai and, at the present time, approximately 300 people are moved from China each month. It is estimated that at least three years will elapse before all the refugees who can be resettled will be moved from China to countries of reception. At the present time, both the Migration Committee and the High Commissioner for Refugees are appealing to governments for further funds to administer their programmes.

Annual Report of the Permanent Central Opium Board

During January, the Permanent Central Opium Board issued at Geneva its annual report for 1953. The eight-member Board, which is a key body in the field of international control of narcotics, noted with regard to the production of major narcotic drugs in international trade that an unsatisfactory situation still exists with respect to opium and coca leaves, that production of morphine and cocaine increased in 1953, and that production of codeine and heroin fell. The Board also reported that in the past year it had received more statistics from non-self-governing territories and that some countries which had ceased to do so have resumed the transmission of statistics. However, in view of the importance to the work of the Board of statistics submitted by national narcotic control agencies, the Board noted with regret that certain countries are still failing to supply statistics and to answer the Board's requests for information. The Board's report emphasized that the success of international control of narcotics depends upon the effectiveness of national control systems and noted that the last quarter of a century has been "remarkable both for the growth of the campaign against the use of narcotic drugs for non-medical purposes and for the results achieved thereby."

United Nations Children's Fund

The Executive Board and the Programme Committee of UNICEF held their spring meetings from March 1 to 9. The Board normally meets in the spring and the autumn to receive reports on the activities of the Fund and to make allocations for future programmes. This was the first meeting since the vote of the General Assembly of October 6, 1953, authorizing the continuation of UNICEF for an indefinite period. Encouraging reports were received on 1953 accomplishments. Allocations amounting to \$4,139,500 were approved for programmes in 47 countries or territories. These programmes provide assistance for child nutrition projects, mass health campaigns, maternal and child welfare work and certain emergency situations.

Slavery

In accordance with an Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) resolution on slavery of April 27, 1953 the Secretary-General of the United Nations asked member governments to submit their comments on a proposed Sup-

plementary International Convention on Slavery. This Convention might be based on the Secretary-General's recommendations and those of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Slavery which was appointed by ECOSOC in 1949. It is proposed that the Supplementary Convention extend the principles of the International Slavery Convention of 1926 to include various institutions and practices analogous to slavery.

The Canadian Government's comments were submitted to the Secretary-General in a note dated January 18, 1954. In these comments, it is stated that the Government "sees benefit in the proposal to conclude a Supplementary Convention on Slavery" but considers that these practices will not be eradicated without effective action by the governments concerned. The comments state that the Government believes, therefore, that the provisions of the Supplementary Convention requiring positive action (e.g. the submission of an annual report and the passing of criminal legislation) should not apply to Canada and other countries where slavery and other similar practices do not exist since action by their governments would accomplish nothing. The Supplementary Convention should thus contain a clause to that effect or the signatory states concerned should be permitted to make a reservation along those lines. After pointing to the constitutional difficulties which would face Canada with regard to some of the provisions of the proposed Convention, the comments conclude by stating that the Canadian Government "would find it difficult to participate" in the Supplementary Convention in the absence of both the above alternatives.

In accordance with the ECOSOC resolution of April 27, 1953, the Secretary-General was requested to prepare a draft Protocol to the International Slavery Convention of 1926 which would transfer to the United Nations functions undertaken by the League of Nations under this convention. On October 23, 1953, the General Assembly approved the Protocol based on the draft prepared by the Secretary-General and circulated to member governments. This Protocol is concerned merely with administrative arrangements and has no material effect on the substantive portion of the 1926 Convention, which Canada signed and ratified on October 6, 1926. The Canadian Delegation to the eighth session of the General Assembly supported the adoption of the Protocol and the Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations signed it on behalf of the Canadian Government, without reservation as to acceptance, on December 17, 1953.

In accordance with Article 3 of the Protocol, the Instrument was to come into force on the date on which two states had become parties to it. This took place on December 7, 1953 when Liberia, Switzerland and the United Kingdom signed the Protocol. The Protocol now comes into force for each State on the date on which it becomes a party to the Instrument.

The Specialized Agencies

There were no general conferences of the Specialized Agencies during the first three months of 1954. Two meetings of the Executive Committees of Specialized Agencies were held however.

In January, in Geneva, the 13th session of the Executive Board of the World Health Organization met to consider the organization's budget and other administrative questions preparatory to the convening of the 7th World Health Assembly in May. Dr. P. E. Moore, Director of Indian Health Services,

Department of National Health and Welfare, was Canadian appointee to the Executive Board. Among other decisions the Executive Board made recommendations to the 7th World Health Assembly for approval of a budget of \$10,311,110 for 1955 (compared to \$8,527,700 for 1954) for the Director-General's programme of work for 1955-1957 and for holding the next annual conference in Mexico City.

On February 27-March 13, the 124th session of the ILO Governing Body met in Geneva. The Canadian delegation was composed of Mr. A. H. Brown, Deputy Minister of Labour, and Mr. Paul Goulet, Director of the ILO Branch, Department of Labour. The Governing Body devoted a great deal of its time to an examination of the Director-General's budget for 1955. As a result of its examination, the Governing Body recommended a 1955 budget of \$6,745,196 (compared to \$6,311,170 for 1954) to the 37th International Labour Conference which will meet in June in Geneva.

The 4th ICAO Conference on North Atlantic Ocean Stations in Paris also took place during this period.



—NFB

TRADE AGREEMENT SIGNED

An agreement on commerce was signed on March 31, to provide most-favoured-nation agreement treatment between Canada and Japan. This agreement was signed in Ottawa by (left to right) the Japanese Ambassador to Canada, Koto Matsudaira; the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, and the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

THE Secretary of State for External Affairs reviewed some aspects of the policy of the Canadian Government on a number of international questions in an address in the House of Commons on March 25. He commented on the Berlin Conference, the forthcoming meeting in Geneva and on President Eisenhower's proposal for the international control of atomic energy. Mr. Pearson devoted the latter half of his address to problems of collective security and allied co-operation.

The Minister did not comment on China or developments in the Far East since this area was referred to in a speech by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, which followed immediately after the address of the Secretary of State for External Affairs (text of the Prime Minister's address is published on page 132 in this issue of *External Affairs*).

Berlin Conference

Discussions on two items of the agenda of the Berlin meeting, the questions of German unification and Austrian independence, the Minister stated, had resulted in deadlocks. Soviet insistence that a provisional all-German Government be set up on a basis of equal representation of the German Republic and the Communist régime in East Germany, and unwillingness to agree on free all German elections as a first step towards unification and the German peace settlement, made further progress towards a settlement impossible. Even the efforts of the Western foreign ministers to reach agreement on the peace treaty for Austria, by their acceptance of previous Soviet proposals, were frustrated by the introduction of new and irrelevant conditions by the Soviet delegation.

Discussion of the first item on the agenda at Berlin, which concerned the reduction of international tension and the calling of a five power conference, resulted in the decision to convene a meeting in Geneva on April 26, to discuss a peace treaty for Korea and the war in Indochina.

On January 29 this year, Mr. Pearson reminded the House, he had announced that despite some minor concessions and some reassuring words, nothing had happened to give cause to believe that the basic objectives of Soviet foreign policy had changed or that Soviet leaders were ready to accept a reasonable solution to major international problems. Now, after a careful study of the reports from Berlin, he reaffirmed his view that "there has been no evidence of change in the basic foreign policy objectives of the Soviet Union." One of the principal aims of Soviet policy, the Minister said, was "to crack the solid structure of Western unity." On the contrary, what Soviet tactics had achieved, was the strengthening of Western unity and an increase in "the sense of common purpose in the people of the free world".

Mr. Pearson indicated that the Soviets opposed the establishment of a European Defence Community because they desired a weak and divided Europe. For this reason, the Minister stated, it was essential that the European Defence Community Treaty be ratified to strengthen the European and North Atlantic Communities. While Canada understood and sympathized with the historical reasons for hesitation and appreciated the need for caution and prudence, nevertheless, it was felt, the Minister continued,

That there comes a time when in certain situations failure to act may in the long run prove to have been the most dangerous of all possible courses, and that the greatest probability of safety may lie in decisive acts of faith.

In respect to the coming conference in Geneva, Mr. Pearson cited a reference a few weeks ago by the Secretary-General of the United Nations as "the opening of a new chapter in the Korean story"; where nations who had fought under the United Nations flag would return to the conference table to seek peace. "It is inherent in the United Nations approach", Mr. Hammarskjöld concluded, "that the Western world and the Communist world meet regularly around the conference table."

The Canadian objectives at this conference, Mr. Pearson declared, were those expressed in the United Nations resolution on this subject:

Achievement by peaceful means of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of Government and the restoration of international peace and security in the area.

The Minister then spoke of President Eisenhower's proposal for the international control of atomic energy. He said that because the proposal was a modest one, it might serve as a starting point for further progress. Soviet participation in such discussions was of obvious importance and negotiations had advanced to the point where on March 19, the United States had presented to the Soviet Government, a memorandum outlining its views on how the proposals could be implemented. After consideration, the Canadian Government was able to say that it was in general agreement with the proposal. Mr. Pearson expressed the opinion that "in the privacy of discussions at this stage, however, lies the best hope that the talks will be used for serious negotiation rather than for propaganda". He warned that support for this proposal should be accompanied by a clear understanding that "it does not of itself offer a solution for the terrible problem of the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes".

Collective Defence

Turning to the arrangements for collective defence, which became more important as the question of the use of atomic energy without control for destructive purposes was studied further, Mr. Pearson stated that

the basis of the security which we are seeking in this field is of course international action—international collective action on the broadest possible front.

To illustrate this important principle, he referred to the words of the United States Secretary of State in a recent article in *Foreign Affairs*. In it, Mr. Dulles stated that since no nation was any longer able to develop adequate defence power for itself, "the cornerstone of security for the free nations must be a collective system of defence". Mr. Dulles had written that "without the co-operation of allies, we would not even be in a position to retaliate massively

against the war industries of an attacking nation". He concluded this part of his article by saying: "Security for the free world depends, therefore, upon the development of collective security and community power rather than upon purely national potentials".

While recognizing that the United Nations was the broadest base for collective community power, Mr. Pearson pointed out that its very universality had reduced its deterrent value. It had however, been shown to be effective in Korea and could become more so if the "Uniting for Peace Resolution" of the United Nations General Assembly were implemented. Since the United Nations was not at the present time very effective as an instrument of collective community power, we had fallen back, the Minister added, on the alternative of collective defence on a regional basis as exemplified in NATO. This form of security, he asserted, was based not on one but on two concepts:

The first of which is the importance of local defence and the second the importance of retaliation, especially from the air, on enemy nerve centres from bases which may be far removed from attack.

Thus, while local defence was important, it had to be supplemented by the other concept of retaliation. Continental security therefore, he added was a delusion because there could be no continental security without collective security. Nor could there be collective security without collective arrangements for collective action which in turn required close and continuous consultation.

Mr. Dulles' Speech

Mr. Pearson then referred to Mr. Dulles' speech of January 12, 1954, in which the United States Secretary of State, speaking on military planning policy, announced that the basic decision was to depend primarily upon "a great capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our choosing". In an earlier address in Washington, Mr. Pearson recalled, he had selected the three words "instantly", "means" and "our choosing" as being of special importance. Mr. Dulles had agreed with this selection but was of the opinion that the word "capacity" was the most important one. Mr. Pearson accepted this, suggesting that "capacity" meant not only military capacity but also political capacity, and expressed the opinion that the explanations which had followed Mr. Dulles' speech had cleared up earlier misapprehensions. "Instantly" referred to a direct attack on one's own territory; "means" was not confined to any single means, let alone atomic means; "our choosing" in that context referred to the choice of the free world coalition as opposed to that of the enemy. Mr. Dulles agreed with this interpretation and subsequent statements had clarified this new strategy and new planning for defence. On the same topic the Minister continued:

One thing this interpretation does make clear, is that diplomacy and consultation, which is part of diplomacy, is under this doctrine not less important but more important than ever before. Any decisions must surely be collective, whenever that can be done, before action has been taken.

He described this as a desire to be let in at the "take-off" so that we could do our part to help avoid a "crash landing". "Consultation and co-operation" he added, "are very essential not only in respect to security matters, but also in respect to economic matters and every other matter". He cited the first meeting of the Canada-United States Committee on Trade and Economic

Affairs as an illustration of one of the free world's valuable habits of consultation and co-operation.

Use North Atlantic Council

Mr. Pearson suggested that we should try to use the North Atlantic Council as a more effective vehicle for consultation in this field. The subjects which he was now discussing he said,

Should be discussed at the North Atlantic Council not only at occasional meetings of Ministers, but continually through the permanent representatives, so that in that agency of consultation we can clear our views on defence and foreign policy. We must also constantly seek not only to preserve but to widen and develop still further our attitudes and habits of confidence, frank discussion and consultation, restraint and tolerance. Notwithstanding the importance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which I have just emphasized, this must be done on a scale which is not limited to the north Atlantic alliance but which is as broad as the globe. Indeed our co-operation, our friendships must extend beyond our western civilization. Improving the economic and social conditions under which the major part of humanity lives will not ensure peace but it will make peace more likely.

It was because the opportunity for understanding and for genuine friendliness between the peoples of Asia in their hundreds of millions and those of the Western world, was possibly more important than even economic aid, Mr. Pearson continued, that we have been so happy over the magnificent results of the journey of Prime Minister St. Laurent into that part of the world.

The Minister concluded:

I would go even further and say that our sense of understanding must even extend to the very people whom we think threaten our peace. We cannot be soft-headed about this matter for power in the hands of irresponsible rulers could be dangerous to our peace. But while we need not be soft-headed we should certainly be clear-headed. I agree that we must be careful and alert, but also that we must not let fear freeze our diplomacy into immobility or fire it into panic action. The purpose of our Canadian policy—and I do not think there is any division of opinion in this country about this—is not merely to build up military collective strength, important as that is. The purpose is to work together with our friends in solving our own problems and also, if possible, to negotiate with those whom we fear, in solving those other problems which now divide the world. Canada is anxious to play its part also in this form of collective security, anxious to play its part in seeking by negotiation international solutions to differences, to seek them by negotiation from the strength which we are now collecting and with strength but also with wisdom, with a full realization of the calamitous result of failure, and in the hope that one day security will rest upon a stronger basis even than the certainty of massive retaliation, atomic retaliation if you like, against anyone who would break the peace; retaliation which would certainly annihilate the enemy but might also destroy ourselves.

Economic Conference in Washington

THE first meeting of the Joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs was held in Washington on March 16. The United States was represented by: Mr. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State; Mr. George M. Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture; Mr. Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce.

Canada was represented by: Mr. C. D. Howe, M.P., Minister of Trade and Commerce, and Defence Production; Mr. James Garfield Gardiner, M.P., Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Douglas Charles Abbott, M.P., Minister of Finance; Mr. L. B. Pearson, M.P., Secretary of State for External Affairs.

In addition to the members of the Joint Committee, Governor Adams, the Assistant to the President; Mr. Douglas Stuart, the United States Ambassador to Canada; and Dr. Gabriel Hauge, Economic Assistant to the President, participated in the discussions.

Purpose of Meeting

The purpose of the meeting was to provide an opportunity for United States and Canadian Ministers to examine the trade and economic problems that are common to both countries.

The Ministers noted that the flow of trade between Canada and the United States is greater than that between any other two countries. They discussed various aspects of present trade relations and agreed on the desirability of avoiding any action which would interfere with this trade from which the two countries derive such great benefits.

Since the common economic problems of Canada and the United States can be solved with greatest success in a world where the volume of trade is steady and increasing and where exchange arrangements are of a kind to facilitate such growth, consideration was given throughout the discussions to the need for action towards freer trade and payments on a broad front. It was agreed that few things would contribute more to the well-being and stability of the free nations of the world than a forward move in this direction. The need for such progress seemed all the greater at a time when many western countries are faced with the necessity of supporting effective defence programmes over a long period.

Reserves Rising

The United States and Canadian Ministers found encouragement in many of the economic developments that have taken place over the past year. They noted that the gold and dollar reserves of other countries generally have been rising; that there has been a marked improvement in the internal economic stability of many countries; and that these favourable developments have made possible some relaxation of import restrictions. Nevertheless, it was agreed that the recovery to economic health has not progressed equally for all countries. What is needed, it was concluded, is the creation of a more flexible system of



—Dept. of State

JOINT COMMITTEE ON TRADE AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

This photograph was taken at a meeting of the Joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs held at Washington in March. From left to right, seated, Minister of Agriculture, Mr. J. G. Gardner (Canada); Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. George Humphrey (U.S.); Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles (U.S.); Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe (Canada); Minister of Finance, Mr. D. C. Abbott (Canada). Standing, left to right, United States Ambassador to Canada, Mr. Douglas Stuart; Economic Assistant to President Eisenhower, Dr. Gabriel Hauge; Assistant to the President, Governor Sherman Adams; the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Ezra Taft Benson (U.S.); the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Sinclair Weeks (U.S.); and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson (Canada).

trade and payments throughout the world which would offer greater resilience to changing circumstances and which would contribute dynamically towards rising standards of living. It was agreed that much of the necessary preparation for such an advance has already been accomplished by the work of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy in the United States, by the proposals of the Commonwealth Economic Conference, and by discussions within the Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

Agricultural Surpluses

In the meantime, it was agreed that it is essential that pressing, but possibly temporary, economic problems should not be solved by expedients which might make more difficult the advance on a broad front that was held to be necessary. One immediate problem which received close consideration was that raised by the accumulation of large agricultural surpluses. Special incentives and favorable weather conditions have operated in varying degrees to enlarge these surpluses. The Ministers of both countries recognized that if surpluses were to be disposed of without regard to the impact on normal trade,

great damage might be done not only to the commerce of Canada and the United States but also to the world economy. The Ministers reaffirmed that it is the continuing policy of their respective governments, in disposing of agricultural surpluses abroad, to consult with interested countries and not to interfere with normal commercial marketings. They stated that it is their settled intention that any extraordinary measures that might be adopted to reduce surpluses should result in greater consumption and should augment, and not displace, normal quantities of agricultural products entering into world trade.

Existing Organizations

In advancing toward a freer system of world trade and payments, it was agreed that existing international organizations would continue to play an important role. The valuable work already done by the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank, and the Contracting Parties of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, was recognized. Ministers noted with satisfaction the arrangements which have recently been made within the Fund to enable its resources to be used more effectively. Acknowledgment was also made of the useful service that has been performed by GATT in developing a code of commercial conduct and in providing a forum where multilateral tariff agreements could be negotiated and where the problems of commercial policy could be discussed.

It was appreciated that it is for countries whose currencies are now inconvertible to decide when and under what circumstances they might wish to make them convertible. It was also realized that enlightened economic policies on the part of the United States and Canada will materially contribute to establishing and maintaining broader freedom of trade and payments throughout the world. Because of the importance of that objective, the United States and Canadian Ministers warmly welcomed the evidence of a desire in many countries to take decisive steps toward the restoration of a broad area of convertibility, and expressed a willingness to do their part to help in making such a movement successful.

The discussions at this meeting of the Joint Committee were marked by the friendliness and candour which are characteristic of relations between the two countries. At the invitation of the Canadian Ministers the second meeting of the Joint Committee will be held in Ottawa.

Canadian - United States Joint Defence

The following statement on joint defence was issued simultaneously by the Governments of Canada and the United States in Ottawa and Washington on April 8.

BECAUSE of the possibility of aggressive air attacks against North America, the Canadian and United States Governments after the Second World War continued the co-operative arrangements for the defence of North America which had been brought into effect during the war. Since that time, there have been established in both countries fully manned radar screens for the detection of a potential enemy, and installations for interceptor aircraft and anti-aircraft weapons. At all stages, planning has been carried on between the two countries on a joint basis. Consultations and co-operation at all levels have been constant and completely satisfactory.

For some time now, the Canadian and United States Governments have been appraising the air defence system to define the steps required to strengthen our defences in the light of recent advances in the destructive capabilities of atomic weapons against targets in our two countries.

For the past four years, work has been going on at high priority on the construction of a large and costly radar chain which is required not only to detect enemy bombers but also to control fighter aircraft engaged in the task of interception. This radar chain is known as the Pinetree Chain.

Long before the Pinetree project was approaching completion, the military planners of the two countries were engaged in an intensive study of what further steps might be desirable and practicable. In October 1953, a team of military and scientific advisers representing both countries recommended that additional early warning should be provided by the establishment of a further radar system generally to the north of the settled territory in Canada. The report of this team was considered by the Chiefs of Staff of each country later that month. At a meeting in Washington in November 1953, the Canadian representatives informed the United States authorities that the Canadian Government was prepared to proceed immediately with the necessary surveys and siting for the proposed new early warning radar system. This work is already well advanced.

There are many difficult problems to be solved in establishing this additional early warning system in the Canadian north. The system will extend over thousands of miles and its survey will involve the examination of a great number of possible sites. Much of the ground is inaccessible except by tractor train and helicopter. In many areas, extreme temperatures are confronted for several months of the year. Many technical problems, including the interference of the auroral belt with electronic devices, have had to be overcome. In overcoming the various technical problems involved the United States Air Force is working closely with the Royal Canadian Air Force.

It is obviously just as important to have early warning of aircraft approaching target areas in North America from over Northern Canada. For this reason,

(Continued on page 135)

PRIME MINISTER REPORTS ON TOUR

(Continued from page 107)

I was privileged to attend a meeting of the Assembly of the People in the Parliament of New Delhi and to hear Mr. Nehru make a speech, of the tour d'horizon type, on external affairs. And it was quite impressive to me to find here in the East exactly the same atmosphere we have here in our House of Commons accompanying their introduction of the democratic processes which have been found so advantageous in the conduct of public affairs of free men and women.

Ceylon

From India we went to Ceylon, and were the guests of the Governor General, Lord Soulbury at Temple Trees in Colombo, and at the King's Pavilion in Kandy. We were also entertained by Sir John Kotelawala, Prime Minister and Sir Oliver Goonitelake the Minister of Finance, who, as happens in many countries has, apparently, the right of veto on any proposals that come from any of his other colleagues and who, I am told, is keeping the finances of his country on the kind of footing that had been agreed in London a year ago, and that was confirmed at the recent meeting in Sydney . . .

I went to the home of the late Prime Minister, D. S. Senanayake and deposited a wreath on his tomb there. We were received for tea in their home—and that is something that is not generally accorded to visitors. I think it was a tribute to the genuine and sincere friendship for and confidence in Canadian visitors. What struck me at Kandy was the tremendous progress that is being made under Sir Ivor Jennings, Vice Chancellor of the University of Ceylon, in transferring the campus from Colombo to Kandy. They have a beautiful setting there. Hon. members will know that Sir Ivor Jennings was for a year or two connected with the University of British Columbia; and I am not sure that in selecting this site for the new campus he had not remembered the physical situation of the University of British Columbia.

He is one who does not seem to be too fearful of the restrictions of the Minister of Finance because, just the day after we were there, I saw a report that the university council wanted some 20 million rupees more than had already been provided for the work that was going on. Many resident quarters have already been provided. Their main administration building is there. I was told that about one-third of the faculties had already moved up to Kandy from Colombo. They do not feel that it will be very long before they will have the whole university provided for up there. It will be a university to take care normally of some 2,000 students. Alongside of it is Trinity College, which is attended by five hundred or six hundred bright young men, teenagers, whom it was my privilege to see and to whom it was my privilege to say that we looked upon them and their generation for

the implementation of this universal desire for peace and good will throughout the world.

Indonesia

From Colombo we went to Indonesia and were greeted by President Soekarno and were received at his home. That is another of those magnificent palaces provided under the former regime and now being used under the independent government of the people themselves. Prime Minister Sastroamidjojo was also very kind to us. Hon. members will recall that he was the first ambassador of Indonesia accredited to Canada while he was still ambassador at Washington and was here not long ago in his capacity as accredited ambassador of his country to Canada. The president has never visited this hemisphere. I think he is looking forward to doing so, and from my conversations with him I know he is keenly interested in what goes on here. He has heard about the oil fields in Alberta; he had heard about the work of the Aluminum Company at Kitimat; he had heard about the iron ore in northeastern Quebec and Labrador and also of the St. Lawrence seaway project, and inquired about the details of those projects, as did others in several other countries. I was quite surprised at the fact that there was quite a lot of accurate information about the development that is going on here, and which they found so astounding and so encouraging. I got the impression that these people welcomed the development of this new Canadian nation as an element that was going to be of benefit to the whole world in its intercourse in the family of nations.

I got the impression that they felt that this is a new country that is developing and one that requires good relations with the whole world, and that its growth and strength will be an element of stability that will be helpful to us all. It was heart-warming to find these ancient civilizations of the East did feel that this country in its development was taking on increasing importance in world affairs, and that its influence was always apt to be helpful for stability and peace.

Philippines

In Manila the President, Magsaysay was also very cordial, as one would expect, and there one did get the feeling that the influence of North American ways had produced greater effects than it had in any of the countries we had previously visited. The president was most cordial. A couple of days before he had a bout of toothache and had two teeth removed. He seemed to be most cheerful and relaxed. Some of his friends told me they had hardly ever heard him make so delightful a speech in such a light and friendly tone. I was quite surprised next morning when they told me that he was rushed back to the hospital as soon as we left to have some more teeth extracted. He certainly had been able to conceal his physical suffering, if there had been phys-

ical suffering, and there must have been, because one does not go back to a dentist in the middle of the night to get some teeth extracted unless there is something pretty painful about it.

Korea

We went from there to Korea, and I shall have another opportunity of expressing views about the situation in that country. The morale of all our men is splendid. I was very happy to find that since the actual fighting had ceased they have been able to overcome by their own efforts many of the inconvenient features that interfered with their physical comfort in the surroundings in which they find themselves. But there again, one has the vivid impression that it is the human touch of the officers that contributes largely to this family spirit that you feel between the men and the officers, and this conviction of each and every one of them, that he is a Canadian doing a Canadian job for himself and for his fellow Canadians in this participation in the joint effort to prove aggression to be unprofitable . . .

We had dinner with President Rhee, who is not too firmly convinced that the State Department is always right; but I did not get the impression that he was going to do very much about it.

Japan

In Japan we got the same friendly greeting and the same friendly care. I was really touched. I have no doubt, of course, it had been organized, but there were thousands of youngsters from perhaps five to 15 years of age lining the streets with Canadian and Japanese paper flags, waving them and grinning all over their features, showing every demonstration that it was for them a joyful occasion. Perhaps that was because of the fact that it was during school hours. Nevertheless I had the impression that these thousands of youngsters were being made aware that there was a country called Canada, and that they were there to see the representative of that country. I believe it will help in their geography lessons, and it will probably keep them conscious of the fact that there is such a country and that that country wants to be their friend, and wants them to be our friends.

The same cordiality was manifested by his Majesty the Emperor and by the Empress. I had been brought up to believe that they were of another species than just ordinary mankind, but there could not have been a more intimate family atmosphere than that provided at this informal luncheon. I say the luncheon was informal, but the preparations were quite formal. I had the Emperor's carriage provided for me. It was the second time it had been used since the war. The first time was for the Vice-President of the United States, though probably it had been used on some other occasions. I understand the carriage is provided for an ambassador when he goes to present his credentials. But the imperial carriage and the whole cavalcade was

passed through the streets in weather conditions reminiscent of the coronation parade in London last June. But it was a very intimate, human reception we were given by Their Majesties in the palace. Prime Minister Yoshida and members of his cabinet, with whom I chatted, said in so many words that their military men had entered upon a terrible undertaking in 1941 with the expectation of making gains, but that the Japanese people had realized no gains had been made, and that it was not likely in this age, and with the present methods of warfare, that war could mean any gains for any one in the future. I got the impression that they were sincere in their views and that they did not want or expect to see their country at war again.

I had the privilege there of meeting the men on our destroyers *Haida*, *Cayuga* and *Crusader*, and there again I found the same high morale, and the same feeling among those to whom I spoke, that they were Canadians carrying out Canada's share and doing their part in a job which Canada and many other nations feel should be done in the interests of stability and peace in the world, and that they were proud of the fact that they were doing it well. This high morale of our men in Korea is due in large measure to the success which has attended the operations of our rotation scheme. They know they are there for a set period and so far there has been no breakdown in the rotating of these men, and they do not expect that there will be any breakdown. They know what they are up against, for what period they are up against it, and when they may expect to come home. When they do they can, if they so wish, re-enlist for another tour of duty. The fact that there is this precision, and that it is not only paper precision, but actual working precision in the terms of their duty there, has much to do with the spirit in which they accept the discomforts. It is not all the pleasant feature which I witnessed in the sounding of the retreat by one of these battalions when they were going through their ceremonies of lowering the flag at eventide. They know what they have to do and they are satisfied they are doing a good job, and doing it well.

Honolulu

At Honolulu we were also very graciously received and I was taken around by Admiral Stump on his boat to tour Pearl Harbor and have pointed out to me what happened on the morning of December 7, 1941, how it happened, and why it is that there are still the remains of no less than 1,000 American seamen in the Arizona on whose deck we were and where it was my privilege on behalf of all of us to deposit a wreath.

We then visited the aircraft carrier *Boxer* and were shown what a modern aircraft is and what it can do if ever it requires to be done. I believe all those men are prepared, and feel as we do that that state of preparedness and readiness may be sufficient to avoid the necessity of ever having to bring these planes into action.

It was with perhaps some increased confidence, that that state of preparedness and the high morale of our friends all over the world will bring about that happy condition, that I come back to my duties in this House

and invite you, Mr. Speaker, and my colleagues not to complacency, but to a feeling that what is being done at the present time is of sufficient value to make it worth while to continue doing it.

The Prime Minister's statement of March 25 follows:

Mr. Speaker, I find myself at this moment in a position where I have to ask your indulgence and that of the House for a few minutes to speak of at least one of the unfortunate results of my trip around the world that has been referred to in so generous terms by my colleague, the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Pearson). International affairs are of such importance that any imprecision or ambiguity in language used about any of their aspects is apt to have very unfortunate consequences, and I have to appear at this time before my colleagues in the position of a repentant offender asking the indulgence of his colleagues for his regrettable transgression on the basis of a humble confession of his error or mistake or lapse and on the basis of his genuine desire to clarify the situation and to dispel any of the anxieties or undesirable consequences resulting from the interpretation of too loose language he was unfortunate enough to use.

Statements About China

I am sorry that any of the things I am reported to have said in the East about China have given concern and caused controversy in this country. I am not going to attempt to say that I have been misquoted. I know that the gentlemen of the press who were there were honestly doing their best to report accurately and objectively the many questions in many forms that were put to me, sometimes with almost machine-gun rapidity, at press conferences or at the airfields as I alighted from the plane or was walking towards the plane to re-enter it. I am sure that they did attempt to reproduce what they understood me to have given as my answers and what they understood those answers to mean. I must and I do take the responsibility for any misinterpretation or misconstruction that could be put upon them because of their imprecision or their ambiguity.

There is one thing, however, about which I do feel quite sure that there was an inaccuracy. There was one report that I had said that I was sure we would have to recognize the present government of China as the government the people of China wanted. I feel quite sure I never would use those words intentionally because I never had that feeling about the present government of China. But I must have used some almost like them since so many of these reporters have come out with that as their version of what they heard and understood, that I felt we would have to be realistic and recognize the government of China "as the government the people wanted".

I should not have said "the government the people wanted". What I had in mind was that, in spite of our dislike of any form of Communist or totalitarian government, we could not expect to have to deal with the kind of government, representing the people on the other side, we would like them to have, the kind of government we would want them to have, but that we would have to deal with the government they had as a matter of fact the government that was in control of the forces that were participating in the happenings that were causing such tension and such anxiety in the international field. That is what I meant. That is what I should have said in words that could not be mistaken or interpreted in any other way because I think that with such a statement there would have been little or no concern and little, if any, controversy about it in this country or anywhere else.

Editorial Comment

I am not going to read to the house the many editorials that have been published, but I take one that appeared in the *Ottawa Journal* of March 12, 1954, which, in part at least, I think would be fairly representative of what was and would be the feeling of the public generally in that regard. The editorial is entitled "About Recognizing China". It reads in part as follows:

"A Tokyo dispatch now quotes Prime Minister St. Laurent as saying with respect to recognition of Communist China that "it is only the common sense, realistic approach that allied countries eventually deal with Communist China as the government in effective control of the China mainland.

"This is better, more sensible, than what Mr. St. Laurent was reported to have said earlier at Seoul, namely:

"I do feel that some day we are going to have to be realistic. We are going to have to admit the present government of China as the government the people want."

I feel quite sure, in spite of my respect for the journalists who were there and who were doing their best to report what they heard and what they understood, that I did not put it that way because I never had it in my mind in that form. It was the contrary form I had in my mind, that in spite of our dislike of Communist or totalitarian governments we could not expect to have the kind of government we wanted. It would be the kind of government — and I must have said this — that they wanted. I should not have said "they wanted". I should have said the kind of government they had actually in control of the

forces we are opposing. The article goes on to say — and I think everyone would agree with this:

"No country can ever know with certainty whether the government possessed by some other country is the government its people want. And the fact is that Canada now recognizes any number of countries without being at all sure that their government is what their people want. There is Russia, and Czechoslovakia, and Poland, and Spain; possibly others.

"What Canada does, and must be compelled to do, and what all other countries must be compelled to do sooner or later, just because it is the only sensible practicable way, is to recognize the government of a country which is in effective control — which exists in fact."

Broadest Sense

I would not go quite that far because I would now be very chary about using the word "recognition". It has for so many different people so many different connotations. There is what is sometimes called the concept of legal recognition. Others refer to it as diplomatic recognition. I think perhaps it is better to use some other word that cannot have so many significations. When I was using it I was using it in its broadest sense, that we just had to avoid closing our eyes and had to see, to recognize that the government that was in control, and with whom we had to deal if we expected to make any kind of arrangement that would be implemented, was the government that was in fact in control of the forces that we were opposing. But the article goes on to say:

"We must and should recognize the present government of China, not because we approve of it, not because we do not detest and condemn some of the crimes it has committed, but simply because of the inescapable fact that it is the only government there—the only government exercising authority. Such recognition need not come at this moment."

With that, I fully agree. I would even go so far as to say, instead of "need", we might well say "should" not some at this time. The editorial continues:

"—perhaps should not come while Red China remains an aggressor, nor until we see what emerges from Geneva. We must respect—certainly not flout—the opinion of our allies. But for Heaven's sake let us not take the impossible position that recognition of China cannot come while China has a Communist government—"

Then, the article goes on:

"It is a pity—"

I think it is a pity.

—that the question of Canada's "recognition" of China should have come up in the uncertain way of press conference statements. Mr. St. Laurent doubtless was asked the question in a dozen ways, and it is understandable that, in the east, he desired to indicate Canada's open-mindedness on

this vexed subject. But upon his return to Canada, Parliament should be given a clearer explanation, though the shadow of the Geneva conference will compel restraint."

Geneva Conference

Of course the shadow of the Geneva conference not only compels restraint but I think is going to be something more than a shadow. It is going to be something that will, to a certain degree, project light into the future. At the present time I was not expressing government policy, but I was expressing frankly my own feelings about it. I was really happy at having heard that there was going to be a Geneva conference at which the government which in fact controls the forces whose conduct have had such a disturbing effect on world peace would be represented and would be talking over the possibility of removing the uncertain conditions of this cease fire with two impregnable lines of soldiers opposite each other in Korea. Perhaps the conference would be able to do something about the situation which is of grave concern to the whole world, that is the fighting that is going on in Indo-China.

I had the distinct impression that most of the embarrassment felt by French leaders with respect to the European army was a consequence of the drain upon their human and material resources as a result of the fighting going on in Indo-China. I felt that these questions that were being thrown at me arose out of this invitation that had been extended by the four great powers to the representatives of the only government that exists on the mainland of China to come to this conference. The invitation was coupled, of course, with a rider that it is understood that neither the invitation to nor the holding of the above-mentioned conference shall be deemed to imply diplomatic recognition in any case in which it has not already been accorded. But it does constitute an admission that that is the government that is controlling the forces that we have been resisting; that is the government that can agree to and admit that we have demonstrated that aggression is not going to be allowed to be profitable and that they cannot impose their will upon the free world through aggression.

It may be that something more permanent than this cessation of firing across the no-man's-land between the two forces that are still there will come out of the Geneva conference. If that comes out of the Geneva conference, it may indicate that by negotiating with the same people other causes of world unrest and of uncertainty about the future can be eliminated. So long as that is the only government on the mainland of China, it is only through discussions with that government that any results can be achieved.

Now, when will there be sufficient results achieved to make it desirable to consider whether there should be what amounts to diplomatic recognition? That is something this government is not considering at this

time. When I say "at this time", I am not using evasive language. I am not trying to have my language just comply with the facts. I do not mean just at this moment. Under present conditions I do not see any reason why we should consider diplomatic recognition of China. But those conditions may change and I think it would be most unfortunate, just as the editor of the *Journal* feels it would be most unfortunate, to tie ourselves down by declarations and commitments that would make it impossible for us at any time to come to the conclusion that even the diplomatic recognition of China would not be helpful to peace and security in the world. We are not in that position at the present time, and when I said there was no consideration being given by the government to that kind of recognition at this time I did not mean, as I saw suggested in at least one newspaper, that it was just something that had not yet come officially before the cabinet as a cabinet. I meant that I was not thinking of it and I did not know of any of my colleagues who were thinking in terms of diplomatic recognition of China under present conditions.

Canadian Position

But I felt that none of us was thinking in terms that would make it impossible for us to make the right kind of a decision when, under changed circumstances, a decision had to be made. Of course, that decision would have to be made in such a manner as would not involve flouting the opinion of our allies. We have many allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and we have others whom we can, I think, regard as allies, on the United Nations. It would be something of world concern. I would hope the position taken by Canada would be a position that would be of benefit to the peace and stability of the whole world. We should not attempt to make decisions that do not have to be made. The position at this time is that we are not, under present conditions, contemplating diplomatic recognition of China. We have not, and I do not think we should say at this time or at any other time, that there may not be a situation in the future when a government we do not like, a government the complexion of which is quite contrary to all our democratic ideals, and a government which according to the information we have obtained by hearsay — of course we have to rely for our information on what we get by hearsay—seems to have been guilty of many

things that we would not condone, may nevertheless have to be recognized. There are other governments with whom we have at the present time diplomatic relations who, we think, have done things we could not condone. But they are the government of those lands and the only governments with whom any dealings in respect of their populations can be had.

I think we all hope that there will be, even between these apparently incompatible worlds, the free world and the world made up of countries with Communist regimes, some kind of a *modus vivendi* which will in fact allow us to live, and allow them to live. That would take place, without our interference, without our approval, without our responsibility, in any way in the lands we regard as unfortunate, because they are under such regimes. If we do not look upon that as possible, we then have to look upon this state of cold war as something of very long duration, with always the possibilities of its flaring up into something worse than a cold war.

Open Mind

Once again I am sorry that I was not more careful in the language I used, and that it was the kind of language that could give rise to this concern and to this controversy; but as far as policy is concerned, I was not speaking about policy. And now I do venture to say that the policy of the Canadian Government at the present time is to keep an open mind as to whether or not at any time, under any conditions which may develop in the future, there should be recognition of the government which at that time will exist as a matter of fact in China. That again is something that I should not have put in exactly that language. We should keep an open mind as to when if ever conditions may be such that it will be in the interest of peace and stability in the world to recognize diplomatically whatever government happens to be in control of the forces of China.

That I think is the preferable position; but in the meantime whenever there does appear to be an opportunity to remove some of the tension from the international situation by discussions, by meetings and by discussions like that which are called for April 26 in Geneva, I think it is only realistic to feel that the government which is in fact in control of affairs in China has to be there if there is going to be anything accomplished that will produce beneficial results.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

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| No. 54/11 — <i>The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project</i> , an address by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, delivered at Queen's University, Kingston, Ont., February 15, 1954. | No. 54/14 — <i>Mr. St. Laurent's Address to the Parliament of India</i> , an address by the Prime Minister of Canada to Members of the Parliament of India, February 23, 1954. |
| No. 54/12 — <i>Prime Minister's Radio Broadcast from Karachi</i> , an address by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, to the people of Pakistan, delivered by radio, on February 19, 1954. | No. 54/15 — An address by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, made at a Convocation of Delhi University, India, February 24, 1954. |
| No. 54/13 — <i>The North American Pattern for Peaceful Progress</i> , an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, to the Economic Club of New York, March 9, 1954. | No. 54/16 — <i>A Look at the New Look</i> , an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the National Press Club, Washington, D.C., March 15, 1954. |



CANADIAN-UNITED STATES JOINT DEFENCE

(Continued from page 129)

the United States Government is extending the early warning barrier across the north-eastern and north-western seaward approaches to North America. The Alaska radar system is co-ordinated with those in Canada and the continental United States, and the development of airborne radar is well advanced.

In addition to these measures of common concern, both countries are working continuously to improve the air defence installations in the vicinity of the major target areas. Here too, co-operation between the United States and Canadian air defence commanders is close, and unidentified aircraft are investigated by the most immediately available interceptor force, whether Canadian or American.

The defence of North America is part of the defence of the North Atlantic region to which both Canada and the United States are pledged as signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty. Thus, the co-operative arrangements for the defence of this continent and for the participation of Canadian and United States forces in the defence of Europe are simply two sides of the same coin, two parts of a world-wide objective, to preserve peace and to defend freedom.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

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UNESCO

Study Abroad 1953-1954 (Vol. VI) — International Handbook, Fellowships, Scholarships, Educational Exchange. (English-French-Spanish), Paris 1954. Pp. 710. \$2.00.

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Compilation of laws on the legal status of Aliens, South Africa. (Bibliographical Notes). Rome, December 1952. Pp. 113.

Compilation of laws on the legal status of Aliens — New Zealand. (Bibliographical Notes). Rome, November 1952, Pp. 50.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 4234 de la Roche, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Berlin in Retrospect

The Background of the Conference

Many hopes were raised when the Soviet Union announced last November 26, in its note to the three Western Powers, that it was ready to meet them at Berlin to examine "measures for the reduction of tension in international affairs . . . as well as . . . questions concerning security in Europe and the consequent resolution of the German problem." Since the death of Stalin and the end of the fighting in Korea there had been various indications that the new Soviet Government wished to establish more normal relations with the Western world. The question which had begun to excite Western curiosity was whether the Soviet Government was ready, not merely to mend its manners, but at last to consent to a reasonable settlement of some of the great issues which divided the world.

The issue which most preoccupied the Western Powers last summer was the future of Germany. The extraordinary economic revival of the German Federal Republic in recent years, and the proposal worked out in 1952 that it should be rearmed within a European Defence Community, showed Germany as preparing to take its place once again among the foremost nations of Europe. The wretchedness and discontent in the Soviet Zone, dramatically exposed by the riots last June, showed the continued division of Germany as a latent threat to peace. A German settlement was obviously overdue.

GENEVA CONFERENCE

Before leaving for Geneva to attend the conference on Korea and Indo-China, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, was interviewed on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on his views of the conference. The text of the interview, which was conducted by Robert Reford, is published on page 162.

Soviet obduracy having made a general settlement impossible, the Western Powers had at least tried to achieve a partial settlement, by the gradual integration of the two-thirds of Germany under their control into the Western European community. The steady revival of German strength, however, had not proceeded without awakening familiar anxieties in various quarters, in Western as well as in Eastern Europe. In France, from which so much of the impetus towards Western European integration had come originally, an important resistance developed to the next step in that integration, the ratification of the EDC Treaty, which would have given the signal for German rearmament. To the anti-EDC forces in France and elsewhere the apparently conciliatory attitude of the new Soviet régime gave great encouragement, because of course the classical response in Western Europe to a threat from Germany, whether real or imaginary, has always been a rapprochement with Russia. It became essential for the Western Powers, therefore, if they were to renew their drive towards EDC ratification, to find the answer to this question: did the changed Soviet attitude indicate a real desire to reach a German settlement, as the anti-EDC forces pretended, or had it been adopted merely to cause confusion in the West and delay the EDC?

Another issue which caused the Western Powers concern last summer was the long-blocked Austrian state treaty. Austria, occupied by the Nazis in 1938, had been Hitler's first victim. The Allies, by their Moscow Declaration in 1943, had promised to re-establish it as a free and independent state. Yet ten years later Allied occupation forces remained in Austria, while the Soviet Government seemed ready to obstruct the drafting of a state treaty indefinitely. Or, did the new Soviet attitude mean that an Austrian settlement, too, was at last within reach?

The Exchange of Notes in 1953

Such were the questions which had prompted the Western Powers, in their note of July 15, 1953, to suggest to the Soviet Union that a four-Power meeting might usefully be held. The hopes then raised, however, and raised still higher by the Soviet acceptance of the invitation late in November, could not really sustain anyone who read with any care the whole series of notes exchanged between July and December.

In the first place, ignoring the priority which the Western Powers wished to accord to these specific issues, the Soviet notes repeatedly demanded an examination of measures to lessen tension the world over. Some of the measures it had in mind were listed in its note of September 28: recognition of Communist China, settlements in Korea and Indo-China, reduction of armaments, and an examination of what was described as "a rise in the influence of revenge-seeking elements in Germany," the establishment of military bases "by certain powers" near the frontiers of the Soviet Union, and "war propaganda by responsible official circles of certain states." The Soviet Union was evidently prepared to discuss a German settlement only after these points had been thoroughly exploited, in an effort to divide the United Kingdom from the United States over China, and France from the United States over Germany.

Secondly, although the Soviet notes eventually, and rather grudgingly conceded that a German settlement could be discussed at Berlin, they attacked as vigorously as ever the Western view that such a settlement could only be worked out with an all-German Government issuing from free, internationally-supervised all-German elections. Evidence that the Soviet Government had not really altered its German policy since Stalin's death was given by its note of August 15, which was closely modelled on its note of March 10, 1952. According to these notes, the first step would be to form an all-German Government out of the existing East and West German Governments. This Government would then supervise all-German elections and represent Germany at the peace negotiations.

Finally, as far as an Austrian settlement was concerned, various Soviet notes implied that this was dependent upon a satisfactory German settlement being reached beforehand.

Concessions Made

It is important to remember that, faced with these difficulties raised by the Soviet Union, the Western Powers demonstrated the sincerity of their wish to hold a four-Power conference by making important concessions where there were possible. Thus they agreed, in their note of October 18, to discuss the security problem insofar as Europe was concerned, and, in their note of December 8, to explore the possibility of a five-Power meeting including Communist China.

No concessions could be made, however, over free elections in Germany, or on Austria's right to an independent settlement. There were principles at stake here which the Western Powers felt they could not abandon, if democratic principles were ever to be held in proper respect, and in that decision they had the whole-hearted approval of all non-Communist parties in the Federal Republic and in Austria. Consequently, by the time the Berlin Conference opened it was almost certain that hopes for the long-delayed German and Austrian settlements would be dashed once more.

The Conference Opens

When Mr. John Foster Dulles for the United States, Mr. Anthony Eden for the United Kingdom and Mr. Georges Bidault for France met Mr. Vyacheslav Molotov for the Soviet Union in Berlin on Monday, January 25, 1954, it was the first time that the Foreign Ministers of these four Great Powers had met since 1949. This in itself made their meeting a notable one. Their opening speeches, and discussion on their agenda, revealed that it would be notable for two other features: courtesy, and business-like procedure. Mr. Molotov, speaking with the moderation typical of the new Soviet diplomacy, proposed the following agenda:

- I. Methods of reducing international tension and convening a five-Power conference;
- II. Germany, and the problems of ensuring European security;
- III. The Austrian state treaty.

The Western Ministers decided that, in order to get the conference down to business as soon as possible, they could afford yet another concession. They therefore accepted Mr. Molotov's agenda, perhaps rather to his surprise, on the second day.

Item I: Five-Power Conference

Mr. Dulles led off for the West when this item was first taken up on January 27. In doing so he went far to reconcile United States views with those shared by the United Kingdom and France. His Government, he said, would never accept Communist China as a member of any sort of five-Power directorate with competence to discuss world problems of every kind. Nevertheless he let it be understood that he would be prepared, under certain conditions, to agree to a five-Power conference dealing with specific questions in which China had a direct interest: Korea, for example, and perhaps Indo-China. By taking this line Mr. Dulles made an important contribution to the maintenance of Western unity throughout the rest of the time at Berlin.

Mr. Molotov at first held out for a five-Power conference with a wide agenda, yet intimated that he might eventually settle for one even with a restricted agenda. At the same time he captured the headlines for a day with a proposal on January 28 that a world disarmament conference be held in 1954, to deal also with the question of atomic weapons. On the following day Mr. Bidault tabled a counter-proposal that disarmament be referred to the United Nations, and suggested that the questions both of disarmament and a five-Power conference might well be pursued in restricted sessions. This suggestion was accepted. During six restricted sessions between February 8 and 18 agreements were reached to hold a meeting on Korea and Indo-China at Geneva on



WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES AT CONFERENCE

The three Western foreign ministers, Mr. Georges Bidault (France); Mr. John Foster Dulles, (the United States); and Mr. Anthony Eden, (the United Kingdom), at the residence of the United States High Commissioner to Germany, Mr. James B. Conant, for the preliminary meeting between the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom and the United States.

April 26, to which Communist China and other interested states would be invited, and to exchange views on disarmament.

Item II: Germany, and European Security

Mr. Eden and Mr. Bidault between them handled most of the Western case after this item was reached on January 29: Mr. Eden took the lead in expounding the Western views on the German settlement, Mr. Bidault in defending the role of the EDC and NATO in the European security system.

As soon as the debate on Item II began Mr. Molotov, in line with Soviet policy, called for the participation of the East and West German Governments. This suggestion was promptly vetoed by his Western colleagues for obvious reasons. Had the totally unrepresentative Soviet Zone Government, whose political bankruptcy had been clearly established by the June riots, been given the right to participate in the discussion of the German settlement at this stage, it would have been difficult later on to resist its claim to participate in an all-German Government.

The Eden Plan

Mr. Eden then tabled what became known as the Eden plan for German reunification, although in fact it had been carefully worked out in advance by

the three Western Powers, and then agreed upon after consultation with the Federal Republic. The plan was in five parts:

- I. Free and secret elections throughout Germany under international supervision;
- II. The convocation of a National Assembly;
- III. The drafting of a constitution, and preparation of peace treaty negotiations;
- IV. The adoption of the constitution, and formation of an all-German Government responsible for peace treaty negotiations;
- V. The signature and entry into force of the peace treaty.

Mr. Molotov on the following day, January 30, began by conceding that the East and West German Governments need not participate in their discussions. He then criticized the Eden plan on two grounds: it showed distrust of the Germans by calling for foreign supervision of their elections; and the German Government which emerged from the elections would not be free, because it would be bound by the engagements taken by the West German Government under the EDC Treaty.

Mr. Molotov's second criticism of the Eden plan became one of the crucial points of the whole discussion on Germany. The Western Ministers took considerable pains to convince him that an all-German Government, issuing from all-German elections, would be free to accept or reject any EDC engagement previously undertaken by the West German Government. Juridically this was fairly obvious. From the political point of view, however, it was a most courageous line for the Western Ministers to take. All three of them desired to see France ratify the EDC, yet here they gave the anti-EDC forces in France the chance to say that while the French were being asked to commit themselves to a treaty for fifty years, the Germans would be able to back out of it if they wished whenever their country was reunified. Their gesture was vain, nevertheless, because Mr. Molotov refused to understand what they meant. Knowing that his case against the Eden plan was weak he used any reasoning, however specious, to link it up with the EDC, where he felt himself on surer grounds because he could appeal to anti-EDC sentiment both in Germany and in France.

The discussions on both parts of Item II, Germany and European security, became intertwined as soon as it was seen that Mr. Molotov was going to persist in linking the two problems in this way. For easier understanding it would seem better to deal first with the part of the discussion more directly affecting Germany, and then turn to the part which related more to the whole problem of security.

The Molotov Plan

Mr. Molotov, having criticized the Eden plan for Germany, produced one of his own, in three sections. First of all he sketched out his idea of a peace treaty. Pursuing his theme that the Western Powers were trying to draw Germany into a military bloc directed against the Soviet Union, on February 1 he re-submitted the Soviet draft peace treaty of March 10, 1952. The main provisions of this proposal had been that the occupation of Germany should end within a year, all foreign military bases should be liquidated, Germany

should pledge itself not to join any military alliances, but it should have its own armed forces. Mr. Molotov now added three minor amendments: it was specifically stated that no obligations of West or East Germany should be imposed on reunited Germany, its postwar debts to the four Powers should be waived, and its armed forces should be limited to meet tasks of internal order and local defence.

Secondly, Mr. Molotov dealt with the preparation of such a peace treaty. He tabled a proposal, also on February 1, that the Foreign Ministers' Deputies should be instructed to draft a peace treaty within three months along the lines he had suggested. All the Allies could present their views. The Germans would participate at all stages, first of all through the existing East and West German Governments, then through the all-German Government when formed. A peace conference to consider the draft treaty should meet within six months.

The third section of Mr. Molotov's plan for Germany, concerning the formation of an all-German Government, was the last to appear. On February 4 he tabled a proposal that a provisional all-German Government should be formed out of the East and West German Governments "with a wide participation of democratic organizations". This provisional Government would draft an electoral law "with the participation of all the democratic organizations", supervise the ensuing elections "without any interference on the part of foreign countries," and represent Germany in the peace treaty negotiations. The most revealing passage of all was one setting the provisional Government the task of "ensuring the free activities of democratic parties . . . and banning the existence of fascist, militarist and other organizations hostile to democracy". The Soviet Government has always described the one party it permits to function in the Soviet Zone as "democratic", and characterized all the leading parties in the Federal Republic as "fascist, militarist, etc."

Soviet Objectives

Behind these elaborate Soviet proposals could be seen two principal objectives, one unavowed and the other openly admitted. The unavowed objective was to retain Soviet control, or at least a large measure of Soviet influence over the all-German Government, initially through the participation of the Communist Government in the Soviet Zone, later by pressure from Communist-front organizations throughout Germany. The openly avowed objective was to forbid Germany to contract any alliance with the West, to keep it neutral even although it would have to be allowed to rearm in its own defence. The Western Ministers were not slow to unmask the first, and to attack both of these objectives. With the simple, democratic Eden plan at their disposal they made short work of the complicated flummery of the Soviet proposals regarding all-German elections and formation of an all-German provisional Government.

The proposal to neutralize Germany, however, has a certain factitious appeal which made it more difficult to refute. For years many people have been attracted by the idea of a broad neutral belt running down the heart of Europe from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, from Sweden to Yugoslavia, keeping the Western Powers and the Soviet Union at a safe distance from each other in Europe at least. Yet a neutral Germany would obviously have to be allowed armed forces for its defence, and if these forces were to be adequate they would have to be large. The eventual result would undoubtedly be a German national army larger than the contingent it is expected to supply to the EDC. There

might be restrictive provisions in the peace treaty, but as Germany's armed strength pressed against the treaty limits its relations with the Great Powers would deteriorate. The situation would revert to that of the 1930's, with Germany once more protesting the iniquity of the new Versailles, and playing East off against West in search of support strong enough to free it of treaty restrictions. The Western Ministers based their attack on Mr. Molotov's proposal of a neutral Germany on these considerations. Mr. Bidault, particularly, referred again and again to the unhappy precedent of Versailles. If a similar treaty were now to be imposed on Germany, he declared on February 2, "life in Europe would be poisoned and peace would not be assured."

Just as Mr. Molotov had criticized the Eden plan because he linked it with the EDC, so he defended his own plan for Germany on the grounds that it offered an alternative to the EDC. On February 3 he went so far as to suggest that an all-German referendum be held to determine whether the Germans would prefer the EDC or a peace treaty. Mr. Bidault at once replied that such a question was misleading and the conditions under which it would be put in the Soviet Zone were open to grave doubts. The correct course would be freely to elect an all-German Government, which then could resort to a referendum if it so desired.

Sensing that he was losing ground with his proposals on Germany—the West German Government and press strongly supported the Eden plan—Mr. Molotov tried to dress them up with a few economic concessions. His draft treaty had already released Germany from payment of its postwar debts. To this he added, in a proposal tabled on February 6, a release from payment of reparations in any form, and a limitation on future occupation costs to five per cent of the national budget. The Western Ministers found it comparatively easy to parry this proposal for future benefits by a factual account of the Western help already given to the Federal Republic, and by contrasting the Republic's present prosperity with the scarcity and misery so obvious in the Soviet Zone.

Soviet Draft Treaty on Security

By February 9 discussion on Item II of the agenda was becoming repetitive. That the Soviet Government was not prepared to reach a reasonable settlement on Germany was entirely clear, not only to the Western delegations at Berlin, who had suspected all along that it would be so, but to all the peoples of Western Europe. But when the Western Ministers attempted to end the discussion on Item II, Mr. Molotov merely switched his attention from German reunification to European security. On the following day, February 10, he tabled a draft treaty on collective security in Europe. This treaty was to be open to all European states, who were to undertake not to attack each other, and to help each other in case of attack. The United States and Communist China, "as permanent members of the United Nations Security Council", were to be invited to send observers to the consultative bodies set up under the treaty.

This Soviet security proposal was not impressive, and the Western Ministers quickly demolished it on February 10 and 15. Mr. Dulles commented that it was evidently intended to replace NATO. Mr. Eden described it as a kind of Monroe Doctrine for Europe, which would break up NATO while allowing the Soviet Union to retain its own satellite system intact. Both he and Mr. Bidault declared that their countries attached great importance to the presence



BERLIN CONFERENCE

Foreign Minister Molotov, followed by his deputy, Mr. Gromyko, enters the Allied Control Authority building for the first session of the conference.

of United States troops in Western Europe. When repeatedly challenged by Mr. Bidault, Mr. Molotov refused to say whether or not his draft security treaty was compatible with the North Atlantic Treaty, from which his Western Colleagues naturally concluded that it was not compatible. So few are the people in Western Europe who would prefer the Soviet Union rather than the United States to guarantee their security that Mr. Molotov can hardly have expected much support for his proposal.

EDC the Target

Summing up the discussion on Item II at Berlin, it can be seen that the Soviet delegation's main target was the EDC. By accusing the Eden plan of binding Germany to it, by proposing German neutrality as an alternative, and by offering a Soviet security treaty as a complete substitute, Mr. Molotov did almost everything he could to wreck it. Almost, but not quite. Significantly enough there was one thing he did not do: he did not offer to accept the Eden plan in return for German neutrality. Had he done so, the Western Powers would have found it difficult to refuse. Germany would have been reunified, and in circumstances that would have disposed it well towards the West, but the EDC would have been shattered before coming into being. That Mr. Molotov never made this offer at Berlin seems to prove one fact: the Soviet determination to retain control of their territorial gains in Eastern Europe at this time is even stronger than their detestation of the EDC.

On the day before the conference ended, on February 17, there was another discussion on Item II. To a certain extent Mr. Molotov regained the initiative by two proposals for a limited settlement: that agreement be sought on the size of the West and East German police forces, and that two all-German committees be formed, one to improve economic relations between the two areas, the other to develop cultural relations. Mr. Eden admitted that the Western Powers had themselves been thinking of some kind of limited settlement, and he and Mr. Dulles agreed that the Soviet proposals called for serious study. The day following, the last day of the conference, they suggested that the four High Commissioners in Germany should undertake this further study, and that is where the discussion of Item II ended.

Item III: The Austrian State Treaty

The leading advocate of the Western case for an Austrian settlement was Dr. Leopold Figl, the Austrian Foreign Minister, who attended the sessions devoted to this question from February 12 to 18. He opened his case with an eloquent plea for the completion of the Austrian state treaty, which had been under negotiation since 1946, and of which all but a few articles had already been agreed. The Western Ministers expressed their full approval. Mr. Molotov then declared that the treaty must establish Austria's neutrality, especially against the possibility of a new *anschluss* with Germany. Only a German treaty on the lines he had proposed could preserve Austria's independence. Although an Austrian treaty could be signed, and occupation troops withdrawn from Vienna, they must remain in Austria until the German treaty had been concluded.

Mr. Molotov's speech at the first session on Austria set out the Soviet position for the rest of the conference. At the session the following day, February 13, Dr. Figl reminded Mr. Molotov in vain that Article 4 of the draft treaty specifically precluded political or economic union with Germany. Mr. Dulles pointed out that as the Soviet Union was blocking an acceptable German settlement, the Soviet proposals would mean the indefinite occupation of Austria. He suggested that the Soviet Union feared to withdraw from Austria because this would require it to withdraw its armies from Hungary and Roumania. Mr. Bidault remarked that the new Soviet proposal for Austria's neutrality was unsuitable for inclusion in a treaty intended to re-establish an independent state. Mr. Eden concurred. Dr. Figl intervened with a brief assurance that Austria would not enter into any military alliance and the Western Ministers then attempted in vain to persuade Mr. Molotov to discuss the unagreed articles of the draft treaty. Even when they expressed their readiness to accept the Soviet version of all these articles, Mr. Molotov remained quite unmoved.

The discussion was continued on February 14 without any progress being made. On February 16, after listening to renewed pleas from Dr. Figl and Mr. Eden for an Austrian treaty Mr. Molotov narrowed down his conditions to two amendments of the draft: he proposed a new Article 4 *bis*, neutralizing Austria, and an amendment to Article 33, to permit the occupation of Austria to continue until a German peace treaty had been signed. The Western Ministers repeated their reasons for rejecting these amendments. Mr. Bidault warned that the linking of the Austrian and German problems as Mr. Molotov proposed would in fact increase the danger of another *anschluss*. Dr. Figl joined the Western Ministers in rejecting the amendment to Article 33 emphatically.

At the final session of the conference, on the afternoon of Thursday, February 18, Dr. Figl made a last attempt to secure an Austrian settlement by offering to extend the period of occupation under Article 33 up to June 30, 1955 at the latest. Mr. Molotov replied that this did not go far enough. An Austrian treaty was not an immediate possibility, he concluded, but negotiations should continue. In view of this situation the three Western Foreign Ministers then made it clear that any concessions on Austria they had offered to make at the conference to achieve a settlement must be considered as withdrawn.

From the remorseless way in which Mr. Molotov posed new conditions for an Austrian settlement as soon as all his previous conditions had been met on February 13, it was quite obvious that the Soviet Union was as determined to hold on to its advanced positions in Austria as in Germany.

Conclusion

The agreements to hold a meeting on Korea and Indo-China at Geneva on April 26, and to exchange views on disarmament, were the only achievements which the final communiqué was able to announce. The Foreign Ministers were obliged to admit their failure to agree on the German and Austrian questions, to which the three Western Ministers had attached such importance, and on the problems of European security, which had so greatly concerned their Soviet colleague. While the Berlin Conference, therefore, made some progress on procedure, it made none on substance.

Nevertheless, the participants could disperse in a mood of qualified satisfaction. For Mr. Molotov it was something that agreement to meet Communist China at Geneva had been secured. Also, with East-West talks continuing at Geneva he undoubtedly could look forward to further opportunities to divide the West and delay a final decision on the EDC.

Two good reasons why the Western Ministers, for their part, could be satisfied with their work at Berlin were given recently by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson. Speaking in the House of Commons on March 25 he declared:

One of the foreign policy objectives of the Soviet Union has been to split the European allies, and indeed other allies, from the United States of America; to crack the solid structure of western unity. Mr. Molotov at Berlin made it abundantly clear that this was certainly one of his principal aims. But we can all take satisfaction out of the fact that he failed in achieving his aim. Indeed, the Russian tactics served to strengthen, I think, the unified approach of the Western delegation to international problems. The teamwork and the tactics of the Western foreign ministers at Berlin, which were I think admirable in all respects, had quite possibly increased the sense of common purpose in the peoples of the free world. A stronger Atlantic community spirit might, I think, be listed as a positive achievement of that conference.

The attitude adopted by the Soviet delegation, their refusal to agree to the unification of Germany with free elections or the peace treaty with Austria, has also served to remove—if we still had them—any lingering illusions about Soviet policy. I suppose this also can be listed as a positive achievement of the conference. It is a melancholy fact, but a fact nonetheless, that in the world in which we live we must count as a step forward the removal or reduction of false hopes, because false hopes can be dangerous. Clearing the ground of illusions and facing the situation as it is makes, I think, more likely the formulation, and eventually the realization, of sound hopes and attainable visions of secure peace.

A Canadian Abroad

By KATHLEEN BROWN

Clerks, stenographers and other administrative assistants form an integral part of Canada's foreign service. Their assignments abroad involve long hours of duty, often under difficult conditions. But "extra curricular" compensations for those who enjoy travel and sight-seeing in distant and exotic lands are plentiful. The following article reports off-duty observations in the U.S.S.R. and India of an External Affairs secretarial assistant. Illustrations are reproduced from snapshots by the author.

"Ay, now am I in Arden; the more fool I. When I was at home I was in a better place; but travellers must be content". Stay-at-home friends often envy us "such an interesting life", as they usually put it, but most of us in our distant Ardens have at times echoed Touchstone's cry with heartfelt sympathy. On balance, however, the urge for travel grows rather than diminishes, whether it stem from an interest in politics or people, a desire to study at first hand older civilizations than our own, or simply a yearning to tread the far places of the earth; probably few would deliberately abandon a life so full of opportunity.

Seven years as a secretarial assistant in the Canadian foreign service have taken me to two posts of absorbing interest—Moscow and New Delhi. Looking back, it is difficult to say which holds pride of place in my memories.

Moscow Bound

In the spring of 1947 I set out for Moscow. The decision once made, I was gripped with a sense of adventure but also with a feeling of inadequate mental preparedness. There drifted through my mind memories of *Anna Karenina* and *War and Peace*, read and loved years ago; *The Three Sisters* at the Royal Alexander theatre in Toronto; Pavlova on the English stage; the Don Cossacks in Ottawa, and the voice of Chaliapin. These formed the slightest acquaintance with Imperial Russia, and none at all with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The eight-day voyage from London to Leningrad on board the Russian ship "Sestoretsk" was my first actual contact with the Soviet Union. The ports of call clearly defined our progress from west to east; from the carefree gaiety and colour of Stockholm, to the austerity and soberly dressed crowds of post-war Helsinki; finally, the Gulf of Leningrad and, still far off, the low-lying shores of Russia.

At the outset, I should make clear that I am *not* concerned here with politics, and am writing only about the people and things we came in contact with in every-day life. It will be obvious too that I am presenting only one side of the picture. That there is another side goes without saying, but it is this one—warm and vibrant—that remains uppermost long after Moscow is but a memory.

An old Russian proverb says that "Petersburg is the head: Moscow is the heart", and it is in Moscow that you are at the heart of Russia old and new, able to glance back into the Tsarist past and at the same time to feel the pulse of the Soviet present. The modern hotels, stores, and apartment blocks, the splendidly wide streets and vast squares seemed to me symbolic of the immensity of Russia itself—the endless *steppe*, the great forests, the wide, slow-flowing majestic rivers. The Muscovites are proud of their modern city, but the Kremlin



—K. Brown

STAFF LIVING QUARTERS, MOSCOW

remains the pivot, as it has been for eight hundred years. Above its crenellated walls, sharply etched in the cold winter sunshine, softened and glowing in the snow, shine the dull gold domes of the Uspensky and Blagovechensky cathedrals. Across the immense distance of the Red Square, past Lenin's black and red marble mausoleum, stands the cathedral of St. Basil, its many onion-shaped domes giving it the appearance of an illustration of a fairy tale rather than reality.

Immediate Impressions

The physical aspects of the Moscow scene have been described too often for repetition here, but certain other features struck me almost immediately. First, perhaps, a refreshing absence of advertising, although large official posters exhorted people to save, buy State bonds, or drink Caucasian wines. Bookstores abounded and were always crowded. Books of all kinds—Russian classics and modern Soviet novels, histories, technical books—were fairly cheap, and new editions, particularly of such favourite authors as Tolstoy, Turgenev, and Pushkin, were often snapped up over-night. The thirst for knowledge is a striking characteristic of the post-revolutionary generation. On the Metro, on buses, in parks, people old and young, peasant women in head-shawls, padded jackets and felt boots, were reading avidly with an air of complete

absorption. There were no pulp magazine, comic strips, or sensational news digests to distract their attention; neither did the newspapers report crime, accidents, incidence of disease, or run a social column. I was also impressed by the love and care universally lavished on children. Youngsters played contentedly outdoors in the severest weather, tenderly watched by a serene old "babushka" who would sit by the hour apparently impervious to the cold. Only once did I see a child in tears, and never heard one spoken to in irritation or anger.

In 1947 life was hard, particularly for the women: long hours at work, home and children to tend, and endless queuing for food, perhaps from before daylight until a store opened its doors at eleven. But the tremendous surge of vitality, pride in achievement and progress, and zest for life could not fail to communicate itself to the least sensitive observer. It was impossible not to sense the vast potentialities of the common Russian people—inexhaustible reserves of kindness, humour, patience, the indestructible courage of the Cockney and the Chinese; and above all, the virility expressed in folk dance and song, in their voices, and in the swelling harmonies of their sacred music.

One of the chief advantages of a posting to Moscow is the opportunity to study Russian and Soviet culture at first hand, and this in itself is an inducement to learn the language. The struggle with grammar and laborious plodding through a play were rewarded ten-fold by a visit to the theatre. The perfect diction and acoustics invariably gave me the gratifying illusion of having understood every word, instead of perhaps the odd sentence here and there! The realism of the drama has to be seen to be believed, and the impact of Tolstoy's *Resurrection* or Gorki's *Lower Depths*, to mention only two productions at the Moscow Art Theatre, leaves an indelible impression. Needless to say, the Russian ballet exceeded all expectations, and to have seen prima ballerina Ulanova's fragile grace and dedicated art is to have glimpsed a peak of human perfection.

The Canadian Embassy

The Canadian Embassy, once the home of a wealthy merchant, is hidden away on a cobbled side-street mentioned in Tolstoy's novels. In a smaller house behind the main building a self-contained apartment, tastefully furnished by the Canadian Government, was set aside for the three junior staff members. Despite frustrations which at times made us feel that home was indeed a better place than this particular Arden, our apartment with its Canadian atmosphere was the envy of our friends, particularly the kitchen, which was equipped with everything from potato peelers to waffle iron and Mixmaster. Such a home was well worth the time devoted to household chores, inventories, the ordering, stock-taking and self-imposed rationing of imported food supplies. (At that time severe rationing in the Soviet Union necessitated importing most of our needs from Canada. Our annual order included not only all kinds of canned foods by the case, but also soap, cleaning materials, flashlight batteries, spare parts for coffee percolators, and even matches. In addition, each of us came equipped with a two-year supply of clothing and miscellaneous items ranging from cosmetics to shoe-leather.)

Nervous wear and tear, as well as time, was also spent in settling kitchen crises which were apt to loom up unexpectedly. One morning shortly after taking over from my predecessor as "housekeeper", our two servants appeared at the office and, through the translatress, intimated that they needed more food to cook with (imported supplies were running low), more money for local



COUNTRY MARKET AT DMITRI, NEAR MOSCOW

—K. Brown

shopping, and would be happier if at least one of us could speak some Russian! The first two complaints were more easily remedied than the third, but promises pacified them for the time being. It was weeks, however, before Zina's dramatic "Mees Brown!" ceased to fill me with premonition; such an ominous prelude could portend anything from a threat of resignation to an innocuous request for soap. But what pride they took in "their kitchen", and how eager they were to learn. And how gently Antonina corrected our halting Russian, speaking to us as if to her children, carefully choosing simple words. Nor was our general education to be neglected. We soon found, for instance, that "Kultur" had various connotations, and our partiality for jacket potatoes was for some reason considered in the kitchen as *ochen nye kulturni* (very uncultured)

Social Contacts Limited

Although social contacts were limited and language a barrier, we found people eager to be friendly and desirous that as foreigners we should be given the best—whether hotel accommodation, train reservations or seats in the theatre. Sometimes, however, this proved costly! A visit to the director of the "ice cream parlour" on Gorki Street with a written request for plain ice cream, produced a veritable raft of *plombir* (the very best) heavily laden with ornate decoration and safely anchored on dry ice. The cost—one hundred roubles (approximately \$12.50 at the then rate of exchange)—rather startled us, but we had neither the courage nor the Russian to amend or cancel our request, so retreated with our precious package resolved to manufacture our own henceforth. Later on, delicious ice cream was sold freely on the streets, and even in the depth of winter it was difficult to resist the cries of the well-padded white-coated vendors—*Komy moroshny—tri rubli?* ("Who wants ice cream—three roubles?")

Opportunities for sport were few, but there were more than enough other activities to fill our leisure hours, and no lack of social life within the foreign community. In fact, invitations to cocktails, dinner or theatre parties tended to become a vicious circle from which there was no escape. On the other hand, the extreme sociability was probably a necessary and even stimulating antidote to a too ruthless pursuit of "Kultur".

Despite restrictions on travel, we were able to wander freely about the city and visit in the environs the monasteries and old country houses of the former aristocracy, now largely preserved as museums depicting the way of life of the feudal land-owners. Further afield were places of historical interest, such as the monastery town of Zagorsk and the country homes of Tolstoy, Lenin, and Tschaikowsky, which might be visited after first notifying the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After a long city-bound winter, it was unalloyed pleasure to drive through the undulating countryside with its unfenced fields and wide horizons, which had a special appeal for us as Canadians. Here and there the bulbous gold or blue dome of a church, surmounted by a delicately-wrought iron cross, broke the even line of the horizon, or its white-washed walls stood out against a backdrop of dark pine and silver birch.

Holidays in Georgia

A short holiday to Georgia with three members of the British Embassy gave a fleeting picture of the country to the south and impressed us once more with the immensity of the Soviet Union, of which we were seeing only a corner. On the three-day journey by train we travelled "soft" (intermediate) class, and prepared and ate our meals in the four-berth compartment under the interested gaze of the two women conductors, who were intrigued by the assortment of strange labels and the contents of the cans. They kindly volunteered to wash our dishes, a chore which we had been attempting rather unsuccessfully (and certainly unhygienically) in the small and much-frequented general washroom. The escape from the greyness of snow-bound Moscow into the warm sun and balmy air, and the first sight of cherry and almond blossom in the sheltered southern valleys filled us with a wonderful sense of lightness and release. The return journey by air from Tbilisi afforded a magnificent view of the Caucasian mountains; like the Himalayas, they have a grandeur and untamed beauty which is missing in the European Alps and even in our own Rockies.

My first impression of the Soviet Union in 1947 was of bullet-marked buildings in Leningrad; the last—as the train drew slowly across the Soviet-Polish border in 1949—of sturdy women toiling under a hot sun among the steel girders of a new bridge. As people will everywhere, they looked up for a moment to gaze after the passing train. Who could guess their thoughts? Mine were sad, for the door had closed on two unforgettable years.

Before returning to Canada, however, I was to spend a month in Geneva where, with a member of the staff from our Embassy in Belgrade, I worked for the Canadian delegation to ILO. Although on duty, it was impossible not to succumb to the overpowering sense of luxury and light-hearted air of Switzerland in perfect June weather, an atmosphere to which we who had become accustomed to plainer living were more than normally susceptible.

There is a special joy about homecoming after a long absence. Sailing up the St. Lawrence, its shores seemed to draw even closer as if in welcome. On the way out west on home leave a line of Edna St. Vincent Millay kept re-echoing through my mind—"Oh world, I cannot get thee close enough!" . . . At this juncture, we whose homes are on the Pacific Coast may be the envy of those living within a street-car ride of the East Block, but the tables are turned when the Westerner reports back to Ottawa and is faced with the recurring problem of finding shelter—one of the drawbacks of a nomadic life.

(The second instalment of Miss Brown's article will be published in the June issue of "External Affairs".)

Canada and the United Nations

Disarmament Commission

On April 3, 1954, the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States requested that the Disarmament Commission be reconvened at an early date in order to pursue its work in accordance with the General Assembly resolution on disarmament of November 28, 1953. In this resolution the Assembly had suggested that the Disarmament Commission "study the desirability of establishing a sub-committee consisting of representatives of the Powers principally involved, which should seek in private an acceptable solution and report to the Disarmament Commission as soon as possible, in order that the Commission may study and report on such a solution to the General Assembly and to the Security Council not later than September 1, 1954". At its third meeting, held on April 19, the Commission approved a proposal put forward by the United Kingdom to establish a sub-committee composed of representatives of France, the United Kingdom, the United States, the U.S.S.R. and Canada, which would hold private talks and report to the Disarmament Commission not later than July 15 next. The vote was 9 in favour, 1 against (U.S.S.R.) and 2 abstentions (China and Lebanon). The Soviet Union had proposed that Communist China, Czechoslovakia and India should also be members of the sub-committee but this counter-proposal was rejected by a vote of 1 in favour (U.S.S.R.) 10 against and 1 abstention (Lebanon).

The Commission on Human Rights

The tenth session of the Commission on Human Rights, a subsidiary body of the Economic and Social Council, was held at United Nations Headquarters in New York from February 23 to April 16. The chairman of the session was M. Mahmoud Azmi of Egypt and M. René Cassin of France was vice-chairman. During the course of the session the Commission passed an important milestone in its work by completing the two international draft covenants on human rights which have been under consideration for five years. One of the draft covenants is on civil and political rights and the other on economic, social and cultural rights.

The completed draft covenants will next be considered by the Economic and Social Council and then, if the Council agrees, by the General Assembly. Among the substantive articles, measures of implementation and final clauses added to the covenants during this session was an important draft article concerning the position of federal states in relation to the draft covenants. This was adopted by the Commission after a lengthy debate on three proposed draft articles on the subject. A draft article sponsored by Australia and India was designed to enable federal states to sign the covenants without assuming any obligation outside the jurisdiction of their national parliaments, but the Commission eventually adopted on March 26, by a vote of 8 to 7 with 3 abstentions (China, Pakistan and the United States), a Soviet draft article that would extend the provisions of the human rights covenants to all parts of federal states "without any limitations or exceptions." (In a recent statement on the draft covenants, published as United Nations document No. E/CN.4/694/Add.6, the Canadian Government stated that "in the absence of a satisfactory Federal



PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Permanent Representatives to the United Nations, Mr. Leslie Knox Munro (New Zealand); Mr. David M. Johnson (Canada); and Mr. Oscar Thorsing (Sweden), outside the Security Council chamber, before the meeting of the Disarmament Commission held in April, 1954.

State clause, Canada could not become a party to the covenants due to the nature of its constitution which divides legislative power concerning human rights between the national parliament and the provincial legislatures"). Before the final vote on the Federal State article the Commission decided to leave to the General Assembly the decision as to whether to include a reservations clause in the covenants.

The Commission passed a number of resolutions arising out of the report of the sixth session of the Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and voted to defer until its next session consideration of three United States proposals for a human rights action programme. In addition the Commission held a full debate on measures concerning international respect for the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination and recommended that the General Assembly establish two commissions, one to conduct a full survey of the status of the right of self-determination and to make recommendations for strengthening it, and the other to examine any situation resulting from alleged denial or inadequate realization of the right of self-determination. The Commission decided to recommend to the Economic and Social Council that the Commission's next (eleventh) session in 1955 be held in Geneva.

The Commission on the Status of Women

The eighteen-member Commission on the Status of Women, which is a subsidiary body of the Economic and Social Council, held its eighth session

from March 22 to April 9 at United Nations Headquarters. Miss Bernardino of the Dominican Republic was unanimously elected chairman for the session. Among other items on its 13 point agenda, the Commission discussed and passed resolutions concerning the nationality and rights of married women, women's political rights and educational and economic opportunities, the participation of women in the work of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies and technical assistance to help to promote the rights of women.

On March 29 the Commission adopted two resolutions urging wider implementation and public acceptance of the principle of equal pay for equal work for men and women workers. The Commission also recommended that a provision in the international draft covenant on civil and political rights should be re-drafted to read as follows: "Men and women should have equal rights and responsibilities as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution". Before concluding the session the Commission adopted a proposal recommending that its next (ninth) session in 1955 be held in Geneva.

The Trusteeship Council

The thirteenth regular session of the Trusteeship Council was held at the United Nations Headquarters in New York from January 28 to March 26. Ambassador Leslie Knox Munro of New Zealand, President of the Council, was in the chair. The present members of the Trusteeship Council are: Australia, Belgium, France, New Zealand, United Kingdom, (members administering Trust Territories); China, U.S.S.R., (permanent members of the Security Council not administering Trust Territories); El Salvador, Haiti, India, Syria, (elective members).

During the course of the session, the Council examined the conditions of the following six African territories under trusteeship: British-administered Tanganyika, Cameroons and Togoland, the French-administered Cameroons and Togoland and Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration. This examination took the form of a discussion with a special representative of the Administering Authority of each territory and a general debate during which members of the Council made known their government's views on the conditions in the territory as described both by the Administering Authority and by the United Nations Visiting Mission. After a full debate on the question of unification of the two Togolands, the Council voted to postpone a decision on the question until its fourteenth session which will begin on June 2 of this year.

The Committee on South-West Africa

The General Assembly's Committee on South-West Africa, which is composed of Brazil, Mexico, Norway, Pakistan, Syria, Thailand and Uruguay, held two closed meetings on April 1 to consider a reply from the Government of the Union of South Africa to the Committee's letter of January 21. The Committee's letter had called on the Union Government to resume negotiations and to send to the Committee on May 20 of each year an annual report on its administration of the territory. In its reply the South African Government stated that it was "doubtful whether there is any hope that new negotiations within the scope of your Committee's terms of reference will lead to any positive results" and also that the South African Government had "never recognized any obligation to submit reports and petitions to any international body since the demise of the League of Nations." The Committee decided to address another letter to the South African Government, which was sent on April 1. In it, the Committee

stated that it could only interpret the South African letter, and South Africa's "failure to appoint a representative to confer with the Committee, as a refusal on the part of the Government of the Union of South Africa to co-operate, for the present, with the Committee in regard to the resumption of negotiations". The Committee declared that, nevertheless, "it remains ready" to continue negotiations, should the South African Government be willing.

Ad Hoc Commission on Prisoners-of-War

The fifth session of the United Nations *Ad Hoc* Commission on Prisoners-of-War ended in Geneva on April 2. The meetings were held in private but a public declaration was made by the Commission. In this declaration the following points were made. Recent actions involving the return of thousands of Second World War prisoners since the General Assembly resolution on December 7, 1953 have appreciably reduced the problem. The problem of Second World War prisoners should be treated from a humanitarian and non-political standpoint. Further co-operation of governments had clarified the fate of thousands of former prisoners-of-war.

The Commission went on to consider what was implied by "a full accounting" of prisoners of war and recognized that, because of the chaos of war, it was not to be expected that the process of accounting for prisoners would ever be complete.



—Harris & Ewing

"ARE CANADIANS REALLY?"

A new informative booklet on Canada, "Are Canadians Really?", published by the United States Chamber of Commerce for business men throughout the United States, was presented for the first time at a press reception in Washington last month arranged by the national office of the United States Chamber. Much of the basic information in the booklet was supplied by the Department of External Affairs. Shown examining the first of many thousands of copies to come off the press are, left to right: Mr. Thorsten Kaligarvi, United States Deputy Assistant Secretary of State; Dr. John A. Hannah, United States Assistant Secretary of Defence; the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, and the National Chamber President, Richard L. Bowditch.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

IN concluding the debate on External Affairs in the House of Commons on March 31, which Mr. Pearson observed had ranged far and wide over the world, the Minister said:

I do not believe any of us should complain about that because we have learned from events of the last forty or fifty years that when international relations break down, our men have to range far and wide over the world from Germany to Korea, in the defence of peace.

Referring to the role of the Commonwealth in the world today, he added:

I feel that the Honourable Member for Vancouver South (Mr. Philpott) dealt with that matter very effectively yesterday when he said that the Prime Minister has given evidence by deed and not only by word of his feeling for the Commonwealth of Nations, which in its new form is very different from the old British Empire and has demonstrated once again the genius of the people composing it for political improvisation, if I may put it that way, and for service to the world.

Closer Integration Required

In reply to a question on the problem of "integration" in connection with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) he referred to a statement made by the Prime Minister on February 10 at Bonn, as follows:

It has become increasingly clear, I think, to all members of NATO and to many countries who are associated with us throughout the free world that our very survival and our continued development in freedom and in peace depends upon our ability to look beyond national barriers and to make them somewhat less artificial and more satisfactory.

We believe the proper solution to the economic, cultural and spiritual betterment of all free peoples is to be found in an even closer integration of their activities and in a greater sharing of their endeavours. More particularly, many of us believe the peoples living about the Great Basin of the Atlantic Ocean might well seek the solution to their problem of economic betterment, political stability and self-defence in this closer integration of their national resources and of their machinery of Government.

Mr. Pearson continued:

The Prime Minister of course had in mind when he made that statement—and I think it is one to which none of us would want to take exception—that the hope of the world today, especially the hope of the Atlantic world, and especially under the circumstances of today, must lie mainly in closer and closer co-operation and closer and closer relationship between governments and the agencies of Government.

Position in the Far East

In his final address before the House on April 1, discussing the position in the Far East, he said:

Insofar as the recognition of Communist China was concerned, I tried to re-state the government's policy, which is, to use the words used by the Leader of the Official Opposition (Mr. Drew) in describing the policy of his own party, "non-recognition under present conditions and in the circumstances of today".

At the end of the session yesterday . . . I was trying to emphasize that in the situation which confronts us today a continuing effort to negotiate outstanding problems is I think essential; otherwise we must admit the permanence, and unbridgeable nature, of the division of the world. One way by which such an admission would become apparent would be the exclusion of all Cominform states from the United Nations, and by converting that organization into an agency for the prosecution of our side of the cold war. I think myself that course would be profoundly wrong.

If this negotiation is to go on, from strength, with strength, with wisdom, which includes a full realization of the conspiratorial forces we are up against, and an even more complete understanding of the price of failure—then I suggest that our diplomacy should be characterized by flexibility as well as by strength. We should not mistake flexibility for weakness, or rigidity for strength.

Mr. Pearson quoted the Leader of the Opposition as saying "We should have a faith that always contemplates the possibility of a change in conduct—forgiveness—and of the return of fellowship and decency, to those who have offended against the laws of God and the laws of men" and then went on to say:

I think we can also all agree with him on that, and I suggest that we should keep that idea in mind as we talk about retaliation as a deterrent and about liberation of the enslaved as a means of keeping their spirits alive. To counsel patience and persistence in negotiation is often termed appeasement, a word which is often thrown out to slur and frighten without any particular effort to understand its meaning. If appeasement means betrayal of our friends and our principles for some selfish but illusory advantage, then I suppose the worst kind of appeasement is to promise something for this purpose that you cannot fulfil, to bluff when you would not be likely or able to act if your bluff were called.

Consultation Assured

Turning to the question of instant retaliation and that of consultation among the members of the Atlantic community, Mr. Pearson said:

There is also, I think, the same kind of danger in emphasizing the policy of retaliation as a deterrent to aggression in a way which would give the impression—and Mr. Dulles himself has pointed this out—that every kind of aggressive Communist action will be met by instant and overwhelming retaliation by all means at our disposal when in the event we may have to limit the nature of such reaction in certain circumstances because otherwise it would precipitate World War III. This difficulty and dilemma, and it is a dilemma, explains why we have to increase and strengthen consultation among friends, especially using the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Council for that purpose.

Indeed, the Hon. Member for Prince Albert (Mr. Diefenbaker) expressed the same doubts when he asked the question whether we did not have a right to more assurances than answers given by the Secretary of State in Washington at a press conference. Well Mr. Speaker, we have more assurances than that. We have them in the statement made by the Secretary of State before Congress, and in answers to questions there, where he did say frankly—and I confess that it was from these statements that I took some reassurance—that on every possible occasion there would be consultation among friends before action of the kind

he was indicating would be taken. We know that he will do his best to carry that out.

It may be that we have not complete reassurance: it may be we will never be able to get complete reassurance in this matter. My own view is well expressed by a paragraph from an editorial in a Regina paper which I read yesterday and which reads:

"The clouds of concern may not be entirely cleared away by this reassurance. But what Mr. Dulles told the Senate Committee should help considerably to allay the uneasiness within the western coalition."

The machinery of consultation can never work perfectly in a coalition of free states, but we can hope that it will be made to work effectively as possible, and I believe that the events of the last two or three weeks have given us some additional hope in that regard.

The Hon. Member for Eglinton (Mr. Fleming) in his statement made a remark with which, in the sense in which he made it, I am sure no one in the House will disagree when he said, when speaking about consultation and decisions made outside this country, that 'Canada's foreign policy will be made right here under this roof'. In one sense of course he is completely right, but in another sense I suggest that that statement is unrealistic, if I may use that word, unless we wish to withdraw from the coalition and go it alone, which I am sure none of us do. Even if we did withdraw from this coalition our decisions made under this roof would certainly be influenced by the decisions of others, especially in Washington. Indeed, in this year of grace I suggest that no government and no parliament can make its own foreign policy decisions exclusively under its own roof, not even the Government in Washington. That is why it is so important that members of the coalition consult and work together.

We can decide our own policy at times as much by convincing our friends about the rightness or wrongness of a course of action as by convincing ourselves. That is one reason why the remarks and arguments of any Canadian minister with any responsibility in the field of external relations will often have to be directed outside of his own country. It is also one reason, I think, why any foreign minister in the Commonwealth or in the NATO coalition has to spend so much of his time outside his own country.

Proposal for European Security

In reply to a question on the Soviet proposal for European security, the Minister pointed out that this proposal had been directed to the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, the United States, and France. "No one," Mr. Pearson added, "desires to reject any proposal out of hand which has any chance of bringing about good results." He continued:

In my view nothing could be more serious or more dangerous than a more or less final acceptance of the failure of man's ability to communicate with man, across whatever barriers—be they social or political—or whatever curtains, be they of metal or propaganda or tradition—which may exist today. In a world of hydrogen weapons, genuine misunderstandings, if they become hardened into a despondent belief on either side that sincere negotiations were impossible, could have nothing but tragic consequences for everybody.

Having said that . . . I should add this, while the West cannot afford to reject out of hand and without consideration *any* serious proposals for a settlement that the Soviet Union may propose, it is equally obvious that we cannot afford to fall into propaganda traps. Both the timing and the substance of the new Soviet proposals suggest that they may be designed chiefly to cause

a delay in the ratification and implementation of the treaty to establish the European Defence Community. As has already been made abundantly clear, the Canadian Government supports that project and hopes that it will be implemented without delay. The West cannot afford to put off decisive acts which are necessary for our own self-defence, merely in exchange for Soviet words or promises.

Falling into such an obvious trap would, of course, be dangerous. We must be prepared to examine Soviet proposals and to negotiate whenever there seems any prospect that negotiations may prove fruitful, but we must do this while maintaining, until they are shown to be unnecessary, policies which we have adopted with our friends as being needed for our collective defence.

Certainly at first sight the Soviet suggestion that they join NATO seems to be somewhat surprising and indeed an almost disingenuous one. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is based on mutual trust between governments and peoples who share many fundamental aspects of a common civilization, and who have demonstrated their desire and ability to work together. Moreover, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is more than a military alliance. It is more than a collective security organization.

It is worth remembering, also, that we and the Soviet Union and all members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization belong to a *universal* collective security organization in the United Nations, and if the Soviet Union is now prepared to make this organization effective we should certainly welcome that and the possibilities for co-operation in this field. The universal basis is there, and has been there since the United Nations was founded.

Real Objective of NATO

Mr. Pearson went on to say that the Canadian Government had never concealed its view that the military aspects of NATO were a regrettable necessity and the real objective remained the establishment of a safe and peaceful world. He continued:

Certainly that objective is far from being achieved or even approached at the present time. Therefore, surely it would be folly for us to lower our guard so long as the present danger exists.

I am not asserting that the professed Soviet desire in this proposal to join the West in affecting arrangements for collective security is completely insincere. I do not know. I may perhaps be giving Hon. Members a somewhat pessimistic first interpretation, though this seems to be justified by the proposal itself and the experiences we have had. But I think one can be pretty sure of this—that it would be fatuous to suppose, after the events of the last ten years, and while millions of people in Europe are held in subjection, that the fears and suspicions which Soviet actions have engendered in the minds of most of us west of the iron curtain will be easily or quickly removed by a few diplomatic notes. These fears were engendered not by words but by deeds.

But it would be equally wrong and dangerous to think that the suspicions and fears which at present divide the world can never be overcome. If the Soviet rulers are sincere in their desire for collective security, then I am confident that they will not find the governments of the Western democracies unwilling to listen to any serious overtures they may make. We will persist in our determination to meet any genuine overture for peace halfway, and indeed more than halfway.

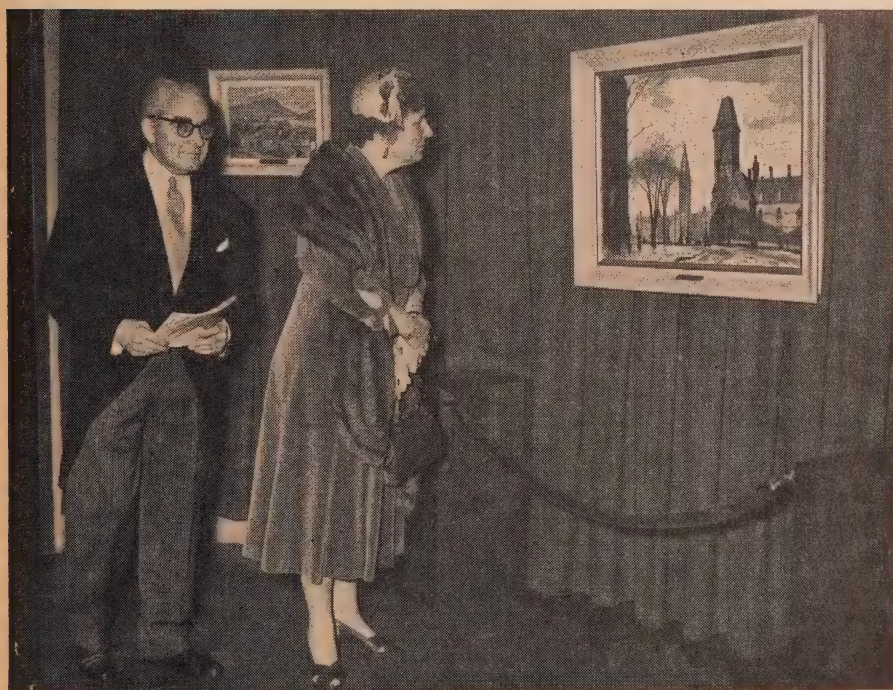
I read these words the other day . . . and I would like to conclude my statement with them. I quote:

Those who are prone by temperament and character to seek sharp and clear-cut solutions of difficult and obscure problems, who are ready to fight whenever some challenge comes from a foreign power, have not always been right. On the other hand, those whose inclination is to bow their heads, to seek patiently and faithfully for peaceful compromise, are not always wrong. On the contrary, in the majority of instances they may be right not only morally but from a practical standpoint. How many wars have been averted by patience and persisting good will?! Religion and virtue alike lend their actions to meekness and humility, not only between men but between nations. How many wars have been precipitated by firebrands?! How many misunderstandings which led to wars could have been removed by temporizing?! How often have countries fought cruel wars and then after a few years of peace found themselves not only friends but allies?!

Those words . . . were written by one who has never been considered naive, soft, or indeed especially meek. Those words by Sir Winston Churchill provide a good and wise guide for the conduct of the foreign policy of Canada, both at the forthcoming Geneva conference and in the critical times ahead.

This debate . . . which now ends, will also be of real assistance to the Government in this regard. It has provided both spurs to and brakes against action, and has also indicated, I believe, that the broad objectives and underlying principles of our foreign policy are generally approved both in this House and by the country.

■



—Nationale Foto Persbureau

QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS VISITS CANADIAN EXHIBITION

Her Majesty Queen Juliana, with the Canadian Ambassador to the Netherlands, Mr. T. A. Stone, at the exhibition of the Seagram collection of paintings of the cities of Canada, held in The Hague, examining Franklin Arbuckle's painting "Parliament Hill", with the East Block, headquarters of the Department of External Affairs, in the right foreground.

VIEWS ON THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

Transcript of an interview with the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, by Robert Reford, of CBC, recorded for broadcast on the weekly programme "Men Behind the News", CBO, April 23, 1954.

Mr. Reford:

What's at stake at the Geneva Conference?

Mr. Pearson:

The Conference has been called to deal with Korea, and with Indo-China. Discussions on these two items will be distinct, just as the invitations to take part in the discussions on Indo-China are separate from those for a Korean settlement.

So far as the Korean part is concerned, the Geneva Conference is, as it were, a second step which we are trying to take to bring peace to that country. The first step was, of course, to bring about an armistice. That, as you will remember, took about two years of arduous negotiations with the Chinese and Korean Communist leaders. But they did eventually result in agreement on a cease-fire. That was an important step forward. Now we are trying to advance from that point. If—and I emphasize if—we could achieve a real political settlement for Korea, this would obviously make an important contribution toward easing the cold war.

Mr. Reford:

Will there be any specific points that Canada will try to press for at the conference?

Mr. Pearson:

Our whole approach to the Korean problem is a United Nations one. We see the problem in a United Nations framework. It is because of our United Nations obligations that Canada has participated in the efforts to check aggression in Korea. The objectives that we will press for at Geneva are, therefore, as you would expect, United Nations objectives. These were reaffirmed by the United Nations General Assembly as recently as August 28 last, as "re-unification by peaceful means". What the United Nations seeks is a unified, independent, and democratic Korea under a representative form of Government. This is our ultimate objective, and our Delegation will, of course, press for it. If we can't make much progress now toward its achievement at Geneva, then we will at least do everything we can to maintain the present armistice agreement, and to leave the opportunity open for further negotiations later on. We must prevent, if we can, any retreat to renewed fighting.

Mr. Reford:

That would be true for the discussions on Korea. We'll be taking a full part in them. But what about Indo-China? We aren't directly concerned there—not in the same sense as Korea, where we had troops fighting under the United Nations Command. What role will we play when the conference turns to Indo-China?

Mr. Pearson:

As a Pacific as well as an Atlantic country, we are naturally extremely interested in anything which can be done to pacify and stabilize the situation in Indo-China, and to strengthen the security of South-East Asia. Our Delegation will certainly therefore follow the discussions on Indo-China with great care and interest. Whether we will do more than that, I do not know. We have not yet been invited to take part in the Indo-Chinese part of the conference. And this I think is understandable enough. Though we are, as I said, interested and concerned about Indo-China, we have no direct responsibility there. The situation is in many ways different from the Korean problem, where we are directly involved. Korea has for years been a United Nations problem: but Indo-China is not at least in that sense. The fighting in Indo-China has not been referred, by any of the countries concerned, to the United Nations. The United Nations has therefore not taken any decision on Indo-China, and Canada has no obligations specifically directed toward that area. All I can say therefore is that our Delegation will be at Geneva, and if it should turn out that there is anything we could usefully do, we will of course be glad to do it.

Mr. Reford:

It's impossible to tell how a conference will go before it starts. But what hopes have you that it will achieve some success?

Mr. Pearson:

Personally I don't feel too optimistic about the prospects of dramatic or quick successes in Geneva at this time. But it would be foolish, and wrong, to have no hope for this conference, at which the leaders of the main governments participate, and at which important issues which now divide the world are up for consideration. Certainly we intend to do what we can to make progress possible, and we hope there will be progress.

Another point—the Geneva Conference will be the first one concerned with Asian problems at which the Chinese Communists will be present. Thus it should provide a good opportunity for us to observe their approach to the conference table and to appraise their views and intentions and tactics on general Far Eastern questions.

Mr. Reford:

I think it would be true to say, Mr. Pearson, that you have at least as much if not more experience as any Western statesman with the Chinese Communists. I am referring to your work at the United Nations both as President of the General Assembly and the year before on the three-man United Nations cease fire committee. Do you feel that the presence of Communist China at Geneva will increase its

chance of success? Or do you think the presence of two major Communist powers—Russia and China—will simply mean more propaganda speeches and less chance of concrete achievement?

Mr. Pearson:

Well, my experience in the past, such as it has been, has not led me to be unrealistically optimistic on that score. But when you ask whether the presence of Communist China will increase its chance of success, I can only reply that no one, except the Communist rulers can answer that. But we can be sure of this, that without the presence of Communist China the Geneva Conference for a settlement of these two issues would have no chance of success. After all, the Chinese Communists are exercising power at least at the present time over a very large territory, and over hundreds of millions of men and women. If, therefore, we want to come to any agreement, to which this new power in Asia will be committed, we have to negotiate with them on that matter. This is just as true about the Korean Political Conference at Geneva as it was about the negotiations which the United Nations Command carried on on behalf of Canada and the United States and the other allies at Panmunjom and which eventually led to an armistice.

Your second question is whether the presence of two major communist powers—China and Russia—may simply mean more propaganda speeches and less chance of concrete achievement. In reply I would say that it cannot mean less chance of achievement with the Chinese Communists there, as without them there would be no chance of achievement. It seems to me that any agreement reached at Geneva should be underwritten by both these countries—it must be underwritten by both of them, if we expect it to stick.

As for propaganda speeches, I suppose that we shall have to listen to a good many. Whether we will hear anything but propaganda speeches from the other side, I do not know. I earnestly hope so.

Mr. Reford:

Well, it will certainly be interesting to see how China and Russia behave towards each other at a major international conference as well as how they behave towards the Western powers. By the way, do you expect Mr. Molotov and Mr. Chou En-lai to be in Geneva in person?

Mr. Pearson:

Well, I am informed that they will both be there with very large delegations. They will certainly outnumber us as well as possibly out-talk us.

Mr. Reford:

I understand you'll be attending a Ministerial meeting of the NATO Council on your way to Geneva. I suppose we can expect the NATO Ministers both to look back on the Berlin Conference and to look forward to Geneva?

Mr. Pearson:

There will certainly be a stock-taking at this meeting. One of the most important points on such occasions is to assess Soviet policy and intentions: and in this connection, the evidence of their behaviour at the Berlin Conference is naturally important. The Soviet note of 1st April, regarding the European Defence Community and NATO will also of course be considered. But we can also expect the Ministerial Meeting of the Council to look forward to the prospects for Geneva, where many of us will be proceeding from Paris. Both the Korean and Indo-Chinese situations will no doubt be considered, as part of the background situation against which NATO has to operate. But you must remember that NATO itself is directly concerned only with what is called the North Atlantic Treaty area, which embraces North America, Europe and the Mediterranean.

This general stock-taking or exchange of views on the international situation, is the only item of a non-routine nature on the agenda for this ministerial meeting. As you know, such exchanges of view between governments are of great importance. We in the North Atlantic community know that each of us is vitally concerned with the policies, the strength, and the welfare of each of the others. In the situation of great, and I think, increasing interdependence in which we find ourselves, continuous consultation is essential to hold our coalition together, and keep tensions to a minimum. And that is what we will be doing at the NATO meeting in Paris—consulting.

Mr. Reford:

Well, thank you very much, Mr. Pearson. I wish you good luck at Geneva. And I certainly hope we'll see some constructive results in that meeting.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. K. P. Kirkwood, High Commissioner, proceeded on Home Leave from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, effective March 17, 1954.

Mr. T. C. Davis, Ambassador, proceeded to Home Leave from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective April 4, 1954.

Mr. G. L. Magann, Ambassador, proceeded from the Canadian Embassy, Athens, to the Canadian Embassy, Berne, effective April 10, 1954.

- Mr. C. A. Ronning, Canadian Minister to Norway arrived at his post on April 19, 1954. He presented his credentials on April 24, 1954.
- Mr. R. A. D. Ford was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow to Ottawa effective April 12, 1954.
- Miss J. A. Horwood was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Chicago, effective March 8, 1954.
- Mr. C. Hardy was transferred from the Canadian Consulate General Chicago, to the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, effective March 27, 1954.
- Mr. J. M. Teakles was posted from the Canadian Legation, Prague to Home Leave effective March 31, 1954.
- Mr. D. W. Munro was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Dublin, effective April 2, 1954.
- Mr. T. H. W. Read was posted from Home Leave (Wellington) to Ottawa effective April 5, 1954.
- Mr. A. S. McGill was posted from Home Leave (Pretoria) to Ottawa effective April 5, 1954.
- Mr. A. F. W. Plumptre left the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, on April 9, 1954 to take up his new assignment with the Department of Finance in Ottawa.
- Mr. K. C. Brown was posted from Home Leave (Havana) to Ottawa effective April 12, 1954.
- Mr. P. E. Morin was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro to Home Leave, effective April 14, 1954.
- Mr. J. F. R. Mitchell was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective April 15, 1954.
- Mr. G. H. Blouin was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to Home Leave effective April 19, 1954.
- Mr. P. L. Trotter was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to Home Leave effective April 22, 1954.
- Mr. J. J. M. Cote was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective April 24, 1954.
- Mr. K. J. Burbridge was posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective April 26, 1954.
- Mr. O. G. Stoner was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Ottawa effective April 27, 1954.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>No. 54/17 — <i>Prime Minister's Report to Parliament on Return from Trip Abroad</i>, the statement made in the House of Commons on March 18, 1954, by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent.</p> | <p>St. Laurent, to the Japan-Canada Society, Tokyo, March 12, 1954.</p> |
| <p>No. 54/18 — <i>A Survey of International Affairs</i>, a statement made in the House of Commons on March 25, 1954, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson.</p> | <p>No. 54/21 — <i>Your Northern Neighbour</i>, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Executives Club Luncheon, Chicago, March 19, 1954.</p> |
| <p>No. 54/19 — <i>Recognition of China</i>, a statement made in the House of Commons on March 25, 1954, by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent.</p> | <p>No. 54/22 — <i>The Fifth Anniversary of NATO</i>, statements made on April 4, 1954, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty, by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent; the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson; the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton; and the Canadian Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council, Mr. L. D. Wilgress.</p> |
| <p>No. 54/20 — <i>Canadian Relations with Japan</i>, an address by the Prime Minister, Mr.</p> | |

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

The Geneva Conference

THE principle achievement of the meeting at Berlin in January and February of the Foreign Ministers of France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States was an agreement to hold a conference on April 26, 1954, for the purpose of reaching a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. This conference was to be attended by representatives of the Big Four, the Chinese People's Republic, North and South Korea and the other countries the armed forces of which participated in the hostilities in Korea and which desired to attend. It was also agreed that the problem of restoring peace in Indo-China would be discussed at the conference, and that representatives of the Big Four, the Chinese People's Republic and other interested states would participate in these discussions.

The Armistice Agreement signed at Panmunjom on July 27, 1953, contained a recommendation to the governments of the countries concerned in the Korean hostilities that within three months after the Armistice Agreement was signed, a political conference should be held of representatives of both sides to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc. Although the Geneva Conference was not held within the time limit prescribed in the Armistice Agreement, it has been otherwise regarded as fulfilling the terms of the Armistice Agreement insofar as the calling of a political conference is concerned.

Mr. Pearson's Statement

The conference opened with a plenary debate on Korea, in which the North Korean delegate advanced some proposals for the establishment of an all-Korean Commission to organize elections. All the Communist delegations attacked United States policy in Asia in vigorous terms. On Tuesday, May 4, Mr. Pearson addressed the conference as follows:

If I venture to take part in this debate, it is because I do not wish my silence to be interpreted as indicating any weakening or slackening of the strong support that my country has steadily given to United Nations policy on Korea; or as indicating, even by omission, approval of the distortions in some previous speeches on Korean and Asian developments; or indifference to the false charges that have been levelled, particularly at the United States of America, in respect of these developments.

Canada is represented at this Korean Peace Conference because she is a member of the United Nations and, as such, has participated, on land, water and in the air, in United Nations operations against aggression in Korea. Similarly, our responsibilities here derive solely from the decisions taken by the United Nations on the Korean question.

These decisions were concerned with, first, the determination of the fact of aggression in Korea; second, the repulse of this aggression, something that has been accomplished by the United Nations forces under the resolute and unselfish leadership of the United States, and by the heavy and gallant sacrifices of the Korean people themselves; and, third, with the establishment, under the auspices of the United Nations, of a free, united and democratic Korea, rising from the tragedy and devastation of that unhappy land.

Every one of these United Nations decisions was accepted by the vast majority of the members of that organization, including—we should not forget this—many who have often declared their intention of remaining outside what has been called the “cold war”, and whose foreign policies could not be remotely considered as aimed against the communist powers.

The Canadian Government has supported and remains bound by these United Nations decisions. Therefore, we cannot support any proposal which denies their validity, or which would equate at this conference the moral and political status of the United Nations in respect of the Korean question, with those governments which have broken the United Nations Charter by taking aggressive military action against the Republic of Korea.

National Freedom in Asia

The leader of the Soviet delegation in his one-sided and unconvincing analysis of recent Asian history stated that the Western countries, and the United States in particular, were “incapable of understanding the historic changes that have taken place in the countries of Asia”. He added that, instead of trying to understand these changes, we were prepared to find “communist intrigues” and “agents of the Kremlin” everywhere.

Leaving aside the fact that fear of “communist intrigues” and of “agents of the Kremlin” is, for many free states, something that has grown out of hard and unhappy experience, Mr. Molotov is completely wrong in his charge that we do not recognize the significance of what has taken place in Asia in recent years, in the march of the peoples of that great continent to national freedom and greater human welfare. On the contrary, we do understand and fully accept the significance of these developments, and the fact that this march cannot and should not be reversed.

Mr. Molotov also said in his speech, “We cannot conceal our warm sympathy with the movements of the peoples, including the peoples of Asia, for national freedom”. We can all echo that expression of sympathy while insisting, at the same time, that this freedom should be more real than that, to mention a few examples, of Lithuania or Bulgaria or the Mongolian People’s Republic; or, indeed, of those members of the United Nations who belong to a bloc so tightly controlled that no member in all the years of its existence has ever publicly disagreed with or voted against a proposal of the leader of that bloc.

We, therefore, hope that *all* the Asian peoples in their forward march will secure for themselves, as India, Pakistan and Ceylon, for instance, have already done, a better kind of national freedom than that which is a mere facade to conceal imperialist and aggressive domination by any power, whether Asian or European.

The right to be free does not include the obligation to be communist; and “Asia for the Asians” is not the same as—indeed is the opposite of—“Asia for the Cominform”. It would be no contribution either to Asian peace or prosperity, independence or dignity, if the Japanese East Asian co-prosperity sphere were exchanged for the Chinese East Asian co-communist empire.

In their speeches to this conference the leaders of the delegations of the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China have attacked the United States for a policy of aggressive imperialism in Asia, which, they allege, stands in the way of freedom for the Asian peoples. As the leader of the delegation of a country which is a neighbour of the most powerful state in the world, I can say with a conviction based on our national experience that the people of the United States are neither aggressive nor imperialist; and it is the people of the United States that freely elect their governments.

If, indeed, the United States did not respect the rights and interests of others, Canada would not today be an independent power, but merely a satellite of her great neighbour. Her representatives would not be able, as they certainly *are* able, to speak their own minds and stand up for their own views in conferences of the nations, even if this means, as it has more than once meant, disagreeing with some aspect of the policy of the United States of America.

I hope that the fact that we have on occasion so disagreed (indeed, we differed on the composition of the United Nations Korean Political Conference) will be taken as convincing evidence, not only of our own independence, but also of the respect which the United Nations has for smaller countries, and of the value which it attaches to co-operation and support based on free will, and not imposed from above. Our own experience of free partnership and co-operation shows the rest of the world how little it has to fear from this so-called "aggressive imperialism" of the United States.

What kind of "aggressive imperialism" was it that brought about, after World War II, the quick and virtually complete dismantling by the United States, and the other Western allies, of the greatest military machine in history in the hope that arms would now no longer be necessary for security?

What kind of "aggressive imperialism" was it that caused the United States, at a time when it alone possessed atomic weapons, to agree that those weapons and the materials from which they are manufactured should be put under the exclusive jurisdiction and control of an international authority?

It is also strange to the point of phantasy that, if the United States was following in Korea "colonial policies of imperialism", as Mr. Chou En-lai described them, she should, in 1949, have withdrawn all of her armed forces from that country. And when United States troops returned to Korea, they did so under United Nations auspices to repel the aggression launched on the ROK from across the 38th parallel.

Aggression in Korea

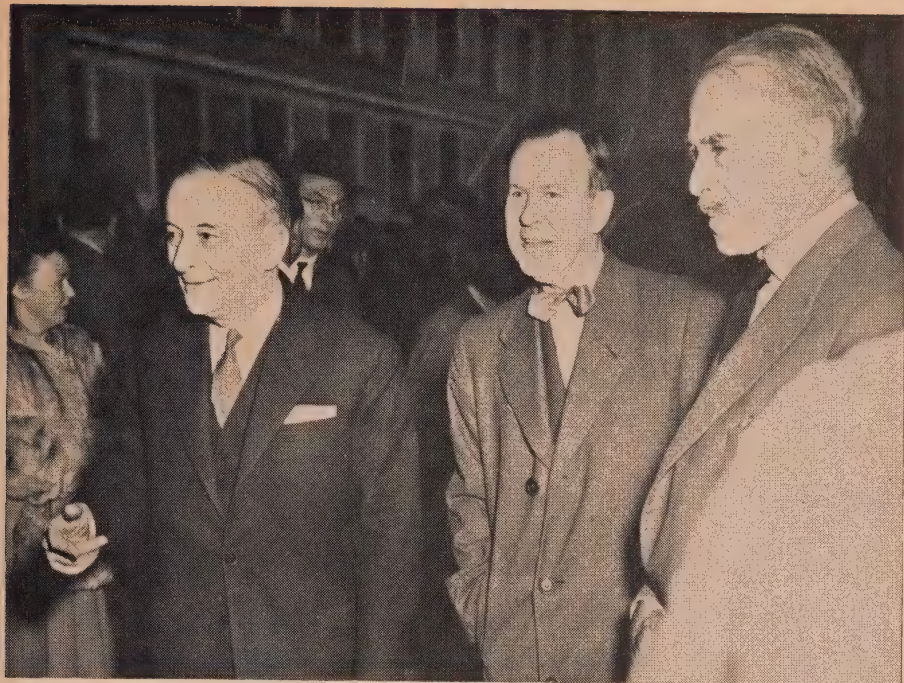
Ignoring all this, and in support of his charges of imperialist aggression, the head of the Chinese Communist delegation brought up once again the old accusation that "in June 1950 the United States launched its war of intervention against Korea".

This false charge has long since been disproved; not merely on the evidence produced by one government, but by the unanimous verdict of a United Nations Commission which, as has already been pointed out by the delegate of Australia, was on the spot in Korea, and which included among its seven members the representative of India.

These unfounded accusations and arguments about American aggression against Korea are strikingly similar to those which came out of Moscow and Berlin in September 1939, to prove that peace-loving Nazi Germany had been the innocent victim of aggression by Poland.

No amount of distorted or false or manufactured evidence, however, can alter the truth. This is as true of June 1950, in Korea, as it was of September 1939, in Berlin. Facts are facts, and they can be left to history to record and confirm.

There was another observation of the leader of the Chinese Communist delegation which invites comment. He stated that all foreign military bases in Asia should be removed and foreign armed forces stationed in Asian countries withdrawn. It would be interesting to know whether he includes in this sweeping generalization the Russians in Port Arthur.



GENEVA CONFERENCE

In front of the Palais des Nations, Geneva, are, left to right, the French Foreign Minister, M. Georges Bidault; the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson; and the Australian Foreign Minister, Mr. R. G. Casey.

In his second statement, made yesterday, Mr. Chou En-lai brought up the question of prisoners-of-war. It is difficult to understand why, if he is sincere in his desire to press forward with a peaceful solution of the Korean problems.

We all know of the efforts made last winter at Panmunjom, under the skillful and impartial administration of Indian representatives, and the direction of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, to give all prisoners the opportunity of making up their own minds whether to return to communism or not. We know also that this question has now been settled—and to reopen it at this Conference would serve no useful purpose.

If the Geneva Convention is cited by the leader of the Chinese delegation, I would remind him of the thousands of South Korean prisoners who disappeared without a trace shortly after capture; of the failure to account for many United Nations prisoners, of the refusal to allow the Red Cross to visit them, or to give information concerning them, of the cruel treatment and torturing interrogations to which many of them were subjected.

Certainly, if this question were raised for discussion at this Conference, there would be much to talk about. But the net result would be merely to delay, and possibly to prevent the work we have come here to accomplish, namely to bring peace and freedom to a united Korea. Any delegation which introduces proposals for such a purpose, or which would have such a result, would bear a heavy responsibility indeed.

While, Mr. Chairman, the questions I have been raising are all important, our primary concern at this conference is a peace settlement for Korea. On that

subject the leader of the North Korean delegation has presented a number of proposals which have been endorsed by the delegations of the People's Republic of China and the U.S.S.R. Those proposals have not, however, been adequately defined or explained. My delegation is not alone in its suspicion that they include words or phrases designed to camouflage a scheme which would bring to Korea the reverse of freedom and independence.

North Korean Proposals

The first point concerns the method of selection and operation of the proposed All-Korean Commission. The question on this point which I had intended to ask was answered yesterday by the leader of the delegation from North Korea. He said that his proposed All-Korean Commission must be simple in its organization and function in all matters, procedural and otherwise, by agreement on "both sides". This resolves any ambiguity arising out of the scope of representation of North and South Korea, and over how decisions should be reached. It is now clear that even if North Korea had only ten representatives in a Commission of 100, they would have a veto over the activities and decisions of that Commission which is to be given such far-reaching responsibilities. We know from long and bitter experience what this means. It means that the All-Korean Commission would operate as the Communist members wished, or not at all. This device of "agreement on both sides", irrespective of the number of members or the number of people represented, would make, if nothing else made, the All-Korean Commission completely unworkable, unfair and unacceptable; and that Commission seems to be a central and vital part of the North Korean proposals.

There are one or two other questions about these proposals that occur to one.

What is meant by "the largest democratic social organizations in South and North Korea"? Does the word "democratic" exclude anti-communist or non-communist organizations?

How would the representatives of these "democratic social organizations" be chosen for the All-Korean Commission, and would there be an equal number from North and South Korea?

Does the phrase "terror groups" mean anti-communist political parties?

Furthermore, if no United Nations or other impartial international supervision of Korean elections to ensure that they will be free is permissible, as Mr. Nam Il states, how can this freedom be guaranteed in districts where bitter animosities and fears and local tyrannies would make impartial Korean supervision quite impossible?

If the Government of the Republic of Korea is really guilty, as charged yesterday by the Foreign Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, of tyrannical and savage repression of freedom in elections, how can he expect us to take seriously his proposal for elections which he says will be free because they will be conducted under arrangements which must be agreed to by the representatives of this government which he so viciously attacks? Does Mr. Nam Il really wish us to believe that representatives of North Korea feel that they can work amicably and constructively on the All-Korean Commission with the representatives of what he contemptuously calls the "Syngman Rhee clique"?

It is clear, Mr. Chairman, that the most superficial examination of the North Korean proposals, with its veto provisions for the All-Korean Commission, with its rejection of free elections, guaranteed by impartial and effective outside international supervision, with the voters in North Korea, for instance, left to the tender mercies of the communist governmental machinery in expressing their

views it is clear that such an examination of these proposals shows that they provide no hope for bringing about a free, united and democratic Korea.

Such hope lies in the acceptance by this conference of the principles laid down by United Nations resolutions for the solution of this problem; principles accepted by the vast majority of the nations of the world. These provide for a union of all the Korean people, under a government chosen by those people.

This united Korea will need some international guarantee against aggression. It will also require, and be entitled to, economic assistance from other countries to repair the cruel devastation and destruction of war.

Along these lines, a solution can be found for the problem with which we are faced.

The other day Mr. Molotov said, "Here we can listen to different points of view". We must do more than listen to them. We must try to reconcile them, so that the armistice which now exists in Korea can be converted into an enduring and honourable peace.

My delegation pledges its best endeavours to that high purpose.

Asian Prime Ministers' Conference

Before concluding, Mr. Chairman, I would like to refer briefly to the interesting and significant communication which we have received from the conference of Asian Prime Ministers which has just met in Colombo. This represents an important and constructive effort by a group of free Asian states to assist in, and I hope take some responsibility for, the peaceful settlement of Asian problems in their part of the world.

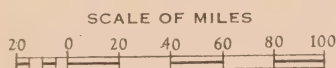
As the communication deals primarily with the question of Indo-China, I do not wish to make any detailed appraisal of the recommendations it contains. I would, however, like to call attention to the importance attached by these Asian leaders to the role of the United Nations in furthering the peaceful purposes of this conference, particularly in respect of Indo-China.

If these peaceful purposes are not achieved by a just, honourable and negotiated settlement, the consequences will be bad, and probably far-reaching. Failure here may well necessitate further collective consideration by those who, as a result of such failure, will feel increasingly threatened, of further ways and means to meet that threat. This, in its turn, may harden and make more dangerous the great and tragic division in the world which now exists.

The reward for success at Geneva will be great in terms of peaceful progress; but the penalty of failure may be even greater in terms of increasing tensions and the risk of a war which would engulf and destroy us all.

On his return to Canada, Mr. Pearson made a statement in the House of Commons on May 28 on the Geneva Conference, the text of which is available from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, as Statements and Speeches No. 54/30.

AREA INVOLVED IN RECENT
QUESTION REFERRED TO
SECURITY COUNCIL



The Palestine Question at the United Nations

(October 1953 to April 1954)

THE Security Council and the General Assembly continue to share between them responsibility for trying to help bring about more stable relations between Israel and its Arab neighbours. The General Assembly maintains two bodies which reflect the interest of the United Nations in the welfare of the area, and the Security Council maintains another. The bodies which report to the General Assembly are the Conciliation Commission for Palestine and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, while the body maintained by the Security Council is the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization.

Distinct Functions

Each of these three bodies has its distinct functions. The Conciliation Commission has been trying to encourage Israel and the Arab states to compose all of their outstanding differences. It has concentrated in the past two years, however, on the question of a just settlement of the compensation claims of Arab refugees displaced during the hostilities of 1948. The Relief and Works Agency, meanwhile, has been administering United Nations relief for the refugees and helping to promote economic development projects which should enable them to become self-supporting in Arab lands without prejudicing their right to repatriation should the peace settlement ultimately make this possible. The Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, Major-General Vagn Bennike, reports to the Security Council on the observance of armistice agreements between Israel and its four neighbours (Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon) which were concluded in 1949 and are to remain in effect until the final peace settlement, but are not to prejudice the rights and claims of the parties when the final peace settlement is negotiated. Officers of the Truce Supervision Organization watch conditions in demilitarized zones and along the armistice lines, investigate incidents and serve as chairmen of the four Mixed Armistice Commissions, on each of which the parties concerned have two representatives apiece, so that the chairman's vote is usually a decisive factor in determining the action taken by each of the four separate commissions.

It should thus be borne in mind that the nature of the Security Council's efforts to stabilize the situation in the area differs in many respects from the nature of the work done by the General Assembly. The Assembly, while dealing through the Relief and Works Agency with immediate problems created by Arab displacement, has watched the Conciliation Commission try to get the parties to agree to a reasonable compromise between the Assembly resolutions of 1947 and 1948 on the one hand, with their provisions for the territorial division of Palestine, the internationalization of Jerusalem and the repatriation and compensation of refugees, and on the other hand the arrangements made under the armistice agreements of 1949, which make no mention of repatriation of Arab refugees or the internationalization of Jerusalem and have permitted Israel to control roughly three quarters of Palestine instead of approximately half as foreshadowed in the Assembly's partition resolution of November 1947.

Both Israel and the Arab states have rejected the Conciliation Commission's compromise peace proposals. Israel has been pressing to have the armistice agreements used as the point of departure for a settlement. The Arab states, on the contrary, have insisted in the past two years that General Assembly resolutions, which are more advantageous to themselves, should be implemented by Israel before negotiations for a peace settlement begin. While the argument between the two sides over this basic issue has been carried on in the General Assembly and in the public press, it has been the function of the Security Council to try to prevent a breakdown of existing security arrangements while awaiting a peace settlement, whatever its nature may be.

The Security Council has found that respect for the armistice lines has been relatively easy to maintain where these have followed former international boundaries. Difficulty has been experienced, however, in securing recognition by local Arab inhabitants and refugee communities of the inviolability of armistice lines where these cut through the heart of what was formerly the mandated territory of Palestine, in more or less heavily populated areas, depriving villages of their orchards and fields or separating Arab communities which have formerly depended on the closest intercourse. There was from the outset a certain amount of infiltration by armed Jordanians hostile to Israel. But the main problem of infiltration grew out of crossing of the line by Arabs for the purpose of trade, plowing and sowing of abandoned fields, harvesting crops, picking olives and fruit from orchards they have always tended in the past and for which they have received no compensation, grazing livestock, visiting relatives and friends, or stealing water-pipes, livestock and other items from Israeli settlements. These led to encounters with Israeli security forces and to casualties. Although the great majority of Arab infiltrators have been unarmed, the number of armed individuals and gangs crossing the armistice lines for purposes of theft and to commit sabotage or acts of hostility against individual Israelis increased sharply in 1952. In 1953 retaliatory attacks by Israeli armed forces across the armistice lines began to attract the attention of foreign governments, particularly those of France, the United Kingdom and the United States, which had jointly declared on May 25, 1950 that they would "immediately take action, both within and outside the United Nations" to prevent violation of frontiers or armistice lines in the Middle East if they found any of the states in the area preparing to violate them. Israel's retaliatory attacks did not have the effect of putting an end to infiltration, but gave rise instead to fresh blood feuds and renewed reprisals, particularly from Arabs based on Jordan. Tension consequently increased.

Intervention Requested

When fifty-three Jordanians were killed on the night of October 14-15, 1953 by what appeared to United Nations investigators to have been approximately half a battalion of regular Israeli troops, the three powers (France, the United Kingdom and the United States) decided the time had come to ask for Security Council intervention to forestall the possibility of even graver occurrences. They took this action on October 17. On the preceding day Syria had asked the Security Council to consider the proposed diversion by Israel of the water of the Upper Jordan in a demilitarized frontier zone without Syria's agreement. There then began a series of Security Council meetings on various aspects of the Palestine question which continued throughout the winter and are not yet concluded. As one item was disposed of fresh complaints were submitted, until



—United Nations

At first Palestine Arab refugee children living in crowded areas had to be turned away from schools to which they applied. Through a joint UNESCO-UNRWA programme and with the aid of private schools, two Canadian educators helped to organize elementary and secondary education for 150,000 refugee children.

the list included requests for consideration of the following subjects:

- (a) Syria's complaint relating to the proposed diversion by Israel of the waters of the Upper Jordan;
- (b) Compliance with the armistice agreements generally, to be considered in connection with recent acts of violence, particularly at Qibiya;
- (c) Israel's complaint concerning Egyptian interference with shipping in the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba;
- (d) Egypt's complaint concerning conditions in the El-Auja demilitarized zone;
- (e) Lebanon's complaint, on Jordan's behalf, concerning an attack by militarily trained Israelis on the Jordanian village of Nahhalin;
- (f) Israel's complaints against Jordan in relation to an attack on a bus at Scorpion Pass, raids and attacks by regular and irregular Jordanian forces, and Jordan's refusal to participate in meetings under Articles VIII and XII of the armistice agreement.

For convenience items (b), (e) and (f) will be discussed together, while items (a), (c) and (d) will be reserved for the second part of this article, to be published in the July issue of *External Affairs*.

Compliance with Armistice Agreements: The Qibiya Incident

When the Security Council agreed to discuss the question of compliance with the armistice agreements referred to it after the Qibiya incident by the three powers, it began by asking for a report of the Chief of Staff of the Truce Supervision Organization, which was presented on October 27. General Bennike described the situation on each of Israel's frontiers. He associated the deterioration of security on the Jordan-Israel armistice line with Israel's abrogation in January 1953 of a local commanders' agreement and an agreement on measures to curb infiltration. Many of the worst incidents, apart from the Qibiya affair, had occurred during the period before a new local commanders' agreement was reached in June 1953. Although the new agreement did not eliminate infiltration he believed it had diminished the scope of the problem. The Jordanian authorities were taking measures against infiltrators while Israel had agreed in the summer of 1953 to try to introduce methods of transmitting information about infiltrators promptly enough so that Jordan could make effective use of it. This approach was preferable to reliance on punitive military raids across the armistice line in full knowledge of the possibility of a clash with military forces of the other party.

General Bennike found both in Israel and among the Arab states a certain impatience with the armistice agreements—in Israel because they had not yet been replaced by final settlements, and on the Arab side because the agreements had not given security against Israeli attacks. Despite the impatience of both sides and a deterioration in the observance of the armistice agreements, they still constituted, he said, a barrier to breaches of the peace.

Replying to one of the many questions put to him in the Security Council, General Bennike gave statistical information about the total number of complaints from Israel and Jordan from 1949 to October 15, 1953. This information emphasized the large amount of infiltration from Jordan into Israel by unarmed individuals or groups, the almost complete absence of such infiltration by Israelis into Jordanian territory and the reliance of Israel upon retaliatory action by military units.

<i>Type of Complaints</i>	<i>Complaints from Israel</i>	<i>Complaints from Jordan</i>
Crossing of the demarcation line by military units	58	212
Crossing of the demarcation line by by armed individuals or groups	170	17
Crossing of the demarcation line by by unarmed individuals or groups	422	15
Firing across the demarcation line	101	173
Overflights	23	65
Expulsions	—	44 (5,415 persons)
All others	42	16
TOTALS	816	542

The high infiltration rate from Jordan into Israel has been paid for by a usually higher casualty rate among Jordanians than among Israelis, although agreed statistics are not available on total casualties. There have been many instances of brutality on both sides.

In the Security Council debate, the Jordanian representative attributed the explosive situation along the armistice line to the fact that Israel had overrun the better half of the territory which the General Assembly had intended for the Arabs, while the peace it was trying to force upon the Arabs was not in accordance with United Nations recommendations. The situation was one in which Israel was employing its armed forces for attacks on Jordanian civilians while Jordan had been trying, without sufficient co-operation from Israel, to prevent attacks on Israeli civilians by individual Jordanian infiltrators. Israel was taking an unusual line in arguing that Jordan should bear full responsibility for preventing infiltration into Israel. The operation was one which required more effective co-operation by Israeli police with the Jordanian police. Israel's reliance on military rather than police action seemed to betoken aggressive intentions against Jordan.

The representative of Israel dwelt on the conditions of strain under which Israeli settlers were attempting to carry on their constructive activities from day to day. He reviewed a long series of attacks to which they had been subjected. While deploring unreservedly the loss of life at Qibiya, he asserted that it was not accurate to say that the attack had been carried out by armed forces of Israel. He explained the incident as an explosion of pent-up feelings of settlers subjected to a whole series of acts of violence by Arab infiltrators. An intolerable situation had grown out of the failure of the Arab states to make peace with Israel, despite frequent invitations, or to co-operate more actively in the integration of Arab refugees on their side of the frontiers. He asked the Security Council to call on the states concerned to enter into direct negotiations with Israel to replace the armistice agreements by final peace settlements. When it seemed likely in the closing hours of the debate that the Security Council would not embody a clause of this nature in its resolution he announced that his Government, invoking Article XII of the armistice agreement with Jordan, was asking the Secretary-General to call a conference to review the agreement. Attendance at such a conference was compulsory under the clause invoked.

Resolution on Qibiya

On November 24 the Security Council adopted a resolution expressing the "strongest censure" of the "retaliatory action taken at Qibiya by armed forces of Israel", commenting that this attack could only prejudice chances of peaceful settlement. It called on Israel to prevent such actions in the future. On the subject of infiltration it asked Jordan to "continue and strengthen" the measures it was already taking to prevent crossing of the armistice line, and it called on both governments to ensure the effective co-operation of local security forces, reminding them of their obligation to prevent all acts of violence on either side of the line. The parties were asked to abide by their obligations and to co-operate fully with General Bennike. The Secretary-General was requested to consider with General Bennike the best ways of strengthening the Truce Supervision Organization and to give the Chief of Staff any additional personnel and assistance he might require. The Chief of staff was asked to report to the Security Council after three months, making any recommendations he thought appropriate and taking into account any agreement which might be reached in pursuance of Israel's request for the convocation of a conference under Article XII of the armistice agreement. The Soviet Union and Lebanon abstained on this resolution. The nine remaining members of the Security Council supported

it. Two Canadian, three Danish and two Swedish officers were added to the Truce Supervision Organization, whose other members have been Belgian, French and United States officers under the command of the Danish chief of Staff.

Proposed Conference between Israel and Jordan

On November 23, the day before the Security Council's resolution was adopted, the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed Jordan's Minister of Foreign Affairs that Israel had invoked Article XII of the Jordan-Israel armistice agreement and asked urgently for a conference in which that agreement might be reviewed. Mr. Hammarskjöld invited a representative of Jordan to discuss the matter with him. Receiving no substantive reply, he cabled again on December 22 to the Foreign Minister of Jordan, who was aware that participation in conferences called under Article XII of the agreement was compulsory. The Secretary-General pointed out that the matter was urgent and asked for an early answer. Since Jordan's non-co-operation seemed to be due to fear that Israel might succeed during the proposed conference in initiating negotiations for a separate peace settlement, which Jordan as a member of the Arab League felt it could not accept, Mr. Hammarskjöld suggested that the conference agenda "should be limited to concrete issues of limited scope arising out of implementation of the armistice agreement". If so desired, the Secretary-General or his personal representative would assist in conducting the conference. Jordan eventually replied on January 4, 1954 that if Israel wished to complain about the way in which the armistice agreement was being carried out or if it wished to clarify or amend any of the provisions of the armistice agreement, Jordan would always be ready to discuss matters of this nature in the Mixed Armistice Commission under the provisions of Article XI of the agreement. In reply to a further approach from the Secretary-General Jordan restated its position in similar terms on February 6.

The Secretary-General then turned to Israel, suggesting that it might be to the interests of all concerned to "explore to the full the most practical means of dealing with basic questions of tension and of improving the operation and the status of the Mixed Armistice Commission . . . before resorting to Article XII". Israel replied that it believed itself fully entitled to seek a review of an armistice agreement in the implementation of which many difficulties had appeared during the last five years. The Secretary-General consequently cabled the Government of Jordan once more on February 18, inviting it to participate in a conference at Jerusalem on a date which he himself would determine in the light of the wishes of the two governments. A similar invitation was extended to Israel. The latter replied on February 24 agreeing that the conference should be held at the earliest date compatible with the Secretary-General's convenience. Israel hoped that in the discussions of procedure and agenda under Mr. Hammarskjöld's chairmanship the parties would agree "to assume direct responsibility for the conduct of the conference", thus making clear its preference for direct negotiations on matters of substance without the United Nations aid which the Secretary-General was willing to provide.

Jordan did not reply to Mr. Hammarskjöld's invitation until another month had passed. On March 24 it reiterated its offer to use the Mixed Armistice Commission at any time for discussion of the problems under reference in accordance with Article XI of the armistice agreement. By this time an exceed-



—State of Israel

Agricultural experience begins early for Israeli children living in rural areas.

ingly tense situation had developed in the relations between Jordan and Israel, for reasons which are described below, and the Secretary-General consequently decided that pursuance any further of the question of convoking a special conference was not warranted "for the present". Israel considered Jordan's third declaration of reliance on Article XI of the armistice agreement to be "a flat refusal" to fulfil its obligations under Article XII. On April 5 it therefore asked the Security Council to place the matter on its agenda for urgent consideration, along with three other items relating to violation of the armistice agreement by Jordan.

Deterioration of Relations between Israel and Jordan

Meanwhile the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization had submitted to the Security Council on February 24 the report for which that body had asked in its resolution of November 24, 1953. In describing conditions along all Israel's frontiers he reported that there had been no important change on the armistice lines with Lebanon and Syria. The number of complaints made to the Egypt-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission, however, had greatly increased. The majority of these complaints were concerned with incidents which would formerly have been handled in informal talks as routine matters. It was a symptom of higher tension, he said, when such matters were given importance by official circles and public opinion. In addition, however, there had also been some serious incidents in recent weeks on the armistice line between Israel and Egypt. General Bennike recommended that further complaints should be handled by a sub-committee of the Israel-

Egypt Mixed Armistice Commission, to be attended by officers responsible for security on each side of the line in the locality where each incident occurred, since co-operation between local representatives of the two parties might be expected to reduce the number of incidents.

The longest section of General Bennike's report was devoted to relations between Israel and Jordan. Since November 1953 Jordan had increased the number of police and of patrols assigned to border areas, had replaced local authorities where laxity was suspected, had removed from the border zone suspected infiltrators, had imposed heavy sentences on known infiltrators and had taken both preventive and punitive measures to put a stop to cultivation of land by Jordanians across the armistice line in territory under Israel's control. Israel too had improved and increased its border police, and in consequence both infiltration and thefts had decreased, although in an intensification of psychological warfare the total number of complaints of various kinds registered by both parties with the Mixed Armistice Commission had substantially increased. There had, however, been several serious incidents on which General Bennike reported separately. Tension had mounted along the whole Israel-Jordan border except in the far south. Although Jordan had taken measures to prevent illegal crossing of armistice lines and Israel had reinforced its border patrols, no joint effort to control the situation had yet been attempted. More frequent meetings between local commanders, endowed with greater police authority, and better communications between them would assist in relieving tension, General Bennike believed. Meanwhile, he said, the difficulties which had arisen in connection with the convoking of the special conference requested by Israel had not helped to create a better atmosphere between the two countries. General Bennike still thought the situation needed careful watching, particularly in connection with the Israel-Jordan and Israel-Egypt armistice agreements, "to prevent a possible threat to the security of the area" of the sort which had led to three-power intervention on October 17.

Scorpion Pass

Tension between Jordan and Israel reached breaking point on March 17 when a bus carrying civilian passengers in Israel was ambushed and attacked by an armed band near Scorpion Pass, south of the Dead Sea in the general vicinity of the Jordanian border. Eleven persons were killed and two wounded. An immediate and intensive investigation, in which Jordanian authorities assisted, failed to identify the attackers. In an emergency meeting of the Mixed Armistice Commission the Israeli representatives pressed to the vote a draft decision holding Jordan accountable for the outrage, before the Chairman had been able to investigate all suggestions as to the origin of the attackers. The Chairman, holding that the evidence available did not constitute proof of Jordanian responsibility for the ambush, abstained from voting, while the Jordanian representatives voted against the draft decision. The charge against Jordan therefore failed of adoption. The Israeli representatives walked out of the Mixed Armistice Commission and by the end of April Israel was still refusing to have anything to do with the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in matters affecting conditions along the armistice line with Jordan. It was in these circumstances that the Secretary-General decided not to press for the time being the plan for holding a special Israel-Jordan conference under Article XII of the armistice agreement for which Israel had asked.

Nahhalin

On the night of March 28-29 there occurred a raid by militarily-trained Israelis on the Jordanian village of Nahhalin, near Bethlehem, in which nine persons were killed and a larger number wounded. On April 1 the representative of Lebanon on the Security Council asked on Jordan's behalf for urgent consideration of this incident. Israel responded with a request that four additional items be placed on the Security Council agenda: Jordan's refusal to attend a special conference under Article XII of the General Armistice Agreement; the Scorpion Pass bus ambush; a number of attacks and raids by Jordanian regular and irregular forces against the lives and property of Israeli citizens, especially in an area close to Jerusalem, and Jordan's refusal hitherto to participate in a special committee under Article VIII of the armistice agreement to formulate arrangements supplementing the armistice agreement and improving its application.

The Security Council met on April 8, 12, 22 and 27 to decide how to deal with these requests, but failed in these four meetings to adopt an agreed agenda. The representatives of France, the United Kingdom and the United States made a joint effort to proceed to a thorough discussion of the whole question of Israel's relations with Jordan rather than having the Security Council address itself any longer to the piecemeal consideration of individual incidents and complaints, which might be regarded as scattered symptoms of a fundamental disorder which should be the main object of study. Lebanon, with the support of the Soviet Union, argued in favour of a specific consideration of the Nahhalin incident, either before or in association with a debate on the general situation. At the time of writing the Security Council has proceeded no further.

(The second instalment of this article will be published in the July issue of "External Affairs".)



A Canadian Abroad

BY KATHLEEN BROWN

The first instalment of Miss Brown's article appeared in the May issue of "External Affairs" and dealt with her experiences in the U.S.S.R.

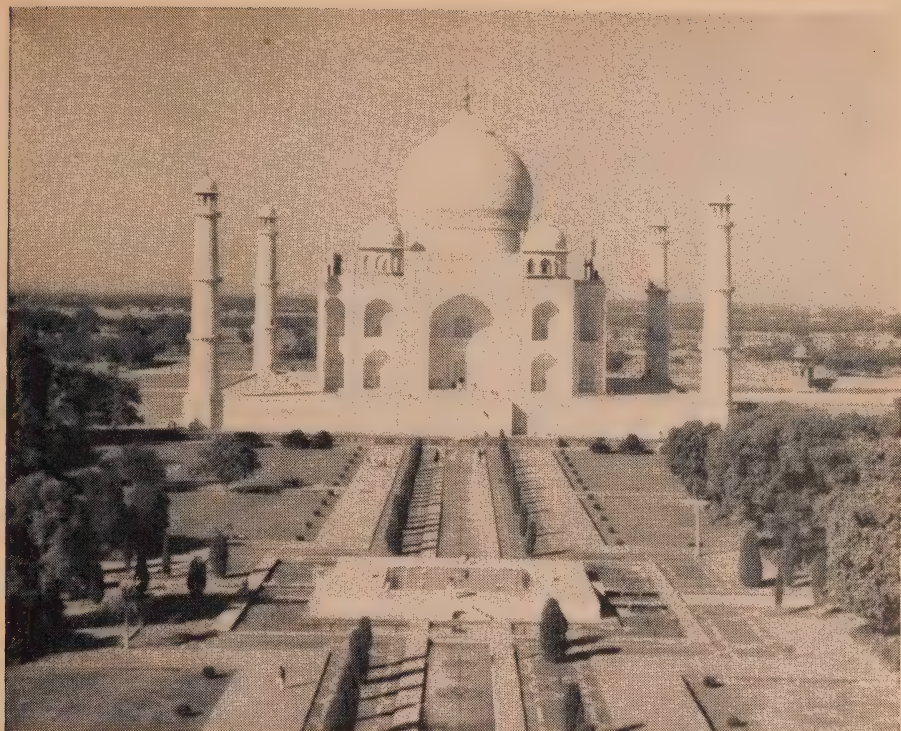
After a spell of duty at headquarters my next assignment was India. Again inadequate knowledge made me ruefully recall the Spanish proverb which says that "he who would bring home the wealth of the Indies must carry the wealth of the Indies with him"—an excellent maxim for foreign service employees. The long voyage provided a welcome breathing-space, though it was not easy to rivet attention on "Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies" while the Red Sea provided a foretaste of the heat at journey's end. But even heat could not dull the keen edge of anticipation.

Most Westerners arrive in India with preconceived notions: for some it is a country of untold wealth, marble palaces, mosques and temples, while for others there is nothing but heat, poverty, dirt and disease. Either picture alone is misleading; but taken together both are true. As the ship lay at anchor off Bombay there came floating out across the muddy waters the peculiar smell of the East—an all-pervading odor of spices, frying oil, curry and perspiring humanity. The exciting and tantalizing part of a strange country is the feeling that it is at once so familiar to its inhabitants, and yet so alien and impenetrable to the stranger. The two years ahead suddenly seemed far too short a time.

Delhi, New and Old

From the air, New Delhi appears as a green oasis in the desert, a spacious planned city carved out of the jungle. The modern government buildings of indigenous red sandstone harmonize pleasingly with the architecture of the Moghul forts and mosques. Behind the low brick walls and neat white gates on the shady streets of the residential area lie the cream stucco bungalows of well-to-do Indians and Europeans, whose artificial and westernized mode of life presents the newcomer with a distorted view. To see the real India, you must go down to Old Delhi seven miles away, down past the warm sandstone walls of the Red Fort, through the crowded bazaars of Old Silver Street where fabulous wealth exists side by side with dire poverty; where sleek automobiles thread a noisy way through a confusion on bicycles, bullock carts, tongas and ancient street-cars, and sacred cows repose placidly on the sidewalk; where flies cluster black on yellow piles of juicy sugar cane and succulent melon, mango and papaya; where lepers, beggars, maimed and old live on the street because they have nowhere else to call home.

In 1950 Delhi's population was still swollen with many thousands of refugees who had streamed into India from Pakistan after partition. The squalor, putrefaction and nauseating stench emanating from the closely-packed dwellings contrived from rusty gasoline tins and tattered gunny sacking evoked cries of horror. Here adults of uniformly poor physique and incredibly thin children went about the business of daily living. It sounds callous to say that later on we were less shocked by such sights, but a hard "outer case" is necessary in the East. At the same time I could not help feeling that there was nothing here



TAJ MAHAL

—K. Brown

quite so dreadful and so utterly without hope as in the slums of great European cities. Even amid this squalor were vivid flashes of color and beauty and grace, glaring sunshine and dark shadow. One seemed to sense also a warmth of human relations, a serene and uncomplaining acceptance of this life which, however degraded physically, was but one of a series, a prelude to the next. Nevertheless, it is doubtful if any amount of reading or documentary films can convey an adequate picture, because the purely physical sensations are absent. One must see at first hand the sub-human conditions under which millions in Asia are condemned to live in order to appreciate the full significance of the Colombo Plan and other technical assistance programmes.

Land of Contrasts

But there is the other side of the picture in this land of violent contrasts: the Taj Mahal by moonlight, a silvery-white fantasy seemingly suspended in the air against a velvet star-studded sky, even more ethereal than in its pure white beauty by day; the deserted city of Fatehpur Sikri, its red sandstone palaces and marble mosques piled on a hilltop overlooking the burning plain; the fabulous Golden Temple of the Sikhs at Amritsar; the many ancient Hindu and Moghul ruins near Delhi which never ceased to attract us. Colour is everywhere—in crudely-dyed cotton garments, shining brass and gleaming copper pots, in the riot of a wedding or a religious festival, and in the splendor of a Republic Day Parade in New Delhi; colour too in lurid monsoon sunsets, the delicate lavender mist of jacaranda and the brilliant orange-red flowers of the Flame-of-the-Forest blazing across the grey jungle in the spring.

In Western minds, India and heat are synonymous, and in fact for about nine months in the year it is an almost tangible adversary. To reassure future members of the High Commissioner's staff, however, some of us do complete a tour of duty without so much as a day's sick leave! Tennis, riding, golf and swimming can be indulged in, in moderation, most of the year, and an extremely active social life helps to banish thoughts of heat. The Canadian offices are air-conditioned, and refrigerators and air-conditioners have recently been installed in staff living quarters. Hitherto, in common with the rest of India, rich and poor, in town and country, we would sleep outdoors for most of the year. Silvery moonlight nights, bright enough to read by, and still air drenched with subtle fragrance, gave an illusion of tranquillity which promised relaxation in mind and body. But Indian nights are never silent, and moonlight nights least of all. There is always someone awake and talkative in the servants' compound, dogs howling incessantly, the blood-curdling chorus of a pack of jackals gliding like ghostly grey shadows from cover to cover, and not least, the hysterical crescendo of the brain-fever bird that goes on all night.

Kashmir Holiday

As the thermometer continued to intrigue us by reaching new heights and the heat finally culminated in dust storms and the monsoon, we made plans for the customary month's break in the hills. Ranikhet, Simla and Mussoorie were visited in turn, but Kashmir lured us in 1950. Like all prudent travellers in India, we set off on the 600-mile drive with a car piled high with bedding, food, drinking water, ice-box, spare tires and cans of gasoline—in fact, supplies for every conceivable emergency. What we were not prepared for, however, was to spend eight days on the road instead of only three—due to floods on the plains and a landslide in the mountains—before reaching the haven of our luxurious houseboat on a mountain-girt lake in the lovely Vale of Kashmir. An unsuccessful attempt to make a detour through Lahore ended in abandoning the stalled car (which our resourceful Indian driver subsequently had towed to safety), wading waist-deep through the muddy, swiftly rising water, and presenting ourselves—wet, bedraggled, shoes in hand—at the leading hotel. Hot baths, a good dinner and comfortable beds soon restored us physically, but it was not so easy to banish mental pictures of an angry sunset reflected in the turgid Ravi river, inundated crops, crumbling mud walls, people climbing up to the flat roofs of their houses or clinging to stunted trees, and water everywhere as far as the eye could see.

The highlight of a short holiday at Simla—sad and haunting with so many relics of the past—was a trip by local bus (upper class) up the Hindustan-Tibet highway to the hamlet of Narkanda. From there an ascent of the 10,500 foot Hatu Peak (which the tourist pamphlet assured us could “readily be undertaken even by those not in the first bloom of youth”) spread before us a breathtaking panorama of the eternal snows—including solitary Nanda Revi, which had remained obstinately hidden from view at Ranikhet. We seemed to stand on the roof of the world, rejoicing in new-found physical wellbeing and the deliciously cool sharp air; revelling too in the unaccustomed solitude—for solitude, like silence, is a rare gift in India. Up here were no demands for “baksheesh” and no audience to stand and stare while we ate our lunch. Only the musical jingle of bells occasionally broke the silence as a train of mules climbed up from the deep valleys, laden with sacks of potatoes which their owners were taking out to the highway. The hill people, more Tibetan than



The house boat "Rover", Srinagar, Kashmir.

—K. Brown

Indian in appearance, merely gave us a friendly glance and passed on. Such a tantalizingly brief taste of the rugged untamed beauty of northern India could only whet the appetite for more, but such treks, alas, were necessarily elaborate and time-taking, and far beyond our means.

Indian Winter

Return to the plains in October was tempered by the approach of the short exhilarating northern winter, which brought its own special joys—not least a fire to sit by and blankets to lie under at night. How quickly the heat was forgotten as we shivered on stone floors on a chilly morning and crouched over small electric fires in the office. The social round gathered fresh momentum as people returned from the hills or emerged from their hot-weather hibernation, and sports were taken up with renewed enthusiasm. For a while we could enjoy Sunday picnics under brilliant azure skies in the grateful warmth of a kindlier sun, and the clean-washed landscape after the rains was colourful with emerald green stands of sugar cane and young winter wheat and bright yellow mustard. To leave the city for the country is to step out of the twentieth century into Biblical times: mud-walled, flat-roofed houses; women in harsh bright colors filling at the well the shapely vessels which they balance with enviable ease and grace; neat cakes of dung plastered on a wall to dry for use as fuel; a lurching camel caravan or a string of wooden-wheeled bullock carts grinding along a country road in a cloud of dust; and at dusk the acrid smoke from countless cooking fires, which lies like a pall over the parched land. Such vivid impressions linger and tend to obliterate the gradual introduction of modern agricultural methods, facilities for health and education, not to mention the mobile movie van, radio, and ubiquitous Coca-Cola stands which are inexorably transforming the rural scene.

(Continued on page 198)

North Atlantic Council Ministerial Session - Paris, April 1954

ON April 4 of this year, the fourteen member countries of NATO celebrated the fifth anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty. Special publications, radio broadcasts and ceremonial events marked the occasion. In Canada the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Minister of National Defence broadcast messages outlining the achievements of NATO in the past five years and drawing attention to its importance in defending Canada and preserving international peace and security; the Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council broadcast a talk from Paris; the NATO flag was unfurled at a ceremony on Parliament Hill in Ottawa; and numerous editorials and articles, including one by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, appeared in newspapers across the country. Mr. Pearson also sent a message of good wishes to the Chairman of the North Atlantic Council, M. Bidault, and to the Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General, Lord Ismay.

Recent Developments

The anniversary was also marked by a Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, which was held in Paris on April 23. This meeting, which was attended by the Foreign Ministers of the NATO countries, was concerned chiefly with the most recent developments in the international political situation and their implications for NATO. The meeting, which lasted only one day, was not expected to and did not produce any striking achievements. It did, however, provide member governments with a most useful opportunity to exchange views on some of the important issues facing the alliance at this time and to confirm their basic harmony of outlook and unity of purpose. There was also a worthwhile examination of the role the Organization could play in promoting closer co-ordination of diplomatic policies between member governments and a resolution sponsored by Canada was adopted, designed to develop further the habit of political consultation in the Council. The text of the final communiqué is annexed below.

Canada was represented at this meeting by Mr. L. B. Pearson, who went on afterwards to attend the conference on Far Eastern questions at Geneva, and by Mr. L. D. Wilgress, the Permanent Representative of Canada to the Council. They were accompanied by officials of the Department of External Affairs.

The meeting began with a short public session at which Lord Ismay and M. Bidault made opening statements reviewing the progress of NATO in the last five years. This was followed by a normal closed session at which the Ministers first heard a report by Lord Ismay on the work of the Organization since the last Ministerial meeting in December, and then went on to discuss the present international situation.

Lord Ismay's report outlined both the accomplishments and the problems in such fields of NATO's activities as consultation on political matters of com-



—USIS

NATO MEETING IN PARIS

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, left, and the Permanent Canadian Representative to the North Atlantic Council, Mr. L. D. Wilgress, at a meeting of the North Atlantic Council, held in Paris, April 23-24, 1954.

mon concern, planning for emergency measures required in wartime, completing the infrastructure programme of airfields and other installations, and increasing public knowledge of NATO.

The discussion of the international situation was naturally concerned in large part with Soviet policy as it had been demonstrated at the Berlin Conference and in the Soviet Note of March 31 to the United States, the United Kingdom and France, and as it might be expected to develop at the Geneva Conference. This examination of Soviet policy led to the conclusion that, although the Soviet Government might try to give the impression of being more reasonable, they were not yet prepared to make a serious effort to relax international tension. The Soviet armed forces maintained a preponderance of military strength in Europe, rearmament continued to be pushed in the Soviet satellites and in the Soviet Zone of Germany (in contrast to the situation in the Federal Republic), while the Soviet Government blocked every effort to reunite Germany on a democratic basis. The Soviet Government still maintained sizable occupation forces in Austria and refused to sign a peace treaty. And the Communist Parties in Western Europe continued to be used as an instrument of Soviet policy to sabotage efforts at economic recovery and political co-operation.

In these circumstances it had to be assumed, until there was concrete evidence in deeds (as opposed to words) of Soviet good intentions, that the threat still existed and NATO continued to be essential for the legitimate

defence of the free world against possible Soviet aggression. It was therefore out of the question to accept the Soviet proposal (as contained in the Soviet Note of March 31) to join NATO, which in any case is based on far-reaching obligations involving the members in close and continuing co-operation and requiring a high degree of mutual confidence. The Council considered that it was also essential in these circumstances to associate Germany with the defence of the West and to give Germany a proper place in the European community at the earliest possible moment through establishment of the European Defence Community. The Council warmly welcomed the announcements that had been made earlier in April by the United Kingdom and the United States Governments regarding their association with the European Defence Community when it is established. The Council also noted with approval that member governments had no intention of recognizing the so-called German Democratic Republic in the Soviet Zone of Germany.

A number of ministers expressed their satisfaction that the habit of exchanging views frankly and freely in the NATO Council was growing and was an important factor in creating a feeling of political unity. In this connection a distinction was drawn between consultation in the Council on problems which might involve obligations under Articles 5 and 6 of the Treaty and exchanges of information under Article 4, involving no commitments. It was particularly with a view to developing further the use of the North Atlantic Council for this latter purpose that the Canadian Delegation introduced a resolution recommending that both member governments and the Council in permanent session should bring forward for discussion and consultation political matters of concern to NATO as a whole. The resolution was approved and published as a separate press release. The text is given below, immediately following the final communiqué.

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. At a Ministerial Meeting held in Paris today, five years after the Treaty was signed, the North Atlantic Council reviewed the progress made by the Organization, examined the present international situation, and exchanged views on problems of common interest. The meeting was attended by the Foreign Ministers of the member governments under the chairmanship of M. Bidault.

2. The Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General, Lord Ismay, reported on the work of the Organization. His survey emphasized the effective working relationship developing within the Alliance, a relationship which goes beyond the formal obligations assumed by its members. The Foreign Ministers took this opportunity to reaffirm their association in the Atlantic Alliance as fundamental to the policies of their respective governments. Recalling the defensive and peaceful aims of the Treaty, they expressed their resolve to maintain and develop the Alliance not only as the firm basis for the collective defence of their peoples, but also as an enduring association for common action and co-operation between the member states in every field.

3. After discussing international developments since its last meeting, the Council found no evidence that the ultimate aims of the Soviet Union had altered, and noted that the military strength of the Soviet Union and its satellites continues to increase. The Council therefore once more agreed upon the need for continuing efforts, vigilance and unity.

4. The Council—reaffirming its long-established position that the institution of the European Defence Community is in the essential interest of the Alliance—welcomed the ratification of the EDC Treaty by a number of the signatories since the last Ministerial Meeting, which brings closer the entry into force of the Treaty. The Council also expressed its gratification at the far-reaching steps taken by the Governments of the United Kingdom and United States towards co-operation with the European Defence Community, thus ensuring their lasting and close association with the defence of the continent of Europe.

5. With regard to the recent declaration by the Soviet Government on the status of their zone of occupation in Germany, the Council noted with approval that member governments of the Organization had no intention of recognizing the sovereignty of the so-called German Democratic Republic or of treating the German authorities there as a government. It decided that the Permanent Representatives should draw up a resolution on this subject.

6. The Council, with a view to developing further the habit of political consultation in the Council, adopted a resolution on that subject, the text of which has been published separately.

7. The Council paid tribute to the gallantry of the French Union forces fighting in Indo-China. It expressed the hope that the Geneva Conference will have positive results.

RESOLUTION ON POLITICAL CONSULTATION

The North Atlantic Council

Having regard to the obligations assumed by the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty

Recognizing

(A) that the security and unity of the Atlantic community depend not only on collective defence measures but also on co-ordinated diplomatic policies; and

(B) that developments in the international situation affect each of the Parties;

Reaffirms the views of the Committee on the North Atlantic community endorsed by the Eighth Session of the Council at Rome;

Agrees that the Council should be used when appropriate for exchanges of views on political questions of common concern;

Recommends

(A) that all member governments should bear constantly in mind the desirability of bringing to the attention of the Council information on international political developments whenever they are of concern to other members of the Council or to the Organization as a whole; and

(B) that the Council in permanent session should from time to time consider what specific subject might be suitable for political consultation at one of its subsequent meetings when its members should be in a position to express the views of their governments on this subject.

Canada and the United Nations

Seventeenth Session of the Economic and Social Council

The seventeenth session of the Economic and Social Council was held in New York March 30 - April 30. Mr. Juan I. Cooke of Argentina was elected President; Sir Douglas Copland, High Commissioner for Australia in Canada, First Vice-President; and Mr. Jiri Nosek of Czechoslovakia, Second Vice-President. The Council passed nineteen resolutions of which the most important dealt with international price relations, the international flow of private capital, slavery, statelessness, forced labour, and freedom of information.

The resolution on freedom of information, which contained twelve parts, dealt mostly with matters which arose from consideration of the report of Mr. Salvador P. Lopez of the Philippines, who was appointed rapporteur on the subject at the fourteenth session of the Council in 1952. In this field, the Council has long been discussing various means of assuring that international news coverage is impartial and accurate; that the independence of news-gathering agents and agencies is safeguarded; and that the opportunity to develop independent domestic news enterprises and to secure full and impartial international coverage of domestic events is not denied to any interested groups by lack of training facilities, lack of control of radio facilities or inadequate supplies of newsprint and paper. The twelve sub-resolutions on freedom of information made various recommendations to governments and initiated various studies all directed to the achievement of these objectives.

Resolutions on International Trade and Slavery

The Council adopted by a vote of 12-5 (Belgium, France, Norway, United Kingdom and United States) - 1 (Australia) a resolution which approved the establishment of a Permanent Advisory Commission on International Commodity Trade which would have as its main tasks an examination of measures and submission of recommendations designed to avoid excess fluctuations in the prices and volume of international trade in primary commodities, including measures for the maintenance of a just and equitable relationship between the price of primary commodities and the price of manufactured goods entering into international trade. The actual establishment and organization of the Commission are to be postponed to the eighteenth session of the Council. This project, which received the warm support of the so-called under-developed countries on the Council, had its origins in a resolution on international commodity prices introduced by Argentina at the seventh session of the General Assembly in 1952. The General Assembly established a group of experts to study the subject, and it was as a result of the consideration of their report that the Council adopted the above resolution.

The resolution on the international flow of private capital recommended to countries seeking to attract foreign private capital a re-examination of certain enumerated policies and practices with a view to improving the investment climate. Capital exporting countries were recommended to do the same in order to encourage the flow of private capital and were urged to impress upon investors the importance of endeavouring to secure local capital participation in their

foreign enterprises wherever appropriate and feasible, and to adopt, within the framework of their institutions, taxation measures that would progressively reduce international double taxation with a view to its final elimination.

The Council adopted two resolutions on slavery urging governments to hasten their replies to the questionnaire already circulated (regarding the desirability of having a supplementary convention to the Convention of 1926); appointing Mr. Hans Engen of Norway as rapporteur to prepare an analytical study of the answers received; recommending to governments that they accede to the 1926 Convention in respect to their territories including non-self-governing territories and trust territories administered by them; and requesting all states which have not already done so to accede to the protocol transferring to the United Nations the functions formerly exercised by the League of Nations in respect of this Convention. The Specialized Agencies were invited to arrange for their commissions and regional meetings to study measures to remedy slavery and conditions similar to slavery and servitude in all its forms. The draft supplementary convention on slavery prepared by the United Kingdom, as well as any others which may be submitted, are to be transmitted to the International Labour Organization. Both resolutions originated with proposals put forward by the United Kingdom and both were adopted by a vote of 14 in favour, none against and 4 abstentions.

Statelessness and Forced Labour

The Council has for some time been studying the problem of statelessness and the means to remedy it. There has already been a conference of plenipotentiaries to discuss the matter and there is in existence a draft protocol on the status of stateless persons. At this session the Council decided to summon a second conference of plenipotentiaries, inviting all states which attended the first conference. The agenda is to include, first, the review of the draft protocol in the light both of the provisions of the Convention of July 28, 1951 on the status of refugees and of observations from the governments concerned; second, the opening of the protocol for signature by all states members of the United Nations and by non-member states invited to attend the first conference in Geneva in 1951. The Council also adopted another resolution on statelessness endorsing the principles underlying the work of the International Law Commission, which has endeavoured to determine the cause of statelessness and the changes to be made in the national legislation of various countries to remove those causes. The resolution also requests the Commission to continue its work with a view to the adoption of effective international instruments for the reduction and elimination of statelessness.

In 1951, under the joint auspices of the United Nations and the International Labour Organization, an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labour was set up to study the existence of forced labour. It reported in June 1953 that its inquiry had revealed "... facts relating to the existence of forced labour of so grave a nature that they seriously threatened fundamental human rights and jeopardized the freedom and status of workers in contravention of the obligations and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations". The Council was unable to consider the report at its sixteenth session, but on the initiative of the United States the subject was put on the agenda of the eighth session of the General Assembly in 1953. After a somewhat heated debate dealing in part with the substance of the report (which had stated that forced labour for political purposes existed in four countries and for economic purposes in seven)

the General Assembly adopted a resolution inviting the International Labour Organization and the Economic and Social Council to expedite their consideration of the report and requesting the Secretary-General to consult with governments which had not yet found it possible to provide information in response to the *Ad Hoc* Committee's request to the effect that they submit such information before the seventeenth session of ECOSOC. The Council adopted by a vote of 13-2-3 (Egypt, India, Yugoslavia) a resolution which condemned systems of forced labour employed as a means of political coercion or on such a scale as to constitute an important element in the economy of a given country. The resolution also requested the International Labour Organization and the Secretary-General to report to the nineteenth session of the Council (in the spring of 1955) regarding any new replies by governments to the questionnaire already circulated and any new information about systems of forced labour submitted by governments, Specialized Agencies or non-governmental organizations. The Council rejected by 13 against to 2 in favour with 2 abstentions a Cuban amendment to appoint a rapporteur on the subject and by 13-1-3 (including Cuba and India) a Yugoslav amendment condemning any law or administrative practice prescribing or tolerating forced labour as contrary to the United Nations Charter.

Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission

The Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Commission, the establishment of which was described in last month's issue of *External Affairs*, held its first meeting in New York on April 23. It was decided that discussions of substantive matters would be held in London. These discussions began on May 13. The Canadian Representative on the Sub-Committee is the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, assisted by Mr. N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom. As suggested by the General Assembly, the Sub-Committee is meeting in private. The Disarmament Commission has recommended that its report should be made not later than next July 15.



DISARMAMENT COMMISSION MEETS

—United Nations

Andrei Y. Vyshinsky, left, of the U.S.S.R.; Sir Pierson Dixon, of the United Kingdom; and Henry Cabot Lodge, of the United States, at the meeting of the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations.

Commission on Narcotic Drugs

The United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs concluded on May 14 a four-week review of the international control of narcotics throughout the world, including discussion of the production, trade in and consumption of addiction-producing drugs and the implementation of conventions governing their international regulation. At its ninth session the Commission, on which fifteen member states are represented, recommended that the manufacture, import, and export of diacetylmorphine (heroin), one of the most dangerous narcotic drugs, be prohibited except for small quantities necessary for scientific purposes. The Commission also favoured the prohibition of those synthetic drugs which have no therapeutic advantages over natural drugs while possessing strong addiction-producing properties. In the struggle against addiction, the Commission stressed the humanitarian aspect of the problem and expressed itself in favour of the cure, treatment, and rehabilitation of addicts in authorized institutions. Concerning the habit of coca leaf chewing, a form of drug addiction, the Commission shared the view of the countries concerned that the best way to abolish this habit is through gradual measures and with the possible assistance of the technical services of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. In its consideration of illicit drug traffic, the Commission endorsed the procedure of direct co-operation between enforcement authorities of individual countries. Canada, a member of the Commission for an indefinite term, was appointed to a seven-member special committee known as the Committee on Seizures to examine reports submitted by governments regarding illicit traffic and seizures.

Canada Ratifies the Opium Protocol

Canada's instrument of ratification of the United Nations "Protocol for limiting and regulating the cultivation of the poppy plant, the production of, international and wholesale trade in, and use of opium" was deposited at United Nations Headquarters May 7 by the Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations. The opium protocol is an interim agreement anticipating the conclusion of a single convention to deal with the over-all international control of narcotic drugs. By December 31, 1953, the deadline for signatures, it had been signed by 36 countries. To date, Canada, Egypt and Panama have deposited their instruments of ratification. Twenty-five instruments are needed before the protocol becomes effective.

External Affairs in Parliament

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

The Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, addressed the House of Commons in Committee of Supply on May 20, 1954, on the defence white paper "Canada's Defence Programme 1954-55". He explained that it was his intention to bring up-to-date the examination of the international position from the defence point of view which he had presented to the House on November 26, 1953. Mr. Claxton spoke as follows:

NATO

We should remember that it is only six years ago that Czechoslovakia, that gallant country, was brought behind the iron curtain, and it was only five years ago that the free nations decided that rather than fall separately they would stand together and they entered into the North Atlantic Treaty. During that period they have built up their strength and the progress made is indeed remarkable, whether it be viewed from the point of view of political organization, military planning, military command, or actual physical forces in the field.

The history of the world shows nothing to match it. Today we have in NATO a team of fourteen nations with effective forces trained and working together to improve their quality as well as their quantity. That this effort has succeeded is indicated by the fact that during that period we have had no general war, and one of the major contributing factors to that result has unquestionably been the steady progressive build-up of strength, actual and potential, by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This policy of playing it from strength, which was agreed to five years ago on April 4, 1949, has paid dividends in terms of peace and security. The cost has been heavy but not heavy compared with even a fraction of the cost of a general war.

Now, sir, while this policy has worked, it cannot be said with any confidence that there has been any change in the fundamental objectives of the Soviet Union and those allied with her, the satellite powers.

Effective Deterrent

Against that background the Secretary of State of the United States, the Hon. Mr. Dulles, made a very important speech at New York on January 12, this year. In that speech he said:

Local defence will always be important. But there is no local defence which alone will contain the mighty land power of the communist world. Local defences must be re-inforced by the further deterrent of massive retaliatory power.

. . . I think there can be no doubt that the possession of this power of mass destruction is a powerful deterrent to war. There can be no doubt of that fact. Whether that will be the result remains to be seen. The consequences of the employment of an H-bomb or a number of A-bombs, with their destruction of the means of fighting, of cities and communications and the possibility that this rain of destruction may be launched on one's country, would certainly lead one to think a good many times before starting out on the course which would

lead to that employment. I therefore believe—and I think this is generally recognized—that the possession by the United States of both the new weapons and the power to deliver them is a powerful deterrent to aggression. That having been said, it becomes evident at once that the ability to deliver the bombs is something which is fundamental and essential to their deterrent character. Unless the United States can deliver the bombs they might just as well not exist. Hence the ability of the United States to deliver the bombs becomes a matter of the most urgent and primary importance in the preservation of peace. That ability must be protected. This consideration brings into focus and gives new emphasis to the whole question of continental defence . . .

Conventional Weapons

As I shall point out later, far from putting an end to the need for weapons of a conventional nature, I believe that the A-bomb and the H-bomb have if anything probably emphasized that need. We have just had a meeting of the chiefs of staff of all the North Atlantic Treaty nations at Paris. Their purpose there was to consider the effect of the new weapons on all-over strategy and tactics. I know that I am breaking no confidence when I say that it was not suggested there that the existence of these new weapons would lead to any sudden reduction in quantity, quality or cost of conventional weapons. The fact is that we hardly have today in NATO the minimum quantity of weapons, planes, equipment, trained officers and men and communications to do the job of even enabling the employment of the new weapons through bold planning, and causing concentrations so that the new weapons would have a useful target, also of preventing the only potential enemy from overrunning Europe irrespective of where bombs were dropped.

I think I am right in saying that no nation, no national leader, no minister of defence, no chief of staff has so far suggested that the existence of and the ability to employ the new weapons should decrease what we have of conventional weapons because what we have is the minimum required to enable us to do the job. That job is to permit the employment of the new weapons strategically and tactically and also to protect the ability to use them.

Continental Defence

As part of that protection we have built up in North America a very important system of defences against air attack. This now goes under the name of continental defence, and you can see that with the Americans having bases in North America as well as elsewhere throughout the world they—or any other country that has atomic weapons and the capacity to deliver them—must be protected from air attack. This is becoming an increasingly important part of the joint activities of Canada and the United States in planning and carrying out our air defences. I dealt with this at some length on November 26 and I do not want to go over the same ground again, but I would remind hon. members that the components of any system of air defence consist, from the air force point of view, of radar to pick up and lead to the identification and interception of enemy raiders, a system of communications which instantly gives the intelligence received from the radarscope to fighter command, to enable the quick scrambling of the squadrons, and finally squadrons of fighter aircraft able instantly to get into the air and carry out an interception . . .

The New Look

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have dealt with the question of massive retaliation, what is involved in it, what we are doing by way of continental defence, as well as what more is planned. May I now have a look at another of the phrases, “the

new look". What is meant here, of course, is that over the last year in all of the NATO countries there has been a re-examination of the defence programme in the light of our experience over the last three years, and also in the light of what is involved by the new weapons. I should like to go back and remind you that the first time that the North Atlantic Treaty Defence Ministers arrived at a plan was in October 1950 when we met at Washington . . .

It is no secret that at one stage reference was made publicly to a force of something like 98 divisions and 10,000 aircraft. Gradually it was found that to have a force of anything like that character would be beyond the peacetime capacity of the allied nations, unless they were prepared to run grave risks of seriously injuring their economies and making their economic strength weaker than was necessary to support the military effort. At Paris, in 1953, this situation was examined in detail and the council members further adapted their thinking and their plans from the sort of "crash" thinking with which we had begun, to what would be involved in "the long pull" . . .

In conclusion may I say, first, that I do not believe we are going to have a war in the near future, but equally I do not see any sign of a change in the long-term objectives of the Soviet Union.

Secondly, the planned build-up of strength of the free nations has been a major factor in preserving peace, and consequently it is only common sense that we should continue that effort for precisely the same reasons that five years ago led us to agree in common on this policy and plan.

Thirdly, we are nearing the end of the development of large classes of weapons. It is very hard today to build a gun better than the 25 pounder, or the 155 millimeter. The cost of any improvement in range or operational qualities is out of all proportion to the advantage gained in performance, and that is true of a very large range of weapons. We are entering into the era at last where there are already in operation guided missiles from ground to air and air to air, and their accuracy and efficiency will be increased. We may also be coming close to the time when the pilot of a fighter aircraft will not have much more to do than get the aircraft off and back on to the ground, so that by the time we have our supersonic fighters to replace the F-86E and the CF-100 it is at least possible that these will be the last aircraft to depend extensively on human beings, and we will then be in or very close to the age of the pushbutton. It has been a long time coming and it is still some distance off.

But we will never eliminate the human factor that brings me to this point, that while the allies have made great advances, everything we know points to the fact that the Russians also have made great advances and we have no reason to believe that we can continue to be superior in science, research, engineering and production unless we continue to make even larger efforts in the field of research, development and production.

As we get into—to use a curious term—the very sophisticated types of weapons and aircraft, the cost increase is out of all proportion so that we must, while maintaining this effort, strive steadily for simplification, economy, efficiency, and standardization. When you get into the field of bombers, fighters, guided missiles, radar, anti-aircraft devices and the like your equipment is no good if the enemy has something which is even slightly better. Consequently, as I say, we must keep up the effort in research, development, engineering, and production, and strive steadily for economy.

Fourth, we will certainly see a build-up in continental defence as the importance of this increases with the necessity of protecting the ability of the strategic air command of the United States to deliver the A and H bombs, that ability being an essential ingredient in the capacity for massive retaliation.

Fifth, the economic and financial considerations involved in defence planning today are going to become steadily more important. Not that they have not been important throughout, but a steady drive must be kept up and maintained to achieve the greatest possible economy in terms of men and money. This means that in our planning we cannot afford to make mistakes, because if you start out to develop a new aircraft you may be in for an expenditure of \$125 million before you have a second aircraft off the line. Consequently, everything must be done having regard to the long term effort, and it must be done in the closest possible co-operation with our allies, particularly Britain and the United States. There I am happy to say that we have the closest working co-operation, not only with those two countries but with every country in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Sixth, and this is perhaps the most important of all, in defence operation, possibly more than in any other operation mankind has to undertake, that operation must depend on the quality of the personnel, the quality of the leadership, and the quality of the men. We have been fortunate in having officers and men of good quality, but with the increasing complexity of weapons, the necessity for insisting on a high standard and getting it becomes even more urgent and important than ever before. So as we face the challenges of "the long pull," not the least important of these challenges is to find ways and means of maintaining the alertness, the professional skills, ambitions, and physical and mental abilities of the officers and men in our armed forces.

This becomes, as has been found in the United States where special studies have been made of it, a matter of their continuing to have the confidence and respect of the civilian population. This is a matter of the utmost importance if we are to maintain the strength of our armed forces; and that is something to which I believe they are entitled, by their records of service and by their records as civilians, judged by any standard you like. Their crime records are considerably lower than those for corresponding groups in civilian life; and that is as it should be.

Seventh and finally, this whole operation of facing the "long pull" under the threat of a war of total destruction requires stout hearts and a really great degree of understanding on the part of the civilian people. The *Canadian Unionist* published by the Canadian Congress of Labour in April, 1954 had this to say apropos of the H-bomb:

The task of the individual, in spite of the threat of world destruction is, in Carlyle's words, "to do the task which lies nearest to hand," and, in the present circumstances, this means that we must simply do our work as well as we can, and let it go at that. We must try to be guided by the lessons of experience and the dictates of reason.

If we apply that statement to the national and defence fields, it is obvious that there is no ground for despair or discouragement or for doing nothing. It is obvious that we must continue to follow what we and the other nations have agreed is the right course in order to preserve peace and to maintain our security. But the A-bomb and the H-bomb force the nations of the world to try to find means of ensuring that they will never be used. It has been said that war is a failure in foreign policy; and foreign policy—understanding between nations—has become of greater importance and greater urgency than ever before in the history of mankind. From time to time specific problems occupy the international stage, as we have seen at Geneva over Indo-China. This crisis or that fills the headlines and the newscasts but no particular crisis should outweigh the preservation of the great alliance of the free world which is the fundamental bulwark of our own security.



—U.S. Department of State

GOVERNOR GENERAL VISITS WASHINGTON

The Governor General, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, left, on the occasion of his visit to Washington early in May, is greeted by the President, Mr. Eisenhower.



A CANADIAN ABROAD

(Continued from page 185)

In two or three years it is possible barely to scratch the surface of a strange country, and this is particularly true of India despite the apparent advantages of free social intercourse and the widespread use of English and many English customs. In Moscow the atmosphere is still European, whereas the westerner in India seeks to understand a way of life and thought on an alien and infinitely more complex plane. Politics and economics aside, however, the common people of the Soviet Union and India share a refreshing and engaging simplicity; goodwill and friendliness towards strangers; keen enjoyment of the smallest pleasures; love of colour and pageantry, and delight in cherished folk music, song and dance; an innate tenderness towards children, often amounting to indulgence; stoicism in the face of privation and suffering, and endless capacity to endure.

Looking back on these two postings I have no regrets, and, if given the opportunity to repeat either one, would find it difficult to resist. But to attempt to re-live past experience is not always wise, and meanwhile new paths beckon! The advantages of a life in the foreign service are many. But perhaps one cherishes most the wider horizons, an ever-growing circle of friends, and the bond that inevitably springs up between those who have lived and worked together in far places.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON

An address by the Governor General, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, to a joint meeting of the United States Congress, in Washington, May 4, 1954.

First may I thank you for the high compliment you have paid my country this morning, and for the warmth of your welcome which has touched me more than I can say. I feel deeply honoured that I should be asked to meet, on this occasion, the members of the two great legislative bodies assembled in this Chamber. I am conscious at this moment — and who would not be — of the relation between the course of world events and the decisions which are arrived at here. You have given me a rare privilege today, and I am grateful to you for it.

I feel no stranger in this city. I spent several very pleasant years here long ago, when my task was to set up the first diplomatic Mission from Canada to your country, and my privilege to serve as envoy. This was when the nations of our Commonwealth commenced to send their own representatives abroad — first to this Capital — each concerned with his country's business but all looking on the same Sovereign as the head of the Commonwealth.

A New Role

As Canadian Minister I bore credentials from our Sovereign. I now come to you again as a representative of the Crown — this time not in a post abroad but in one at home. "Governor General" is perhaps, a misleading term. A person holding that office does not "govern". His functions, indeed, can easily be confused with those of governors in some other countries who, unlike him, are administrators. We, no less than yourselves, are of course a completely free and independent nation. Canada alone among the countries of the Americas is a constitutional monarchy. Under our system the Governor General represents the Sovereign, who is the Head of our Canadian state and with us, all actions in the field of Government, from the passing of legislation to the delivering of mail are performed, to quote the ancient phrase we use, "On Her Majesty's Service".

In June of last year, an event took place of high significance to us in Canada. In none of Her Majesty's realms was her Coronation celebrated with greater fervour. May I say that as your neighbours, we Canadians were greatly touched by the deep and widespread interest displayed by the American people in this event. May I be permitted to convey to you the sincere appreciation of The Queen's subjects in Canada, for your sensitive understanding of a ceremony which meant so much to us and, we believe, much to the world.

On an occasion such as this, made possible by our graceful hospitality, one is reminded of all that our Commonwealth owes to you, and, indeed, has owed ever since you established your free republic here on this Continent. The principles enshrined in your Declaration of Independence and in your Con-

stitution were a challenge to the British peoples in the 18th Century, and since, to seek out the sources of their ancient freedom — sources from which we all have fed. Thus, you helped us to cultivate our own institutions under the Crown, which to us is a symbol of freedom and duty. We are grateful to you for aiding us in the Commonwealth to preserve and enrich our own way of life.

Emotions Understood

Even at the very beginning, the noble emotions inspired by the Declaration of the fathers of this Republic, and the solid framework of the Constitution which they built, were comprehended and welcomed by many in Great Britain. I belong to a Club in London — a stronghold of the Whigs in the 18th Century — many of whose members used to receive the news of General Washington's victories with undisguised satisfaction. One of them, indeed, boasted that he had drunk the General's health every night during the course of the war in America.

To say that you in the United States and we in Canada have much in common, is a venerable platitude. Living as we do side by side on the same Continent, our resemblances are many. We have, too, similar views on fundamental things. Among our common characteristics, one of the greatest, I believe, is our dislike of regimentation — our respect for the differences which lend colour to everyday existence. We believe that each man should preserve its own customs. It is not surprising, therefore, that for all that we have in common, you and we should each preserve certain habits and traditions which we cherish because they belong to us. We know it is not your wish to have on your borders a mere replica of your own country, but rather a self-respecting community faithful to its own ways. We are thus better neighbours, because self-respect is the key to respect for others. On our side of the border you will find a country in which parliamentary government has been, we believe, successfully married to a federal system; a country whose people cherish two languages and two cultures — English and French; a land which has inherited from its mother countries in the old world many forms and customs which have been happily fitted into life in the new. These ways of ours you respect because they are ours, just as we respect your ways because they are yours. Thus, in the words of the "Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation", which laid the foundation of our present concord as long ago as 1794, we "promote a disposition favourable to friendship and good neighbourhood".

In Canada we are indeed fortunate in our neighbourhood. We have a warm-hearted neighbour. This your people have shown us over the years. There are countless bodies in

this country in which, through your invitations, Canadians share membership with their American friends. We are not unmindful of what we owe to your great universities and foundations. Let me say, too, that we are ever conscious of the warmth of the hospitality we receive when we are your guests.

We have a powerful neighbour. Your massive strength, economic and military, excites a sense of wonder at its magnitude. The dedication of this power to the cause of freedom evokes the gratitude of all who love freedom everywhere. Your Canadian neighbours know that when you assumed the grave responsibilities you bear today, it was not of your choosing. And for what you have done, we honour you.

We have a friendly neighbour. There is no need to enlarge on the traditions of neighbourly good sense which for so long have marked our relations. We can only hope that they may be reflected elsewhere in this troubled world.

We are happy to think that we know you well. Countless Canadians have personal friends on this side of the border. Many of us have relatives here. It is, of course, natural that a small community should know more of a larger neighbour than that neighbour knows of it. We are getting to know each other better as the years pass. We welcome your visits to us. Often your objective may be the river or the forest, and we are happy to offer you a playground. But perhaps you will let me say that we could not have our visitors show too strong a preference for those parts of Canada which are not yet inhabited by Canadians! We should like you to know our people — what they do and how they do it. I would not, of course, suggest that you are unaware of what is going on in Canada in the field of engineering and industry. Much of our development in these spheres, I need not say, is a result of your confidence in our future. Nowhere has our recent growth met with warmer acclaim than in this country. It is true that quite extraordinary things have happened of late in Canada, but we prefer sober adjectives with which to describe them. Our expansion has been rapid, but it is steady and it is built on sound realities. It is based on the character of our people and on the

quality of our national life. It is based on a hardihood and spirit of adventure as remarkable at that shown by our first explorers; on the disciplined intellect of our men of science seeking out new horizons of knowledge and usefulness; on the devotion of our legislators working to fulfil the conscious vision of the Fathers of our Confederation who almost a hundred years ago came together to found a new nation. We believe that the Canada of today is not unworthy of inspection. I invite you to come and see us.

I have talked about ourselves as your neighbours. I have said little about ourselves as your partners. You and we work together in the international community. Along with kinsmen and friends across the seas, we are allies in defence of the things we value. And, if I may say so, I think that we in Canada, like you, have given proof that those values must be actively and zealously defended. In the far north we are working with you to strengthen the defences of this continent on our territory and on yours. In Korea there has been, from an early stage, a Brigade Group of Canadian troops. They are now standing guard against the possibility of renewed attack. Twelve Squadrons of the Royal Canadian Air Force and a further Canadian Brigade Group are stationed in Europe. Such formations, I need hardly say, should naturally be related in our minds to the size of the population which provides them.

We are also supplying our European friends with mutual aid on a considerable scale. Canada, too, is giving help under the Colombo Plan to the countries of southern Asia. We believe — as you do — that the problems of our time cannot be solved by military strength alone. The line can be held only by the deployment of force, but the objective — peace — can be won only by the quality of infinite patience. In our collaboration, we may not always agree on every detail of the plans we must discuss together, but there is no difference between us on the fundamental aims which we pursue; we may differ now and then on the “hows” but never on the “whys”. You may depend upon us as faithful friends and comrades.



APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. C. S. A. Ritchie, Canadian Ambassador to Germany, took over his new post on May 10, 1954.
- Mr. B. A. S. Crane was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, Pakistan, effective April 30, 1954.
- Mr. J. F. X. Houde was posted from the Canadian Embassy in Brussels to the Canadian Embassy in Athens, Greece, effective May 1954.
- Mr. J. H. Taylor was posted on loan to the Privy Council Office, effective May 3, 1954.
- Mr. G. A. Rau was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Dublin, to the Canadian Legation, Oslo, Norway, effective May 14, 1954.

- Mr. W. St. L. Durdin was posted from home leave to Ottawa, effective May 17, 1954.
- Mr. W. F. Hoogendyke was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the Union of South Africa, effective May 18, 1954.
- Mr. P. C. Dobel was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Prague, Czechoslovakia, effective May 19, 1954.
- Mr. P. A. Bissonnette was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective May 21, 1954.
- Mr. J. C. J. Cousineau joined the Department of External Affairs as a Foreign Service Officer Grade I, on May 20, 1954.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

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Annual Report of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, 15 February 1953 - 18 February 1954. New York, March 1954. E/2553, E/CN.11/378. Pp. 39. ECOSOC Official Records: Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 3.

Economic Commission for Latin America, Sixth Annual Report, 26 April 1953 - 10 February 1954. New York, March 1954. E/2536, E/CN.12/AC.24/9/Rev.1. Pp. 24. ECOSOC Official Records: Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 2.

Economic Survey of Latin America 1951-52. New York, 1954. E/CN.12/291/Rev.2. Pp. 217. \$2.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.G.3.

Study of the Prospects of Inter-Latin-America Trade (Southern Zone of the Region). New York, 1954. E/CN.12/304/Rev.2. Pp. 134. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1953.II.G.4.

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Inter-Governmental Organizations. New York, 6 November 1953. ST/SG/3. Pp. 75. \$1.25. Sales No.: 1953.X.2 (Bilingual).

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No. 3—January 1953. ST/SOA/SER.M/3. New York, 1954. Pp. 162. \$2.00.

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CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	Melbourne (83 William St.)
“.....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Austria.....	Minister (Absent).....	Vienna 1 (Strauchgasse 1)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
Belgian Congo.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (35, rue de la Science)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
“.....	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	High Commissioner.....	Colombo (6 Gregory's Rd., Cinnamon Garden)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Avenida General Bulnes 129)
Colombia.....	Ambassador.....	Bogota (Edificio Faux, Avenida Jimenez de Quesada No. 7-25)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (Avenida Menocal No. 16)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Krakowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Trondhjems Plads No. 4)
Dominican Republic.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Ciudad Trujillo (Edificio Copello 408 Calle El Conde)
Egypt.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara)
Finland.....	Minister (Absent) Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken 3-C. 32)
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris xvi (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Ambassador.....	Bonn (Zitelmann Strasse, 22)
“.....	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Perthshire Block, Headquarters (British Sector) B.A.O.R.2)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 avenue Vassilissis Sofias)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatemala City (28, 5a Avenida Sud)
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
“.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Indonesia.....	Ambassador.....	Djakarta (Tanah Abang Timur No. 2)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Bldg.)
Japan.....	Ambassador.....	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku)
Lebanon.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Beirut (P.O. Box 2300)
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)
Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza, Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Ayala Bldg., Juan Luna St.)

Poland.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Kępa)
Portugal.....	Minister (Absent)..... Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Lisbon (Avenida da Praia da Vitoria)
Singapore.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building)
Spain.....	Ambassador.....	Madrid (Edificio Espana, Avenida de José Antonio 88)
Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvägen 7-C)
Switzerland.....	Ambassador.....	Berne (88 Kirchenfeldstrasse)
Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (Colonial Bldg.)
Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (Müdafaai Hukuk Caddesi, No. 19, Cankaya)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (24 Barclay's Bank Bldg.)
“ “.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
“ “.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Building)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador..... Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.	Moscow (23 Starokonyushenny Pereulok)
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	London (Canada House)
“ “.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
“ “.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
“ “.....	Consul General.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
“ “.....	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
“ “.....	Consul and Trade Commis- sioner.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
“ “.....	Consul General.....	Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.)
“ “.....	Consul and Trade Commis- sioner.....	New Orleans (215 International Trade Mart)
“ “.....	Consul General.....	New York (620 Fifth Ave.)
“ “.....	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street)
“ “.....	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
“ “.....	Consul General.....	Seattle (Tower Bldg., Seventh Avenue at Olive Way)
Uruguay.....	Ambassador (Absent)..... Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Montevideo (Victoria Plaza Hotel)
Venezuela.....	Ambassador.....	Caracas (2° Piso Edificio Pan-Ameri- can, Puente Urapal, Candelaria)
Yugoslavia.....	Ambassador.....	Belgrade (Proliterskih Brigada 69)
North Atlantic Council.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (Canadian Embassy)
*OEEC.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (c/o Canadian Embassy)
United Nations.....	Permanent Representative.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
“ “.....	Permanent Delegate..... Deputy Permanent Delegate	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



CANADA

July 1954

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada



Sir Winston Churchill, Mr. Anthony Eden, and a small group of United Kingdom officials, visited Ottawa on June 29 and 30, following the talks held in Washington with President Eisenhower. During his stay Sir Winston had consultations with Government officials, and gave a press conference. The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, right, is shown above with Sir Winston on his arrival at Rockcliffe Airport.

Canadian Eulogy

“WHEN I first came here fifty-four years ago, for the first time, your population was just over five million; now it’s just under fifteen million. All that has happened in my lifetime,—Extraordinary!—Wonderful!— . . . I daresay, by the end of the century, it may be thirty or forty million, or more. What a wonderful thing, what a marvellous thing, what a work you are all engaged in, building up rapidly the life of this vast community,—so free and so buoyant—in this wonderful country with its hitherto unmeasured possibilities. Far beyond what you’ve already discovered, a wonderful range lies before you in the future . . . I shall not indulge in a major engagement today as to when I shall return, but I should be very sorry if I never saw Canada again.

“ . . . It must be very inspiring to all of you, and especially to those who have the responsibility of the Canadian Government upon their shoulders, to feel that you are the architects and builders of a mighty structure whose future cannot be measured, but which will certainly take its place in the first rank of Sovereign communities.

“When all these hopes are fulfilled and all these glories come to you, do not forget the Old Land. Do not forget that little island lost among the northern mists which played so great a part in your early days and now regards you with so much admiration and pride.

“There is also France to which a strong and ancient element in the Canadian people looks with the respect which children should show to their parents. It must be a pleasure for French Canadians to feel that the bitter quarrels between France and Britain have passed into history and that we have shared our other perils and sufferings as friends and allies in this fearful twentieth century of strife.

“I hope that those buoyant, modern pilgrims—I believe that there are nearly a million of them—who have gone forth from the British Isles since the end of the last War to find a new home among you have brought you some knowledge of the place among us which Canada holds in British hearts.

“ . . . Let us move forward bound together by those enduring ties of language, literature, and law, and by those principles of Parliamentary Government that stand for the rights of the individual which are the characteristics of our civilization in every part of the world where it has been established.”

Sir Winston Churchill

in Ottawa,

June 1954

Tenth Anniversary Celebration of Normandy Invasion

THE celebrations of the landings on the Normandy beachheads this year followed the pattern of earlier occasions and included visits to the principal cemeteries and to the beaches where forces of the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada made their first landings in the early morning hours of June 6, 1944. This year, however, to mark the 10th anniversary, the celebrations were on a rather more elaborate scale, attended by the President of the Republic, the Premier of France, members of the French Cabinet, and many of the most important figures of the French military services and of the administration. Canada was represented, as was arranged, by the Canadian Ambassador in Paris and by Major-General J. D. B. Smith, attended by Mr. Day and Colonel Perron of the Paris Embassy. Canada was also represented by a contingent of some one hundred and seventy all ranks from the 1st Canadian Infantry Brigade (the Royal 22nd Regiment, P.P.C.L.I. and the R.C.R.) together with the band of the Brigade.

The population of Calvados and of La Manche have come to regard the 5th and 6th of June as one of the great national holidays and the enthusiasm this year, to mark the 10th anniversary, was greater than ever. The ceremonies, as has been true in the past, were simple and moving and included the pomp which surrounds the President of the Republic and the even more moving tributes of the youngsters from the schools in the surrounding countryside, who came to the cemeteries carefully guarding bunches of simple flowers from their own gardens. The towns which had suffered most grievously from the war (St. Lo, Caen) had done their best to conceal their wounds with flags and bunting and flowers, and in little villages throughout Normandy there were many homely banners welcoming the President and the visiting dignitaries in sentiments that made up in sincerity for what they may have lacked in art.

Service at Bayeux

The ceremonies began by a magnificent service in the ancient cathedral of Bayeux which, for this occasion, was probably more crowded than it has been on any occasion since the Middle Ages. By great good fortune, Bayeux was very largely spared and the cathedral suffered only a damaged window or two which, not yet being replaced, admitted the light of a fine June afternoon into this ancient shrine. It is unlikely that those who were present will ever forget the great beauty of the service and the magnificent music of the *Te Deum* amid the splendour of the cathedral itself and of the vast concourse of dignitaries and of citizens who were present.

Following a brief visit to the British cemetery in Bayeux, the Presidential cavalcade, together with his Cabinet, his generals, his administrative chiefs, the Ambassadors and the visiting dignitaries, departed through the pleasant Norman countryside to Arromanches, where the first of the ceremonies was held in the British cemetery. Here the President reviewed the assembled contingents of the United States, Belgium, Great Britain, Canada, Holland, Luxembourg,



PRESIDENT OF FRANCE REVIEWS CANADIAN TROOPS

The President of France, M. Rene Coty, reviews the Canadian troops at Arromanches, France, during ceremonies commemorating the 10th anniversary of the landings of the allied forces on the Normandy beach-heads.

Norway and France. Thereafter the museum, commemorating Mulberry Harbour and the landings ten years ago, was inaugurated by the President of the Republic. A further visit was paid to Colleville-Montgomery, where again there was a review of the allied troops, the laying of a wreath and the playing of the appropriate national anthems.

In the early evening of Saturday, June 5, the President and his suite moved on to Hermanville, where speeches were made by the President of the Committee responsible for this celebration, by Mr. Spaak of Belgium, by the Canadian Ambassador Mr. Désy, and Sir Gladwyn Jebb. The first day's celebrations ended with a reception and a dinner at Lyon-sur-Mer, where Norman hospitality was again almost extravagantly demonstrated, followed by a moving speech by the Mayor of the community and by a particularly fine speech by the President of the Republic.

Early in the morning of Sunday, June 6, the Canadian party and the Canadian contingent, attended by the representatives of the French Government and army, held a special service in the quiet Canadian cemetery at Beny-sur-Mer. The cemetery is wonderfully kept—in part, through the devotion of the people of the countryside who in a quiet way have done much to add to its great beauty. There was a large gathering of people from the neighbouring villages to attend a simple but moving ceremony which included the laying of

a splendid wreath from the President of the French Republic and of modest garlands of flowers from youngsters of the nearby towns and villages. The Canadian party thereafter rejoined the Presidential group at the vast American cemetery at St. Laurent, just past Omaha Beach, where the United States forces suffered so grievously on the first day of the assault. This cemetery, which was under construction last year, has now reached imposing proportions and here the President of the Republic, surrounded by members of his Government and of his armed forces, joined in mourning with the United States Ambassador and with representatives of the allied countries for the many thousands of the United States dead. In the peaceful grey sea off the coast there lay at anchor nine great warships of the French and United States navies, recalling grimly the part that the allied naval forces played in the landings ten years ago.

The Presidential party, followed by the various Ambassadors, then proceeded back to Bayeux and on to St. Lo, where a ceremony was held for the twelve hundred citizens of this community who were killed by allied bombardments in the early days of the attack. Here in St. Lo has been erected one of the most moving monuments of the allied landings, commemorating very properly the part which the civilians of France, whether of the Resistance or not, played in making successful the allied assault. The entire party then returned again to the sea to Carentan where, following the dedication of a monument to mark the liberation of the town, the entire visiting company was entertained at what must have been one of the most sumptuous and lengthy banquets in the history of Normandy. Thereafter, the entire party of some five or six hundred proceeded to Utah Beach, where the most elaborate of the ceremonies had been organized. A torch of liberty was dedicated to the special brigade of the 1st American Engineering Division, which suffered the earliest and the most grievous casualties, and again the national hymns of the allied powers were played by the bands of the assembled contingents. Mr. Cabot Lodge, representing President Eisenhower, the Dutch Ambassador, and the President of the Republic, spoke simply but movingly of the alliance which had made the liberation of France and Europe possible, and of the need for the maintenance of this alliance for the not less perilous days of peace. This ceremony concluded the participation of the Canadian party and contingent, although further ceremonies were held by the United States group at Cherbourg.

A Visit from the Emperor of Ethiopia

CANADA was greatly honoured during the early part of June to receive a brief visit from His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, who was accompanied by his third son, Prince Sahle Selassie, and a granddaughter, Princess Sebla Desta. In the Emperor's suite of fourteen persons were the Minister of War, His Excellency General Abeye Abbebe; the Minister of Justice and of the Pen, His Excellency Tsahafi Tazaz Wolde Guiorguis Wolde Yohannes; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Aklilou Abte Wold; the Emperor's private secretary, His Excellency Tafari Worq Kidane Wold; the Chief of Protocol in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who is the son of the Prime Minister of Ethiopia; the Emperor's Aide-de-Camp; two United States citizens who serve the Government of Ethiopia as advisers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Director of the National Library of Ethiopia, and the Director-General of the Ministry of Finance.

An invitation had been extended to His Imperial Majesty to visit Canada as soon as it was learned in Ottawa some weeks earlier that the Emperor would welcome an opportunity to see for himself industrial developments and the life of the people in general in the United States, Canada and Mexico, as well as to forge fresh bonds of friendship between his own land and the three countries of the North American continent. It was a source of special pleasure to the Canadian Government that the invitation was accepted, in view of the high regard in which the name of Emperor Haile Selassie I has been held in this country over the years. After the Emperor had paid a state visit to Washington from May 26 to 28 and had enjoyed the hospitality of the City of New York, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the City of Boston, he was met at the Boston airport on the afternoon of June 3 by a group of Canadian officials led by Mr. Howard Measures of the Department of the Secretary of State and was conducted to Ottawa in a North Star aircraft of the Royal Canadian Air Force.

Arrival at Rockcliffe

At Rockcliffe Airport His Imperial Majesty was welcomed by His Excellency the Governor General of Canada, the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet, the leaders of all Opposition parties, the Mayor of Ottawa and the Chiefs of Staff. An Ethiopian member of the graduating class of Carleton College was also present. After listening to the dignified strains of the psalm used as the national anthem of Ethiopia, the Emperor received a 21-gun salute and inspected a tri-service guard of honour. He was then conducted to Government House, where he and the principal members of the party remained as guests of the Governor General. A state dinner was given at Government House on the evening of June 3, followed by a reception which members of the Cabinet and heads of diplomatic missions attended.

The next day began for the Emperor with a discussion of aerial surveys with Canadian technical experts. His Imperial Majesty chose to spend the greater part of the morning on Parliament Hill, where he was received by the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Government in the Senate and the Speakers of the Senate and the House of Commons shortly after citizens of Ottawa had



The Ethiopian Empire, with which the former Italian colony of Eritrea was federated in September 1952, now has direct access to Red Sea trade routes leading to Asia, the Middle East, Europe and the western hemisphere (see inset).

heard the Ethiopian national anthem played on the Peace Tower carillon. His Imperial Majesty was conducted to points of interest throughout the building and then attended brief receptions in the Chambers of the Speakers of the Senate and House of Commons respectively, where a number of Senators and Members of Parliament had the honour of being presented to him. Later the Emperor and his Ministers listened from the diplomatic gallery to a considerable part of the morning's debate on estimates of the Department of National Revenue, asking questions of their hosts about Canadian parliamentary procedure and showing the liveliest interest in the proceedings.

These began with a warmly applauded tribute to Canada's distinguished visitor by the Hon. René Beaudoin, Speaker of the House of Commons, who drew attention to the Emperor's presence in the gallery, welcomed him in the name of the Members of Parliament and went on to say, "If ever a man possessed the virtues of courage, perseverance and love of country, it is the Emperor of the ancient Kingdom of Ethiopia." The Speaker then described how, in the face of the acceptance by members of the League of Nations of

the conquest of Ethiopia almost two decades ago, the Emperor had promised that whatever the rest of the world might do his people would fight on until they forced the invader from the country or were themselves exterminated. The Emperor had worked hard himself to prepare for the day of liberation. On January 15, 1941 he had returned to Ethiopia, rallied around him some of his faithful warriors in a secret rendezvous and inspired his subjects to rise in arms and join his gradually expanding army. In May he had recovered his throne. In less than a year, with the help of his allies, his whole country was once again freed. Though Canada and Ethiopia were geographically far apart, the Speaker observed, they were close to each other in fraternity and understanding, as evidenced by the number of Canadians now living in Ethiopia and helping to make that great country greater still.

Press Conference and TV Interview

After leaving the diplomatic gallery the Emperor consented to reply to questions put to him by members of the Press Gallery on a number of points in which the Canadian public is interested. Some of these were matters of historical, others of contemporary importance. Asked whether he thought the United Nations could have prevented the invasion of Ethiopia where the League of Nations had proved unable to do so, His Imperial Majesty suggested in a brief but quiet reply which was translated from Amharic that what mattered was not so much the form of international organization as the spirit in which the objective of collective security is pursued. If the same degree of solidarity and willingness to take action had existed in 1935 and 1936 as exists now, he said, the invasion of Ethiopia could have been prevented and possibly a world war would have been avoided.

Asked whether there were any signs of Communist infiltration in Ethiopia at the present time, the Emperor said there were none, nor did he anticipate infiltration in the future. In reply to questions about what Canadians have done or might do in the future that would be of value of Ethiopia, the Emperor said that "great satisfaction" had been derived from the work of Canadian educators, agricultural advisers and many others who have served in Ethiopia in the past or are serving there now. He mentioned particularly the service in planning the expansion of the school system rendered by Mr. Frank Patten, Secretary-Treasurer of the Ottawa Collegiate Institute Board, who was Deputy Director-General of Education in Ethiopia from 1949 to 1951 and accompanied the Emperor throughout his Canadian trip, and Dr. E. S. Archibald, former Director of the Experimental Farms Service of Canada, who went to Addis Ababa in 1951 as adviser to the Ethiopian Government and served as head of the technical assistance mission of the Food and Agriculture Organization in Ethiopia, which prepared a six-year agricultural development programme presented to the FAO in November 1953. (On other occasions during the Emperor's Canadian visit appreciative references were made by him to the work of Mr. Stuart Graham, who has been chief of the technical assistance mission sent to Ethiopia in 1951 by the International Civil Aviation Organization, and Dr. Lucien Matte, who went to Addis Ababa in 1945 to help organize secondary education and is now principal of University College with half a dozen Canadian teachers on his staff. Another Canadian is in charge of the teachers' training school at Harrar, and it is understood that a Canadian will be principal of the Haile Selassie University to be opened in October 1954. There are now

over fifty Canadian teachers in primary and secondary schools throughout the country and a few Canadian technical experts in other fields.)

So far as Canadian aid in the economic development of Ethiopia was concerned, His Imperial Majesty remarked during his Press Gallery visit that what would be most appreciated would be the investment of private capital in the exploitation of natural resources and particularly in agriculture, stock-raising and mining. He also hoped for an increase in trade between Canada and Ethiopia. In this respect the Emperor's statement bore out the impression given in the United States that he was not seeking government aid but normal investment by business concerns and private enterprise in Ethiopian railroads, mineral resources and agriculture and specially in the production of grain, lumber, coffee and textile fibres.

In the prepared statement with which his press conference began the Emperor spoke appreciatively of the help Canada had given through the United Nations to secure the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia, which he cited as one evidence of the increasingly important part Canada is playing in world affairs. At the close of the conference he was admitted to honorary membership in the Press Gallery, an honour conferred on no one since Sir Winston Churchill (then Mr. Churchill) visited Ottawa in January 1953.

There followed television interviews in English and French in which the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation gave to its audiences for English and French-language programmes an opportunity to see Canada's distinguished visitor and to hear a brief discussion of the ties existing between Ethiopia and Canada. His Imperial Majesty said in answer to one of the questions put to him that he was hopeful a Canadian firm might carry out an aerial survey of his country, while in replying to other questions he re-emphasized points already made in the Press Gallery interview.



—Fednews

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE I VISITS OTTAWA

His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, visited Ottawa during June and was met at Rockcliffe Airport at Ottawa by the Governor General, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, right, and the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable L. S. St. Laurent.



The picking of high grade wild coffee has yielded a living in the past to many Ethiopians. The Emperor plans to use FAO studies as the basis for encouraging the production of cultivated coffee in the immediate future.

After lunch at Rideau Hall the Emperor planted a tree on the grounds to commemorate his visit and then left for Montreal accompanied by the Hon. Alcide Côté, Postmaster General of Canada, and other government officials. From Dorval airport the party was conducted directly to the University of Montreal, where diplomas and certificates were in process of being conferred upon 705 members of the graduating class. Here the Emperor was presented by the Rector, Msgr. Olivier Maurault, for the honorary degree of Doctor of the University of Montreal, which was conferred by His Eminence Paul-Emile Cardinal Léger, Chancellor of the University. The citation described His Imperial Majesty as a man of peace and a law-abiding Emperor, one who had endured calamity with patience, whose triumph was a tribute to his integrity. In his reply the Emperor, speaking in French, said that he regarded it as only natural that his sojourn in Montreal should begin with a visit to the university, since in troubled times such as prevail today strength and conviction are to be regained in the atmosphere of sincerity, truth and culture which prevail in a traditional centre of learning. As a memento of his visit the Emperor gave the Chancellor a manuscript copy of the New Testament transcribed on parchment by Coptic monks and bound in Ethiopian leather, which will be preserved with other treasures in the library of the university.

After a reception at the Chalet on Mount Royal the Emperor and his party were entertained at a dinner for two hundred guests at the Windsor Hotel which was presided over by the President of the Montreal Metropolitan Com-

mission and Mrs. J. O. Asselin. Remarking that Maisonneuve's first settlement on the present site of Montreal was established about the time when the Ethiopian Royal Court ceased to move about from one province to another and founded its first settled capital at Gondar, Mr. Asselin, in the name of the metropolis of a relatively young country, welcomed the ruler of a much older land where Christian faith and principles have been honoured since the days of Frumentius sixteen centuries ago. "Our gratification in welcoming you here today," he said, "derives most of all from what we know of the valiant leadership and wise statesmanship your reign has exemplified, your high devotion to the task of furthering the organization and education of an ancient and proud nation in the ways of democracy, and the constancy with which Your Majesty continues to support through the United Nations the principle of international co-operation in the defence of freedom."

On the morning of June 5 a special Convocation was held at McGill University to confer upon the Emperor the degree of LL.D., *honoris causa*. He was received at Tyndale Hall by Principal Cyril James, who said in presenting him to Chancellor Gardner for the degree that His Imperial Majesty stood forth



Fiber flax seed imported from Canada has given exceptionally good yields in the plateau regions of Ethiopia. Here a bundle of flax is rescued from the stream into which it had been blown by the wind.

before the Western world as a symbol of courage and of that vision without which the nations perish. In replying the Emperor referred to the memorable nature of the university's symbolic act in conferring upon the representative of another people and another tradition the highest honour in its gift. He paid tribute to the special contribution McGill University has made in the field of medicine and particularly neurology and spoke of the extent to which he expected to rely upon Canadian educators when the new national university is opened in Ethiopia in the near future. He inspected with interest an exhibit of Amharic books in Tyndale Hall and presented to McGill University a copy of the New Testament similar to the one given to the Chancellor of the University of Montreal.

A river trip to Quebec City followed, the Emperor being accompanied at this stage by the Hon. Jean Lesage, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, at the head of the party of Canadian officials. The ice-breaker "d'Iberville" brought the party to Queen's Wharf late on the evening of June 5. Here His Imperial Majesty was welcomed by the Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec and the Mayor of the city. The Emperor had signified that it was his wish to spend Sunday quietly according to his usual custom. Thus there were few functions on the day following. After a luncheon at Government House visits were paid to the Citadel and Laval University. Late in the afternoon at the Quebec airport the Emperor received a royal salute, inspected a guard of honour and bade farewell to the Lieutenant Governor, the Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources and the Mayor of Quebec before boarding his North Star aircraft for Windsor. The flight was made via Niagara Falls, which was circled while the Emperor watched from the pilot's cockpit. Another artillery salute and inspection of a guard of honour on the morning of June 7 preceded the departure of His Imperial Majesty from Canada. The Mayor of Windsor, and Canadian officials who had accompanied the party since its arrival at the Boston airport, bade the Emperor goodbye as he prepared to cross the international bridge to resume his tour of the United States.

In fulfilling his purpose of widening the circle of friendship for his people the Canadian tour of Emperor Haile Selassie could hardly have been more effective, for all who came in contact with His Imperial Majesty were impressed and touched by his great dignity and simplicity, his friendliness, humour and gentleness and his never-failing interest in whatever came to his notice. Those who were closest to him were aware, moreover, of the extent to which the Emperor carried in mind constantly the needs and capabilities of his own people, considering how their welfare might be advanced by a process of adaptation of the conditions of life developed on this continent. For Canadians it became during His Imperial Majesty's visit a matter of fresh interest to reflect upon the process of rapid development which Ethiopia is now undergoing and a source of no small satisfaction that one of the greatest of Ethiopia's long line of rulers should have honoured Canada with a visit.

NATO's Atlantic Command

By far the best known of the chief NATO commanders—better known probably than any other position in the NATO structure—is SACEUR (Supreme Allied Commander Europe) whose headquarters is SHAPE (Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe). This is not too surprising. SHAPE is the largest NATO headquarters and was the first organized. General Eisenhower, the first to hold the appointment of SACEUR, naturally attracted to the position wide public attention and high prestige. Moreover, the territory covered by SACEUR's subordinate commands extends from the North Cape in Norway through Germany to Mt. Ararat in Turkey, along the front line of the Atlantic community. It should not be forgotten, however, that there are two other NATO commands of equal status, the Allied Command Atlantic and the Allied Command Channel and Southern North Sea. It is with the first of these that this article will deal.

The Allied Command Atlantic differs from NATO's European Command in that the former has no forces permanently attached in peacetime, while the latter directs forces that are actually assigned to it and stationed in Europe in peacetime. The Atlantic Command draws up plans for operations in the event of an emergency and carries out exercises from time to time to train the forces that the participating countries have earmarked for assignment in the event of war. These forces are predominately naval but there are also some land-based air forces and some ground forces. Canada has earmarked for assignment to this Command forty-two ships of the Royal Canadian Navy and maritime reconnaissance aircraft of the Royal Canadian Air Force.

Primary Task

The primary task of the Atlantic Command is to protect the life-lines of the Atlantic community in case of war by guarding the sea lanes and denying use of the Atlantic Ocean to the enemy. The area covered by the Command extends from the Tropic of Cancer to the North Pole, and from the coastal waters of North America to the coastal waters of Europe and North Africa, excluding the English Channel and the waters around the British Isles. The defence of the islands in this area, such as Iceland and the Azores, would fall to the Atlantic Command, as would the support of operations in adjacent NATO commands.

The Atlantic Command was established in 1952. In January 30 of that year, Admiral Lynde D. McCormick, USN, was appointed SACLANT (Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic) by the North Atlantic Council Deputies on the nomination of the President of the United States. He assumed command the following April 10 at his headquarters at Norfolk, Virginia. There, an international staff has been organized of some 350 military personnel and additional civilians. The staff officers have been drawn from eight NATO countries (Canada, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States). Canada's contribution consists of ten officers of the Royal Canadian Navy and one officer of the Royal Canadian Air Force. The other ranks in the headquarters are personnel from the United States Navy and



—SACLANT

FLAG AREA AT SACLANT HEADQUARTERS

The flags of the 14 member nations of NATO fly daily at the headquarters of Admiral McCormick at Norfolk, Va., U.S.A. In the centre is the headquarters flag with the SACLANT seal.

the necessary guard duties in the headquarters area are performed by a United States Marine Corps detachment.

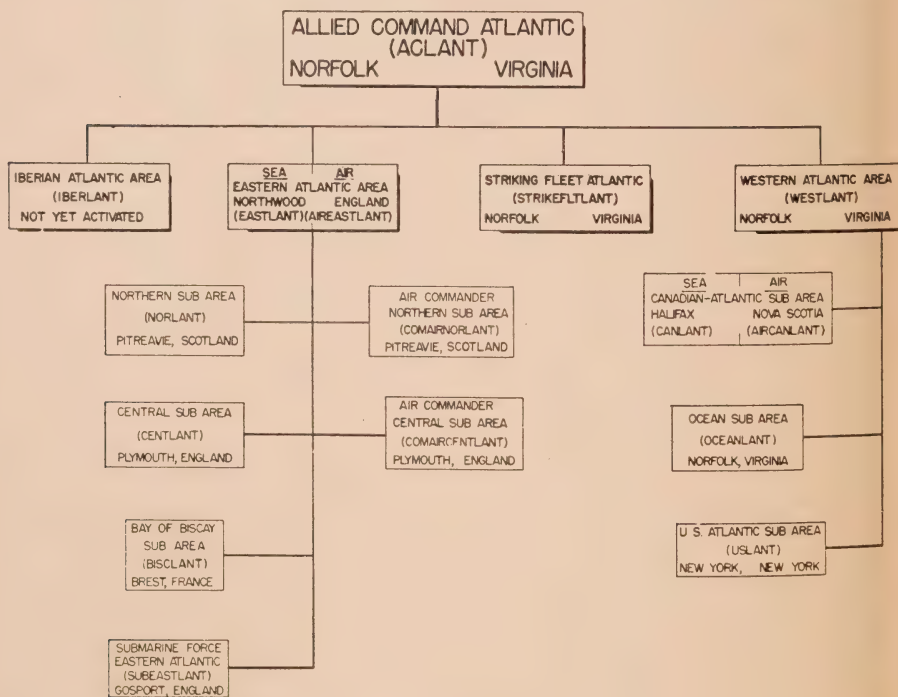
On April 12, 1954, Admiral McCormick was succeeded by Admiral Jerauld Wright, USN. He holds at the same time the national appointment of Commander-in-chief Atlantic and United States Atlantic Fleet. Admiral Wright's Deputy is Vice-Admiral John F. Stevens, RN., and his Chief of Staff is Rear Admiral Leon J. Huffman, USN. Vice-Admiral Stevens is at the same time the British Commander-in-Chief American and West Indies Station.

SACLANT's staff is divided into seven divisions. (See the chart on page 221). The Personnel and Administrative Division co-ordinates and executes headquarters housekeeping and secretarial activities and is responsible also for personnel and administrative policies for the Command as a whole. The Intelligence Division keeps SACLANT and his subordinate commands apprised of the capabilities of any potential enemy. The Plans, Policy and Operations Division, which is the largest division, develops defence policy and plans in accordance with approved NATO strategy under the supervision of the Deputy Chief of Staff. The latter co-ordinates the training of earmarked forces and plans combined operations and exercises for these forces. The Logistics Division is responsible for working out efficient means for the logistic support of the earmarked forces. This task involves special problems in standardizing equipment and procedures and developing the infrastructure programme required to provide the earmarked forces with the necessary fixed installations. The Communications Division develops communications and electronics plans

and requirements, including the establishing of common practices, the provision of signals facilities and the training of forces in these techniques. The Budget and Finance Division is responsible for the accounting, budgetary, financial and procurement arrangements. The Command Headquarters are financed out of a common budget supported by all the NATO countries and the control of these expenditures is supervised by the Military Budget Committee of the North Atlantic Council. The task of the Public Information Division is to keep the public as well informed as possible of the work of the Command consistent with security restrictions.

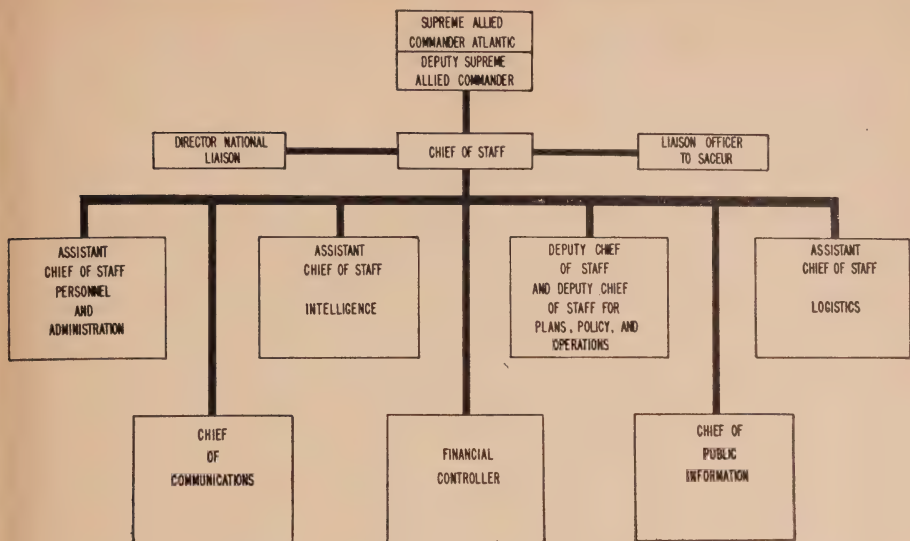
In addition there are two special liaison officers. There is a Liaison Officer to SACEUR in Paris who ensures continuing contact with the European Command. There is also a Director of National Liaison at Headquarters who co-ordinates the day-to-day relations of the Command with the National Liaison Representatives. There are ten such representatives accredited to SACLANT by the NATO countries with Atlantic Ocean frontiers (Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States) who are regularly briefed on the work of the Command by the various divisions of SACLANT's staff. Canada's representative is Rear Admiral H. G. de Wolfe.

The areas and sub-areas into which SACLANT's Command is divided are shown in the chart below. There are at present three main subordinate commands (those for the Eastern Atlantic Area, with headquarters at Northwood, England; for the Striking Fleet Atlantic, with headquarters at Norfolk, Virginia; and for the Western Atlantic Area with headquarters also at Norfolk). The fourth command (for the Iberian-Atlantic Area) has not yet been estab-



SACLANT ORGANIZATION

HEADQUARTERS STAFF ALLIED COMMAND ATLANTIC



lished. Under the Western Atlantic Area Commander there is a joint sea-air sub-area command for the Canadian Atlantic, with headquarters at Halifax, Nova Scotia. The Sea Commander for this sub-area is Rear Admiral R. E. S. Bidwell, RCN and the Air Commander is Air Commodore A. D. Ross, RCAF.

The most important of the numerous exercises that SACLANT has so far held have been those known as MAINBRACE and MARINER. Both these were large-scale manoeuvres which climaxed yearly training schedules. MAINBRACE, which was held in the fall of 1952, and lasted for thirteen days, involved land, sea and air forces of eight NATO countries. The operations covered a vast part of the North Atlantic, ranging from northern Norway to the Danish coastal waters. Air strikes were conducted against a striking fleet and fast carrier task force and an amphibious landing was made in the Jutland area to assist forces already there engaged with a mythical enemy. Both the light fleet carrier H.M.C.S. Magnificent and the cruiser H.M.C.S. Quebec participated and played important roles in the amphibious operations in Denmark. Returning from this operation units of the Canadian and United States navies carried out exercise EMIGRANT concerned specifically with trade route protection.

Exercise MARINER lasted for nineteen days in the fall of 1953 and at this time nine NATO countries took part in operations designed to keep open the sea lanes of the North Atlantic. These operations included manoeuvres by the combined striking fleet in northern waters, the defence of convoys, naval control of shipping and the testing of present communications systems. Hunter-killer tactics, designed to protect shipping from submarine attack, and air strikes against land and sea objectives, also received prominent attention. Lessons learned in Exercise MAINBRACE were applied in Exercise MARINER and the improved results were gratifying. H.M.C.S. Magnificent again took part. In addition, the cruiser H.M.C.S. Ontario, the destroyer escort H.M.C.S. Algonquin and the frigates H.M.C.S. La Hulloise and Swansea, as well as three maritime reconnaissance squadrons of the R.C.A.F., engaged in the exercise.

The Palestine Question at the United Nations, October 1953 to April 1954

(The first portion of this article, which dealt chiefly with relations between Israel and Jordan, was published in the June issue of *External Affairs*.)

Diversion of the Water of the Upper Jordan

The Security Council still has on its agenda unfinished business in connection with the first item referred to it last October under the heading "Palestine Question"—Syria's complaint against Israel concerning work on the west bank of the river Jordan in the demilitarized zone. Although technically this issue was presented to the Security Council as a violation of particular provisions of the Israel-Syria armistice agreement relating to demilitarized zones, it was recognized from the outset that a wider question was also involved, namely the rational utilization of the water resources of the area, which is of interest not only to Israel and Syria but to Jordan and Lebanon as well.

On September 2, 1953 Israel began canal-digging operations in one of the frontier demilitarized zones, sovereignty over which has been disputed by Syria. Israel's intention was to shift the main stream of the Upper Jordan to permit it to flow over a steep declivity, some distance outside the demilitarized zone, where a hydro-electric plant would be constructed; the water would then flow into Lake Tiberias as formerly. The greater part of the canal was to be outside the demilitarized zone, but a short stretch was to be within the zone and had to be cut through a few Arab properties. On September 23 General Bennike, Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, asked the Government of Israel to instruct the Palestine Land Development Company to cease working in the demilitarized zone so long as an agreement concerning the operations was not arranged. He was of the opinion that when the canal was completed Israel would be in a position to control the flow of the Jordan River in the demilitarized zone to the detriment of normal civilian life and to alter at will the value to Syria of the zone, which had been designed to separate the armed forces of the two parties in such a way as to minimize the possibility of friction and incident. The Government of Israel, however, questioned General Bennike's judgment that the use of Arab-owned land in the demilitarized zone would be affected by the canal-digging operations. It guaranteed that the same volume of Jordan water now used by Arab land-owners or cultivators for irrigation purposes would remain available in future. Arguing that peaceful work of an eminently constructive and beneficial character in the demilitarized zone should not be interrupted, it ignored General Bennike's request and permitted the operations to continue.

Referred to Security Council

The Government of Syria referred the matter to the Security Council on October 16. It charged that Israel was violating the armistice agreement by infringing the rights of inhabitants of the demilitarized zone, by preventing the Syrian riparian public from irrigating their lands with water from the Jordan, and by arranging military operations in the central sector of the de-



The Jordan River at the Bridge of Jacob's Daughters, near which canal-digging operations began in September 1953.

militarized zone to accompany the canal-digging operations. On October 20 General Bennike wrote a second time to the Government of Israel explaining why he had asked that canal-digging operations in the demilitarized zone should be stopped and reminding the Foreign Minister of the authority conferred upon the United Nations Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission by the armistice agreement with the consent of both parties. Once this authority had been conferred, he said, it could not be assumed that either party could decide whether the United Nations representative was or was not acting in conformity with his terms of reference. "That would mean anarchy in the demilitarized zone." It had been the understanding, indeed, that in cases where there was a difference of opinion about the interpretation of the armistice agreement in relation to the demilitarized zone, the interpretation of the Mixed Armistice Commission would prevail.

General Bennike went on to point out that Article V of the armistice agreement provided for protection of the rights of Arab landowners, whose lands must not be worked upon, flooded or deprived of water without the landowners' consent. After investigation he had found not only that there had already been some interference with normal civilian life in the demilitarized zone but also that the completion of the hydro-electric project was likely to bring about greater disturbances. The construction of the projected canal would alter the flow of the Jordan River permanently. It would affect a number of individual farmers and the irrigation of fertile lands outside the demilitarized zone in Syria. In the Franco-British agreement of March 7, 1923 it had been provided that any existing rights over the use of the water of the Jordan by the inhabitants of Syria should be maintained unimpaired. This implied that there were water rights outside the demilitarized zone which could not be made to depend on *ex gratia* guarantees offered by the Government of Israel.

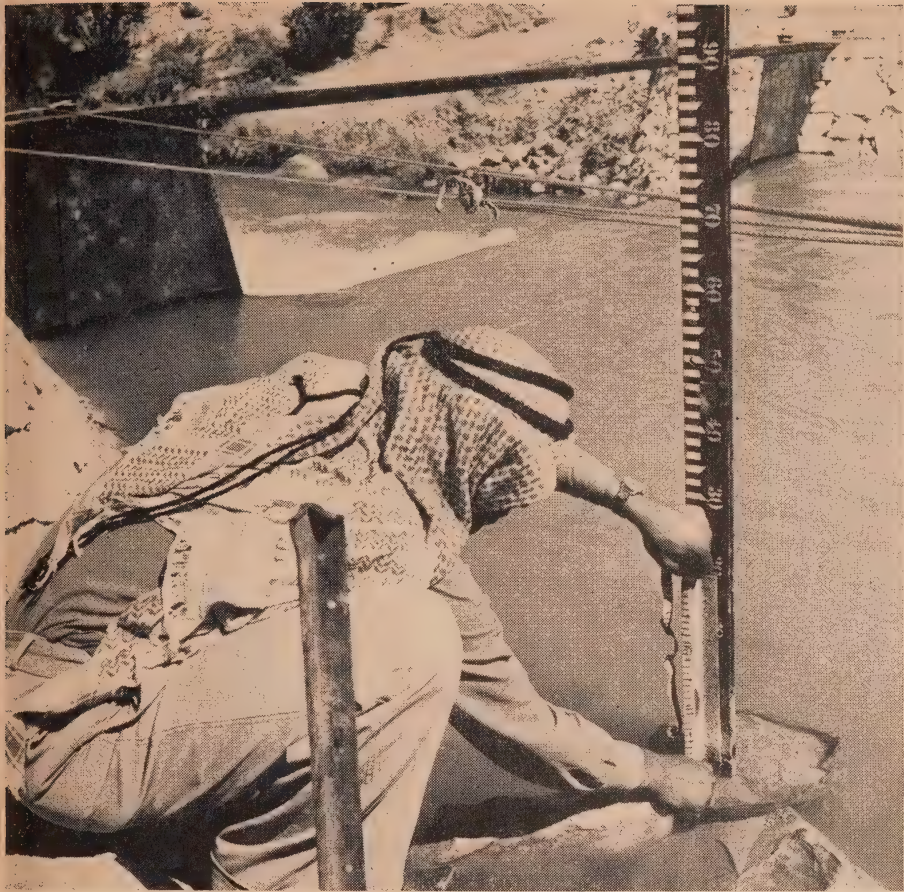
When the Security Council first met to debate the substance of the issue on October 27 considerable progress had already been made in the construction of the canal in the demilitarized zone, but Israel now undertook to suspend operations in that zone pending consideration of the matter by the Security Council and concentrated its efforts on construction of the canal outside the demilitarized zone while weather conditions permitted. The representative of Israel maintained that his government had not inherited the international treaties signed by the United Kingdom as mandatory power in Palestine. He argued that the Security Council had already decided that Syria should have no veto power over drainage operations by Israel in the demilitarized zone. He dismissed the argument that the proposed shifting of the main stream of the Upper Jordan would have any military significance in the demilitarized zone. He denied that Arab landowners would be affected by the hydro-electric project and asked the Security Council to uphold Israel's plans for irrigation and electrification of the area through the beneficial use of available water resources, regardless of objections which might be raised by a neighbour desiring to ensure Israel's economic strangulation.

Syrian Objections

Syria's main objections to the canal-digging operations were as follows. The demilitarized zone had been placed under a special regime because the question of sovereignty had not been settled. After the completion of the canal Israel would be able to control the civilian life of the whole area, which would mean its virtual annexation. The introduction of Israeli police into the zone to protect workers on the canal was a clear violation of the armistice agreement. Israel was hastening to complete its own irrigation and electrification projects so as to present the world with a *fait accompli* before any international plans for the rational utilization of the water resources of the area could be put into effect. Syria questioned Israel's right to dispose by unilateral action of what it considered to be an international river without first seeking the consent of other interested parties.

The debate in the Security Council continued at intervals until January 20, when a vote was taken on a joint resolution proposed by France, the United Kingdom and the United States. This endorsed General Bennike's action in asking for suspension of canal-digging operations, called on the parties to comply with all his decisions and requests in exercise of the authority given him in the armistice agreements and reminded the parties of the function of the Mixed Armistice Commission in interpreting provisions of the agreement relating to demilitarized zones. In order to promote the return of permanent peace to Palestine it was essential that the armistice agreement should be strictly and faithfully observed. The Chief of Staff was asked to explore the possibility of reconciling Israeli and Syrian interests—including full satisfaction of existing irrigation rights at all seasons—while safeguarding the rights of individuals in the demilitarized zone. He was also asked to take such steps as he might deem appropriate, in accordance with the armistice agreement, to effect a reconciliation. The draft resolution called upon the Governments of Israel and Syria to co-operate with General Bennike to this end and to refrain from any prejudicial unilateral action.

This draft resolution, although supported by seven members of the Security Council, failed of adoption by reason of a Soviet veto. The U.S.S.R. and



An Arab refugee is employed to take daily readings of the flow of water in the Yarmuk River, which empties into the Jordan below Lake Tiberias.

Lebanon voted against it because General Bennike was not asked to reconcile the interests of the Governments concerned; it was argued that the phrase used—"reconciling Israeli and Syrian interests"—might be taken to mean merely interests of local Syrian farmers. Lebanon therefore submitted an alternative draft resolution suggesting reconciliation between "the parties" to the dispute. This has not yet been debated.

On February 24 the Secretary-General of the United Nations announced the appointment of a committee of the Secretariat under the chairmanship of Dr. Ralph Bunche to make a study of various plans now under consideration for the proper utilization of the water resources of the Jordan valley.

Relations between Israel and Egypt

On January 28, a week after the Security Council voted on the foregoing resolution, Israel asked the Security Council to consider the question of Egyptian restrictions on the passage of ships trading with Israel through the Suez Canal and interference with shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba. Egypt responded on February 3 by asking the Security Council to consider violations

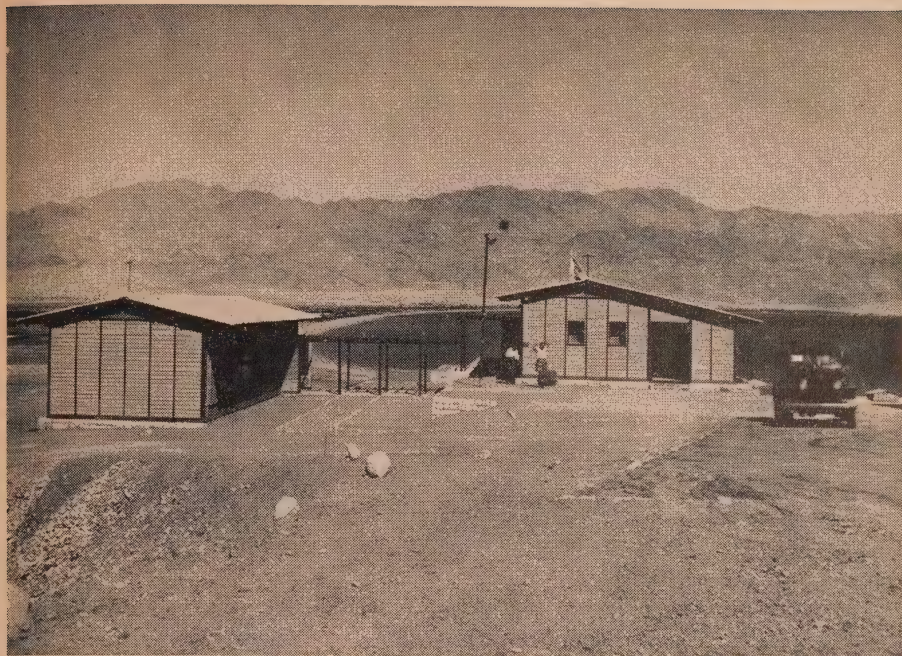
of the armistice agreement in the El-Auja demilitarized zone. The Security Council decided to discuss the two items separately. The consideration of Egyptian interference with shipping began on February 5 and continued until March 29. The second item has not yet been discussed since Egypt has not pressed for it, while Israel has objected to its consideration on the ground that a decision in the El-Auja case has been appealed to a special committee, which has not yet acted. Israel argues that the El-Auja situation is therefore *sub judice* and cannot be discussed in the Security Council. On March 12, while Israel's complaint about interference with Suez Canal shipping was still under consideration, Egypt circulated to the members of the Security Council documented complaints of Israeli aggression in the Gaza district which were intended to supplement its earlier complaint regarding conditions in the El-Auja demilitarized zone, but in this instance too it refrained from pressing for Security Council action.

The Israeli representative drew the attention of the Security Council to the fact that in defiance of a resolution of September 1, 1951 Egypt had persisted in interfering with shipping and cargoes passing through the Suez Canal that were destined for Israel and had extended its blockade to shipping passing to and from an Israeli port on the Gulf of Aqaba. What Egypt had been asked by the Security Council to do was to terminate restrictions on the passage of international commercial shipping and goods through the Suez Canal "wherever bound". Not only had it continued these restrictions but recently it had expanded the list of goods described as contraband to include food and all other commodities considered likely to strengthen Israel's war potential "in any way". This policy was contrary to the Charter; it was a clear violation of the provisions of the Constantinople Convention of 1888 which had guaranteed freedom of trade through the Suez Canal, and it was contrary to provisions of the Israel-Egypt armistice agreement whereby the parties had renounced acts of mutual hostility. The Security Council had already passed judgment on Egyptian policies. What Israel now asked it to do was to devise measures to ensure Egyptian compliance with the resolution of September 1, 1951 and the fulfilment of Egyptian obligations under the armistice agreement.

Egypt's position was defended by Arab spokesmen on the ground that the resolution of September 1, 1951 had not taken into account sufficiently the right of self-defence accorded to Egypt under the 1888 Convention. The armistice agreement itself had not extinguished the right of a belligerent to prevent supplies from reaching the armed forces of an adversary who might be planning military action.

Security Council Resolution Vetoed

On March 29 there was put to the vote a resolution sponsored by New Zealand which recalled the Security Council resolution of September 1, 1951, noted with "grave concern" that Egypt had not complied with that resolution, called upon Egypt to comply "in accordance with its obligations under the Charter" and ruled that interference with shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba should be dealt with in the first instance by the Mixed Armistice Commission. China abstained from voting, eight members of the Security Council supported the resolution and only Lebanon and the Soviet Union voted against it. The resolution was defeated by the negative vote of the U.S.S.R., which was explained by the Soviet representative on the ground that, although the Constantinople



First buildings erected at the Israeli port of Elath on the Gulf of Aqaba.

Convention of 1888 had admittedly been designed to safeguard the principle of freedom of trade through the Suez Canal, the initiative for taking the first steps to protect this principle had not been laid upon the states which now happened to be members of the Security Council but on the representatives in Egypt of the nine signatories of the Convention itself. It was on these states and their successors that responsibility lay for discussing policies relating to freedom of trade through the Canal.

This second veto of a resolution on the Palestine question came during the period of violent agitation which followed the attack on an Israeli bus at Scorpion Pass, Israel's withdrawal from one of the four Mixed Armistice Commissions and the Israeli attack on the Jordanian village of Nahhalin. During the four succeeding weeks, while conditions on the Israel-Jordan armistice line and along the confines of the refugee-crowded Gaza strip near the Egyptian border continued to be highly explosive, members of the Security Council gave almost continuous attention, both at meetings of the Council and elsewhere, to the question of how to approach most effectively what seemed to be a new phase in the efforts of the United Nations to facilitate the achievement of peace in the area affected by the post-war disposition of the former mandated territory of Palestine.

Canada and the United Nations

Disarmament Talks in London

The private discussions of the Sub-committee of the Disarmament Commission which lasted during twenty meetings beginning on May 13 ended in London on June 22. The Sub-committee had been set up by the Disarmament Commission on April 19, in accordance with the suggestion of the General Assembly contained in its resolution on disarmament adopted during the eighth session. The member countries were France, the United Kingdom, the United States, the U.S.S.R. and Canada.

The Sub-committee considered various proposals and memoranda on various aspects of the disarmament problem. The following were the main proposals submitted:

Memorandum—submitted by France and the United Kingdom—11 June 1954.

Working paper on methods of implementing and enforcing disarmament programmes: The establishment of international control organs with appropriate rights, powers and functions—submitted by the United States—25 May 1954.

Proposal—submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—11 June 1954.

The Disarmament Commission had recommended that the Sub-committee present a report not later than July 15, 1954. The Sub-committee accordingly submitted its report on June 22, 1954. This report, which has not yet been made public, will be examined by the Disarmament Commission, which is scheduled to meet in New York during the third week of July.

37th International Labour Organization Conference

The 37th Annual Conference of the International Labour Organization was held in Geneva from June 2 to June 24, 1954. In accordance with the "tripartite" system of representation in the ILO each of the 66 member countries sends a delegation composed of Government, Employer and Worker representatives. Canada was represented at the 37th Conference by seven Government representatives led by Mr. A. H. Brown, Deputy Minister of Labour, five Employer representatives led by Mr. Harry Taylor of Union Carbide Canada Ltd. and five worker representatives led by Mr. Claude Jodoin of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.

One of the most important events at this Conference was the renewal of participation in the ILO by countries of the Soviet bloc. The Soviet Union, which was a member in the 1930's, rejoined the ILO shortly before the 37th Conference. It has been allocated one of the ten seats on the Governing Body of the Organization reserved for the states of chief industrial importance. (Canada is also one of the ten.) The Ukraine and Byelorussia also joined shortly before the 37th Conference. Hungary and Bulgaria, which have been inactive

members in recent years, sent delegations to this Conference. Roumania applied for membership but, as it is not a member of the United Nations and did not previously belong to the ILO, its application required the approval of two-thirds of the Conference. The application was withdrawn before it came to be voted upon. Poland and Czechoslovakia are continuing members of the ILO.

The credentials of the Soviet bloc Employer and Worker delegates to the 37th Conference were challenged by Employers and Workers from other countries. On the grounds that the Employer representatives from the U.S.S.R. and its satellites were in fact Government officials and that the Worker representatives did not come from free labour organizations it was proposed that these delegates should not be seated. The proposal was defeated. In essence, the majority view of the Conference was that there was nothing in the ILO Constitution to prevent acceptance of the Soviet bloc delegates.

The Conference carried out its usual function of reviewing the work of the ILO. A subject to which special attention was given was technical assistance, on which there was a general discussion. Other matters in which consideration was given to action by the ILO were housing, reduction of working hours, vocational rehabilitation of the disabled and holidays with pay.

Seventh World Health Assembly

The Seventh World Health Assembly met in Geneva from May 4 to May 22, 1954. The Assembly, which is the supreme authority of the World Health Organization, meets annually to enable the 81 members of the Organization to review its work and determine future policy. Canada was represented at this meeting by a delegation of six members led by Dr. F. G. Robertson, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of National Health and Welfare. Dr. J. L. Togba, Director-General of the National Health Service of Liberia, was elected President of the session.

The report of the Director-General of the World Health Organization on the work of WHO in 1953, which was presented to the Assembly, described the progress of international programmes on a wide variety of health problems, the assistance given by WHO to national governments in improving their health services and eradicating disease, the work of the regional committees of WHO and the activities of the Organization in such fields as international sanitary regulations, health statistics and the standardization of various substances used in therapy and diagnosis. The Assembly agreed upon a budget ceiling of \$9,500,000 for WHO in 1955, compared with \$8,500,000 in 1954. Among other decisions taken were approval of the admission of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland as an Associate Member of WHO and rejection of a proposal to increase the size of the Executive Board of WHO. There were technical discussions on public health problems in rural areas.

The Assembly decided to accept the invitation of the Mexican Government to hold the Eighth World Health Assembly in Mexico City in 1955.

The Food and Agriculture Organization

Before the end of the last war President Roosevelt, concerned about the probability of a world-wide food shortage, invited all the United and Associated Nations to attend a conference at Hot Springs, Virginia in May, 1943, to discuss the possibilities of increasing world food supplies and improving the level of living for the people of the world. He thought that since food is vital to all nations it could provide the basis for effective international co-operation and endeavour. Forty-two nations responded to his appeal, and one outcome of the Hot Springs Conference was that in 1945, at Quebec City, the Food and Agriculture Organization was established, the first of the United Nations Specialized Agencies.

The idea of international co-operation to solve the problem of the increasing food requirements of the world was a new one, but the Organization nevertheless set about its task with optimism and determination. Today FAO has a membership of 71 nations and is yearly demonstrating how much can be done by international co-operation towards solving many of the nutritional problems of the world.

Technical Assistance

During the early years of its existence, FAO was confronted with the problem of determining the food requirements of under-developed regions, hence one of its first tasks was to conduct a world food survey. As a result of this survey it became apparent that the level of nutrition in under-developed countries was far below the required minimum and must be raised, at least partly, through increased food production in these countries themselves. To make the best use of their present resources and to achieve increased production, FAO realized that more modern techniques and improved practices were necessary. Experts from all over the world were therefore called upon to help both in the adoption of better methods of production and in the training of local people who could carry on these new projects. This was one beginning of what has since come to be known as international technical assistance.

Progress was slow at first since a great deal of preliminary exploratory work was needed. Supplies and money were limited, and innumerable details of organization and procedure had to be worked out. An added impetus was given to the work when, in 1950, the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance was launched and with the additional funds received FAO was able greatly to expand its plans for calling upon the skills and knowledge of many countries to supply experts for all phases of the work. Moreover, by now, there are many technical assistance plans such as those of the other Specialized Agencies and the United States Foreign Operations Administration, the Colombo Plan, and Ford Foundation, with which FAO of course co-operates.

The extent of FAO's contribution to technical assistance can be illustrated by the fact that in 1953 there were 624 technical experts, recruited from 54 different countries, who were engaged on projects in 52 countries or regions. Member nations are assisted not only by the presence of foreign technicians



—FAO

FAO HEADQUARTERS

The headquarters of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in Rome.

but also through the granting of fellowships. These are awarded to the nationals of a recipient country who are sent to advanced regions for training and experience directly in line with the duties which they will be undertaking upon their return to their own country. During 1953, 469 fellowships were awarded to citizens of 40 countries for training in 44 different nations. In providing assistance to member nations FAO does not act on its own initiative but on the request of and in accordance with the wishes of countries requiring aid. It assists in the formulation of plans and in their implementation by supplying skilled technicians and advice.

What FAO Does

The problems which concern FAO and to solve which it organizes international co-operation of all kinds, including direct technical assistance, are in the fields of agriculture, fisheries, forestry and nutrition. There are roughly two categories into which the projects fall; one where the benefits are immediately apparent such as in combating animal diseases, and the other, that of future or long-term developments, for example, land reclamation, forest conservation and fisheries development.

The type of projects concerning agriculture to which FAO has given assistance include irrigation and land reclamation, disease control and plant improvement. An example of this last is a co-operative rice breeding project in which scientists from most of the Far Eastern countries are participating.

One of the phases of the work which is of particular interest to Canada is research to develop an effective vaccine against the cattle disease commonly known as shipping fever. This disease is claimed to be the world's biggest stock killer; destroying about half a million head of cattle in Southern Asia yearly, and in North America causing losses to the livestock industry of some \$18,000,000 each year. The results of this research, if it is successful, would save enough money to more than pay for the complete technical assistance programme of the United Nations.



—United Nations

FAO AIDS YUGOSLAVIA

Certain areas in Yugoslavia are suitable for cotton growing, and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization sent Mr. F. S. Parsons, a Canadian cotton expert to advise on the extension of this crop to other parts of the country. Mr. Parsons is shown at the Yugoslavia Agricultural Institute with a laboratory worker checking samples of a cotton crop.

In forestry the demand for timber throughout the world is steadily increasing. More uses are being discovered for wood products and for the materials which were formerly waste. In spite of technological advances greater production and more efficient management of forests are required. A great deal of preparation has gone into the attempt to establish a world forest policy. Forest protection, reforestation, soil and water erosion, pulp and paper plants and housing experiments are being initiated and directed towards the improvement of under-developed areas. In Burma for instance, non-durable hardwoods have been synthesized into building materials and pre-fabricated houses have been erected and are undergoing tests in Rangoon.

In fisheries attention is given not only to increasing the production of fish and improving the methods of catching but to improving marketing practices and preservation. In the Far East especially, fish pond culture is being devel-

oped, allowing the natives to have a source of fresh food supply near their homes. In two years a single pond in Thailand has yielded a thousand pounds of fish of a variety known as Tilapia. Hatcheries are producing young fish at the rate of 100,000 a month. In deep sea fishing, improved methods of catching and storing as well as improvement in the design of fishing boats have been tried with great success.

Allied with developments in agriculture and fisheries is the nutrition programme, which includes home economics. Efforts have been made to stimulate improved food habits and to take full advantage of food materials that may be available regionally to bolster the nutritive value of diets. FAO also co-operates in work on nutritional problems with other agencies such as the World Health Organization, and the United Nations Children's Fund.

The economic and statistical services of FAO benefit developed and under-developed countries alike, since it is possible to obtain a fairly reasonable economic picture for most regions of the world, supplying what amounts to a world intelligence service in food and agricultural developments. Annual production and trade statistics are issued to integrate the data issued in the monthly bulletins, and also an annual review of world conditions. A second world food survey was completed a short time ago.

Another important activity of FAO is the administration of the International Plant Protection Convention. Now ratified by 30 nations including Canada, the Convention has done much to check the spread of plant pests and diseases which were seriously affecting trade. Signatory countries have undertaken various measures of effective control; the simplification and consolidation of plant health certificates has helped to eliminate previous confusion and administrative difficulties; and direct contact between national inspection authorities has facilitated progress toward eliminating unnecessarily restrictive or prohibitive legislation.

Canada's Contribution to FAO Technical Assistance Projects

Canada has supplied technicians to help in several of the phases of technical aid which have been the concern of FAO. These experts have been recruited from both government and private industry and in the years 1952-53 a total of 27 Canadians were serving in the field for FAO. For the most part their work has been in agriculture, although several have been active also in forestry, fisheries and nutrition.

For example a Canadian was the head of an FAO mission to Ethiopia. This country is an area of potential agricultural riches yet unable to realize these owing to a lack of trained personnel or training facilities. Working with the Ministry of Agriculture the FAO mission of seven members drew up short term plans and a six year programme of development. In the export trade coffee assumes the most importance so attention was given to improving the methods of producing and processing the coffee bean. On the other hand cotton totals at least half of the total imports of Ethiopia creating a heavy drain on the foreign exchange resources of the country. Here again increased and improved methods of production were studied with the result that improvements are on the way.

The example of Ethiopia can be duplicated in almost all fields. Iraq had a Canadian home economist to organize a Department of Home Economics



—FAO

FAO ASSISTS THAILAND

The best way to overcome the general lack of protein in the diets of the Far Eastern population is by increasing the production and consumption of fish. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations sent an expert in fish culture to Thailand to train and assist Thai technicians in improving and developing the inland fisheries resources of their country. Above, a catch of fish is being separated according to kinds and size of fish; the woman in the centre is a fish buyer.

and serve on a committee to improve nutrition. In Yugoslavia a Canadian has been assisting in the development of a cotton improvement programme. Canadians have formed a part of FAO teams in South American countries in helping to establish statistical training. Others have served in various fields in such countries as Ceylon, Greece, Finland, Korea, Afghanistan, Iran, India and Pakistan.

Several scholarships have been awarded to citizens of FAO member countries for training in Canada in work directly related to their present or proposed duties in their own country.

An interesting feature is the fact that Canada too has been a recipient of technical assistance from FAO when a naval architect who specialized in fishing boat designs and techniques served as consultant to the province of Newfoundland with regard to their fishing industry.

Many of the projects undertaken by FAO to improve the result of production by improving its methods will require some years to come to their fruition. But in the meantime, they lead to important positive gains in training and experience for the countries which have requested aid and which can be helped only with their own active participation. This new training and experience will enable them to carry out and complete the programmes which can contribute successfully towards giving the peoples of the world a better diet and an improved level of life.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. T. W. L. MacDermot was appointed Canadian Ambassador to Greece, effective June 1, 1954.
- Mr. E. W. T. Gill was appointed High Commissioner for Canada to the Union of South Africa, effective June 1, 1954. Mr. Gill left Ottawa for Pretoria on June 14, 1954.
- Mr. G. E. Hardy was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York, effective June 4, 1954.
- Mr. J. M. G. Dery was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico, effective June 11, 1954.
- Mr. R. E. Reynolds was posted from the Canadian Legation in Prague to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, effective June 13, 1954.
- Mr. J. M. Teakles was posted from Home Leave (Prague) to Ottawa, effective June 15, 1954.
- Messrs Jean Jacques Dupuis, Peter Rowney Jennings, Gerald Sanford Levey, Allan Barclay Roger and Vernon George Turner joined the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officers, Grade 1 on June 15, 1954.
- Mr. G. C. Langille was posted from Canadian Embassy, (Caracas) to Ottawa, effective June 16, 1954.
- Mr. N. E. Currie was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bogota, Colombia, effective June 16, 1954.
- Mr. P. A. Beaulieu was posted from Ottawa to the Office of The High Commissioner for Canada, London, England, effective June 18, 1954.
- Mr. C. E. Glover posted from the Canadian Embassy, Maxico, to the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, Venezuela, effective June 26, 1954.
- Mr. D. R. Taylor posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C. effective June 29, 1954.
- Mr. H. B. Stewart posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, Germany, effective June 30, 1954.
- Mr. S. H. Nutting posted from Bogota to the Canadian Embassy, Lima, Peru, effective end of June, 1954.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- | | |
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| <p>No. 54/23—<i>Canada and the United Nations</i>, by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin. (Reprinted from the <i>Dalhousie Review</i>, Winter Edition, Vol. 33, No. 4.)</p> | <p>No. 54/27—<i>Address to Congress</i>, and address to a joint session of the Congress of the United States, by the Governor General, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, May 4, 1954.</p> |
| <p>No. 54/25—<i>Mr. Pearson's Radio Review of April 23</i>, a transcript of an interview with the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, in which the Geneva Conference on Korea and Indo-China, and the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, is discussed. The interview was conducted by Robert Redford of the CBC, and recorded for broadcast on the programme "Men Behind the News", the CBC station CBO, Ottawa, April 23, 1954.</p> | <p>No. 54/28—<i>Canadian Statement at Geneva Conference</i>, statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at Geneva on May 4, 1954, at the conference on Korea and Indo-China.</p> |
| <p>No. 54/26—<i>Impressions of Europe and Asia</i>, an address by the Prime Minister, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, on his trip to Europe and Asia, delivered to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Press, in Toronto, April 28, 1954.</p> | <p>No. 54/30—<i>Report to Parliament</i>—Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the House of Commons in Committee of Supply, May 28, 1954, on the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, the Subcommittee of the Disarmament Committee of the United Nations, and the Geneva Conference on Far Eastern Affairs.</p> |
| | <p>No. 54/31—<i>Some Thoughts on Canadian External Relations</i>, an address by the Sec-</p> |

retary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearsons, made before the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, Winnipeg, Manitoba, June 4, 1954.

The following serial number is available abroad only:

No. 54/29 — *Conservation of National Resources in Canada*, an address by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr.

No. 54/32—*Statement at Geneva*, statement by the Acting Head of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. C. A. Ronning, made at Geneva, June 11, 1954 at the Conference on Korea and Indo-China.

C. D. Howe, made at the Conservation Conference of the Canadian Forestry Association, at Ottawa, April 23, 1954.

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A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

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Technical Assistance Committee, Sixth report of the Technical Assistance Board. E/2566, E/TAC/REP.3. Pp. 267. \$2.50. ECOSOC Official Records: Eighteenth Session, Supplement No. 4. New York, April 1954.

Statistical Commission, Report of the Eighth Session, 5 to 22 April 1954. E/2569, E/CN.3/192. New York, 23 April 1954. Pp. 18. ECOSOC Official Records: Eighteenth Session, Supplement No. 5.

Commission on the Status of Women, Report of the Eighth Session (22 March - 9 April 1954). E/2571, E/CN.6/253. New York, April 1954. Pp. 24. ECOSOC Official Records: Eighteenth Session, Supplement No. 6.

United Nations Children's Fund, Report of the Executive Board. E/2572, E/ICEF/260/Rev.1. New York, April 1954. Pp. 39. ECOSOC Official Records: Eighteenth Session, Supplement No. 2 A.

Commission on Human Rights, Report of the Tenth Session. E/2573, E/CN.4/705. New York, April 1954. Pp. 84. ECOSOC Official Records: Eighteenth Session Supplement No. 7.

Review of International Commodity Problems 1953. E/2578. New York, 1954. Pp. 94. \$1.00. Sales No.: 1954.II.D.3.

Summary of Recent Economic Developments in the Middle East 1952-53. (Supplement to World Economic Report). E/2581, ST/ECA/25. New York, 1954. Pp. 128. \$1.25. Sales No.: 1954.II.C.2.

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Resolutions of the Thirteenth Session of the Trusteeship Council (28 January - 25 March 1954). T/1106 (bilingual). New York, April 1954. Pp. 57. Trusteeship Council Official Records: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 1.

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Report by the Director-General and the Executive Board on the activities of the Organization during the year 1953 (Presented to the Member States and the General Conference at its Eight Session, Motevideo, November - December 1954). 8 C/3. Paris, May 1954. Pp. 216. \$3.50.

The Artist in Modern Society (International Conference of Artists, Venice 22-28 September 1952). Paris 1954. Pp. 128. \$1.00.

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Syria—Problems of preservation and presentation of sites and monuments (Museums and Monuments—VII). Paris, April 1954. \$1.50.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Annual Report of the World Meteorological Organization for 1953. E/2594. 5 May 1954. Pp. 107.

Information and documentation in respect of the territory of South West Africa. A/AC.73/L.3. 11 May 1954. Pp. 483, and addenda.

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada



—Capital Press

THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH VISITS OTTAWA

H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh is greeted, upon his arrival at Uplands Airport, by Major General H. A. Sparling, Vice Chief of the General Staff, representing the Chief of the General Staff. On the Duke's left are His Excellency the Governor General and the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent.

The Korean Phase of the Geneva Conference

As announced in the June issue of *External Affairs*, the decision to hold a conference on the Korean question at Geneva from April 26, where all countries with troops in the conflict and the Soviet Union should be represented, emanated in February from the meeting in Berlin of the Foreign Ministers of the United States, France, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union.

In many respects the choice of Geneva as a meeting place was ideal. The city was on neutral territory and had all the facilities any international conference might need — accommodation in the Palais des Nations which the United Nations had inherited from the League of Nations, the simultaneous interpretation system, with which the assembly halls of that building were equipped, first-class food and hotel accommodation for visiting diplomats, and adequate telegraphic communications with the capitals of the world. Moreover, Geneva's relative smallness made for easy informal meetings between various delegates, and its spring, second only to that of Paris, could not but help the conduct of international relations.

Chairmanship and Seating Arrangements

Although many of the housekeeping and procedural arrangements had been made beforehand, it was not until the morning of the day the conference was scheduled to begin that the convening powers agreed on the vital procedural questions of chairmanship and seating arrangements. Prince Wan, the Foreign Minister of Thailand, was to act as chairman of the first meeting, with Mr. Molotov and Mr. Eden following in rotation on subsequent days. As for seating, each delegation was to be placed according to the English alphabet, in two horseshoes and part of a third, one behind the other. Thus, the Australians were assigned to the left flank of the inner semi-circle, the Belgians to their immediate right, the Canadians next and so on. The chairman sat above and between the heels of the horseshoes. With these arrangements the conference got under way at a brief meeting for organizational purposes on the afternoon of April 26 at which Prince Wan announced that the meetings would be closed to the press and the public but that each delegation might conduct its own relations with the press. From the first, there was very little about conference proceedings which was secret.

The Communists lost no time in tabling a blueprint for the establishment of what they claimed would be a free, unified and democratic Korea. At the plenary session of April 27, Foreign Minister Nam Il of North Korea, after recounting the familiar Communist interpretation of Korean developments since 1945 and assessing the United States with blame for the aggression of 1950, proposed a conference decision by which both Korean legislatures would elect a joint Korean commission including representatives from "Democratic social organizations" to take the necessary action to ensure free elections throughout the peninsula for a National Assembly from which would stem a unified Korean Government. In the interim, the commission would work for

improved economic and cultural relations between the two Koreas. All foreign forces would be withdrawn from Korea within six months and the countries primarily concerned with peace in the Far East would guarantee the peaceful development of Korea and recognize the necessity of creating conditions helpful in bringing about its rapid unification. The North Korean emphasized that his proposal would enable the Koreans to work out their destiny without being subjected to foreign interference.

In subsequent meetings, Mr. Nam II received full support of his proposals from his Communist colleagues, Messrs. Chou En-lai and Molotov. The former was particularly virulent in his comments about the United States, which he described as the source of tension and trouble in Asia and which he accused of occupying Korea to establish a base for the invasion of mainland China. Mr. Molotov was also intemperate in his comments on United States policy and in his perversion of the history of the Korean conflict.

The first speaker on our side was Foreign Minister Pyun of the Republic of Korea, who pointed out on April 27 that before North Korea's aggression all that remained to achieve the unification of Korea under United Nations auspices were elections in the North. It would, therefore, reflect adversely on the United Nations if elections were now called for in both South and North Korea. He attacked Communist China for interfering in the internal affairs of Korea and said that the Chinese Communists, like all Communists, owed allegiance to the Soviet Union.

Mr. Dulles' Statement

Secretary of State Dulles spoke the next day and set the record straight concerning United Nations involvement in Korea and the aggression committed there. He said that after the United Nations forces had broken out of the Pusan beach-head and destroyed the invaders as an effective force, it seemed that United Nations objectives in Korea might be attained. Accordingly, the General Assembly on October 7, 1950, set up the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) to complete the unification of Korea by observing elections above the parallel. Although a new Communist aggression — that of the Chinese — had frustrated the purpose of UNCURK, the Commission now stood ready to accomplish its United Nations mandate. He therefore proposed that the Chinese Communists withdraw from North Korea and UNCURK proceed with its interrupted work.

Mr. Dulles also rejected the North Korean proposals because they did not meet the requirements of a free, unified and independent Korea. Other delegates on the United Nations side agreed with his appraisal. The joint Korean commission of the Communist plan would be, in effect, a super-government in which North and South Korea would have equal representation. This would equate in power the North Korean regime and the Government of the Republic of Korea, even though the former was not chosen by free elections, was guilty of aggression, and had control over a small minority of the Korean population. Moreover, the position of the North Korean regime would always be such that it could veto any commission action which it did not approve. As for the inclusion on the commission of representatives from "democratic" organizations, experience had shown that in Communist parlance, this meant Communist organizations. Finally, the elections which the commission was to hold without outside interference could only be elections without international



—United Nations

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

Representatives of some of the delegations attending a plenary meeting of the conference, with the Canadian delegation, in the left foreground, headed by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson.

supervision. The proposed withdrawal of foreign forces would involve the United Nations forces going a long way while the Chinese Communist forces would only have to move across the Yalu River, from where they could return quickly. Generally, then, the North Korean proposals looked on their face like a recipe for a Korea unified under Communism.

Nevertheless, certain delegates on the United Nations side, including Mr. Pearson (statement carried in June of *External Affairs*) decided to probe to make sure. They also undertook the job of answering, and of clearing if possible from the way of the conference's deliberations, some of the more iniquitous of the Communist misrepresentations of history and of the intentions of the countries which had provided troops for the defence of collective security in Korea under the United Nations. The Communist delegates, insofar as they designed to reply to questions on their proposals, provided any further evidence which might have been needed to prove that the doubts expressed

concerning them were well founded. They held fast both to proposals and to propaganda charges; indeed, they stepped up the latter.

During the session of May 3, Mr. Chou En-lai accused the United Nations of having been manoeuvred by the United States into an *ex post facto* approval of the latter's Korean intervention and of having slandered Communist China as an aggressor. All this, he asserted, had impaired the prestige of the United Nations and had deprived it of the moral authority to deal with the Korean and other Asian questions. Moreover, the Geneva conference had nothing to do with the United Nations. Subsequently, Mr. Molotov made a similar attack on the United States and the United Nations, saying that the latter was thoroughly compromised by the role it had played in Korea. It was becoming quite clear that the Communists were asking from our side acceptance of their position that the United Nations mission in Korea was illegitimate.

Although the conference seemed to be getting nowhere, such delegates as Mr. Spaak, the Foreign Minister of Belgium, and Mr. Eden tried to swing it from polemics to the basic issues involved. Thus, the former pointed out that all were agreed as to the objective in Korea. The only feasible way to achieve this was to have internationally supervised elections. The form of such supervision could be a matter for discussion. Mr. Eden criticized the North Korean proposals because in practice they would inevitably result in deadlock. As basic principles necessary for any Korean solution, he listed free elections for an all-Korean government which would reflect the popular will, taking into account the distribution of the population between North and South, and which would be internationally supervised under United Nations auspices. The countries selected need not necessarily be those which had taken part in the Korean conflict; a panel of countries acceptable to the conference could be drawn up.

Supervisory Commission Proposed

The session of May 22 was an important one for both sides. The Communists held to their line. In defending their proposals, they said that Korea could only be unified by mutual agreement between the two governments there. Opposition to this principle was nothing but an attempt to impose the will of the South upon the North. Although representation on the joint Korean commission would not be proportional as between the two Koreas, the Assembly set up as a result of the elections it would conduct would properly be representative of the whole Korean people. Mr. Chou En-lai admitted that the state of hostility existing between the North and South would make it difficult for them to approach each other. Therefore, he proposed, without benefit of further explanation, that to assist the joint commission, a neutral nations supervisory commission be formed to supervise the elections. It could not be a United Nations agency.

On the same day, Mr. Pyun dismissed without discussion Mr. Chou's suggestion and presented on behalf of his Government a 14-point proposal for the unification of Korea. Basically, it called for free elections within six months in North Korea and in South Korea in accordance with the constitutional processes of the Republic of Korea. The elections would be held under United Nations supervision as laid down in previous relevant General Assembly resolutions, and representation in the all-Korea legislature would be proportionate to the population of the whole of Korea as determined by a census

also to be taken under United Nations supervision. The new legislature would be left to decide questions such as the disbandment of military units, the amendment of the existing South Korean constitution and whether the President of unified Korea should be "newly elected". Chinese Communist troops would complete their withdrawal from Korea a month before the elections, while United Nations forces, which might begin to leave before the elections, would not complete such action until the unified government controlled all Korea. The territorial integrity and independence of the unified state would be guaranteed by the United Nations.

At the following session, General Bedell Smith, who headed the United States delegation after the departure of Mr. Dulles for Washington, declared his support for this proposal and recommended its acceptance. He devoted most of his statement to a vigorous defence of the United Nations record and authority in Korea. He was supported in this by a number of other delegates on the United Nations side who reaffirmed their belief that any settlement in Korea must be in accord with established United Nations principles, and felt that the South Korean proposal might suitably serve as a basis for discussion.

The Communists made their next move at the session of June 5 when every delegate on the team spoke. They rejected the South Korean proposal as designed to enable that government to unify Korea with foreign support. However, Mr. Chou En-lai said that "common ground" could be found for settling the problem peacefully and Mr. Molotov followed through by proposing that if the conference were to take a preliminary decision on the fundamental principles relating to a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem which Foreign Minister Nam Il of North Korea had already stated, it would be better able to wind up the work begun.

Reaction to Communist Proposal

However, an earlier item of business proposed by the Communists remained to be dealt with — their neutral nations supervisory commission. At this session, General Smith termed the proposal fraudulent because it pretended to establish an international body with some authority while, in fact, such a body could do nothing so long as the control of the entire election procedure was in the control of the joint Korean commission in which the Communists had a veto. He then told how the Communist representatives who made up half the membership of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission set up by the Korean Armistice Agreement had consistently prevented the Commission from carrying out its assigned duties. This sort of supervisory commission would mean, at best, no supervision at all. The United Nations had the competence, authority, impartiality and facilities to guarantee free elections.

At the June 11 session, the Acting Canadian Delegates was the first speaker on the United Nations side. After upholding the legality and moral right of the United Nations intervention in Korea, he proceeded to consider the proposal of Mr. Molotov, point by point. His conclusion was that it would be dishonest to declare agreement on principles when the so-called details to be worked out later were not extraneous to the principles but essential to them. Better to acknowledge the facts of our disagreement than to lead the people of the world to believe that there was agreement when there was no agreement. Other delegates made statements in a similar vein. The sides were divided by two fundamental issues — the authority of the United

Nations and the question of free elections. As Mr. Eden said, if a way could not be found to resolve the differences on these issues, then it would have to be admitted that the conference had not been able to complete its task. By the time the session adjourned, there was little doubt that a crisis had been reached.

The Communist reaction came at the session of June 15. Mr. Nam Il declared that since it was now clear that the conference could not agree on a way to unify Korea, the participants should take steps to ensure peaceful conditions there. They should agree to the proportionate withdrawal of foreign troops as soon as possible, the reduction within a year of North and South Korean troop strengths to 100,000 men each, the formation of a joint Korean commission to recommend to both governments proposals for the gradual liquidation of the state of war and the formation of a further joint Korean body to work for improved economic and cultural relations between the two Koreas. Moreover, they should recognize that treaties between either Korea and other states which involved military obligations were incompatible with the peaceful unification of the peninsula. Mr. Molotov backed this programme and added to it. He wanted the participants to announce their agreement that pending the final settlement of the Korean problem, no action should be taken which might threaten the peace in Korea and to express their confidence that both Koreas would act in accordance with such agreement.

Conference Recesses

After Mr. Molotov's speech, the conference recessed and the delegates on the United Nations side held a caucus. This was not an unusual development. It had long been established practice for representatives of what had become known as the Group of Sixteen—i.e., those countries which had contributed armed forces to the United Nations Command in Korea — to meet frequently in Washington for the exchange of views, and this practice had been carried over to Geneva.

When the session resumed, General Smith addressed himself to Mr. Molotov's proposed declaration and pointed out that the Armistice Agreement contained specific provisions for its continuance as long as the Communists observed it, and these were supported by a General Assembly resolution. Consequently, the maintenance of peace was now provided for in more formal and exact terms than in the phrases of Mr. Molotov's proposal. Mr. Casey of Australia criticized Mr. Nam Il's proposals. These, he said, sought to put the Government of the Republic of Korea on a par with the Communist aggressor regime in the North. Moreover, the conference should not agree to strip South Korea of its defences in the face of aggression nor to reduce it to the same defensive level as the country to the north with its relatively small population.

Mr. Garcia, Vice-President of the Philippines, reiterated that the United Nations side could not compromise on the two issues of United Nations authority and free elections. Prince Wan read into the record a declaration on behalf of the Group of Sixteen which stated that they had been compelled reluctantly and regretfully to conclude that so long as the Communist delegations rejected the two fundamental principles, further consideration of the Korean question by the conference would serve no useful purpose. The state-

(Continued on page 249)

The Ukraine and Russia

THIS year the U.S.S.R. is celebrating with a great deal of fanfare the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav by which the Ukraine was united to Imperial Russia. It is one of the most important events not only in Russian but in European history. By this act one of the richest lands of Europe, occupying a strategic area, and inhabited by a numerous and talented people, was added to the domains of Russia which from then on was able to extend its influence further and further into Europe. It also meant the beginning of the tragic eclipse of Poland which had previously maintained its leading role by playing off the Ukraine and Russia but was no longer able to stand up to the combined pressure of the two countries.

Even the most objective historians have found it difficult to present a really



satisfactory account of the complicated events leading to the decision of Bogdan Khmelnitsky, Hetman of the Ukraine, to accept Russian suzerainty. Certainly very few Ukrainians expected the complete Tsarist domination which followed. They had hoped, at the least, for a very large measure of cultural and political autonomy. This was not, however, in the nature of the Russian state to give, and the history of the Ukraine in the next 250 years is one of increasing Russification and economic exploitation. The result of nationalist discontent and economic pressure was the immigration of vast numbers of Ukrainians, particularly to Canada and to the United States.

Ukraine Soviet Republic Established

The Ukrainian nationalist leaders took advantage of the overthrow of the Tsarist régime in 1917 to set up an independent government in Kiev. The incipient state became at once a pawn in the war and its existence was soon dependent on German support. Near anarchy reigned with German, Polish, Ukrainian, Russian white and Bolshevik forces fighting for control of the territory. The Skoropadsky government rapidly disintegrated, and for a while a semi-anarchic government headed by Petlyura also claimed to represent the true nationalism of the Ukrainians. The almost complete chaos in the Ukraine helped the Russian Communists to drive out the contending forces and establish firmly the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, which had been proclaimed on December 18, 1918, and its federation with the Russian Soviet Republic.

The following 36 years have not been easy ones for the Ukraine. The horrors of the civil war bore hardest on this part of the Russian Empire and it lost heavily in material and human destruction. This was followed by the collectivization of agriculture which again struck most severely at the Ukrainian peasant who resisted fanatically, and the best of whom were either deported or lost their lives from the famine following on collectivization. Then came the Second World War in which again the Ukraine was the worst hit, and after that the re-introduction of Soviet control which meant further repressions and deportations.

The desertions of Ukrainians in mass to the Germans at the beginning of the Nazi invasion in 1941 was ample proof of dissatisfaction with Soviet rule. In fact the Ukrainian division that the Germans recruited to fight the Russians, even in spite of Nazi persecutions in the Ukraine, was the only major force either side succeeded in forming to fight against their own countrymen.

The only tangible gain made by the Ukraine from Soviet rule has been the union under one nominal frontier of all its historical ethnic lands. As a result of Soviet predominance in Eastern Europe after the war, the Soviet leaders forced Poland and Czechoslovakia to cede to the Ukraine the Lvov area and the sub-Carpathian Ukraine. In honour of the 300th anniversary of the Pereyaslav Treaty, the administration of the Crimea has been transferred to Kiev.

The Ukraine is today, therefore, one of the biggest and most populous states in Europe. But the term "state" must be used with reserve since the direction of all important Ukrainian affairs rests in the hands of the Soviet Government in Moscow. The Ukraine, according to the constitution of the U.S.S.R., has in theory the right to maintain its own foreign policy and even to secede. But this is pure fiction and every measure of any economic or political importance affecting the Ukraine emanates from Moscow. For example, on September 29, 1953, three pages of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* were devoted to a



The Kiev Opera House.

decree of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party giving the most detailed instructions to the entire country, including specifically by name the Ukrainian Republic and other theoretically autonomous republics of the U.S.S.R., about ways and means of increasing the production and deliveries of potatoes and vegetables for the coming year. This is a fair indication of the amount of independent action accorded to Ukrainians.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Government recognizes the continuing force of Ukrainian nationalism and does play up to it when this is not entirely inconsistent with the primary interests of the U.S.S.R. Newspapers and magazines are published in the Ukrainian language, though the content differs in no way from their Russian counterparts; street signs in Kiev are in both languages; and there is a Ukrainian dramatic theatre. Much is made of Taras Shevchenko, the nineteenth century Ukrainian poet and painter, who was exiled by the Tsar to Central Asia for reviving the spirit of Ukrainian nationalism against Russian domination. But Shevchenko is no longer presented as a Ukrainian nationalist hero; rather as a fore-runner of the proletarian movement against the Tsarist régime.

This fits in with the "theses" published by *Pravda* on January 12 on the subject of the Ukraine and Russia. They stress the common origin of the Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians and Great Russians, who were separated forcibly by the Mongol invasion, and therefore developed along different lines. Since the "reunion" of the Ukraine and Byelo-Russia with Moscow, the theses continue, the Great Russians have been the leaders of all the peoples of the Slavonic world.

The theses greet the Pereyaslav Treaty as a great step forward for the Ukraine, bringing it cultural and economic advantages of union with a more



The gateway of the Kiev-Pechersk monastery.

“advanced” state. Yet in 1934, the Great Soviet Encyclopedia claimed it was an alliance of the Ukrainian and Russian feudal lords which “laid the legal foundations for colonial Russian domination of the Ukraine”.

The Ukraine today is a curious contrast. Cities such as Kiev and Kharkov have a standard of living which is not very different from that of Moscow. They are, in fact, becoming rapidly Russified, and it seems to be a deliberate policy of the Soviet leaders to minimize Ukrainian nationalism by confining it more and more to the countryside.

But in the steppe, which is the backbone of the country, in the rich and fertile black earth area, the Ukrainian farmer has not forgotten his inheritance, or his language, or his faith. The collective farm system which, on the admission of the Soviet leaders themselves, has not succeeded in either improving the lot of the peasant or even keeping up with the food requirements of a growing population, is one of the means by which communist control is enforced. But in terms of the satisfaction of his material and spiritual needs, it has left the Ukrainian farmer in no better position than he was in 1917.

In 1944 one of the best modern Ukrainian poets, V. Sosyura, wrote a beautiful and touching poem entitled, *Love the Ukraine*:

“Love the Ukraine like sun, like light,
Like wind and grass and water . . .
Love the wide open spaces of the ancient Ukraine,
Be proud of your Ukraine,
Of her new and eternally living beauty,
And of her nightingale voice . . .”

This poem, which helped to rally Ukrainian feeling against the invader during the war, and continued to be very popular afterwards, was castigated by *Pravda* in July 1951, for being a nationalist survival, for not mentioning the U.S.S.R. and of being, in fact, the kind of work “which any enemy of the Ukrainian people from the nationalist camp” would endorse. Yet “love of the Ukraine” continues to exist in that beautiful but long-suffering land, and it is a sentiment which has survived many tribulations.



KOREAN PHASE OF GENEVA CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 244)

ment re-affirmed continued support for the objectives of the United Nations in Korea.

Mr. Molotov said it was clear that the United Nations side had frustrated efforts to reach agreement because they wanted to use the conference to force the South Korean regime on North Korea. Mr. Chou En-lai suggested that the conference should resolve to try again to solve the Korean problem at a time and place to be determined later, but General Smith pointed out that such a resolution seemed to place responsibility for the settlement of the Korean question on the conference which was not a permanent body set up outside and beyond the control of the United Nations. Mr. Eden, as Chairman, explained that in the absence of common agreement, the conference had no procedure for voting. Therefore, he ruled that the statements which had been made would now form part of the record of the conference. He concluded by expressing hope that the day would soon come when the joint task of the conference participants could be carried through to a successful conclusion. On this note he declared the meeting closed.

Canadian Tour of NATO Journalists

DURING the present summer, various newspapers in European countries stretching from Norway to Turkey are presenting first-hand accounts of Canada and Canada's share in NATO. Leading newspapers, periodicals, and radio stations have carried to the public of all other member nations of the North Atlantic Alliance reports in a dozen tongues about Canada's way of life, as a result of a month-long tour of Canada undertaken during June by a group of international journalists.

In an attempt to further the objectives of Article II of the North Atlantic Treaty, which urges closer fraternal bonds between the countries of the Atlantic community, information officials at NATO headquarters in Paris have initiated during the past year tours of journalists to all countries which are members of the organization. Various Canadian journalists have already benefited from twenty different tours of European NATO countries and the United States.

Canadian Tour Organized

In pursuit of this aim the Canadian Department of National Defence and the Department of External Affairs, in conjunction with the NATO Information Division, recently organized and sponsored a unit tour across Canada by twenty journalists representing all other NATO countries. With the blessing of their various governments, one or two prominent journalists from each of the twelve European NATO countries foregathered in Paris at the Palais de Chaillot on Thursday, June 3, to receive preliminary briefings on NATO and SHAPE from the Deputy Secretary-General of NATO, from General Gruenther, Supreme Allied Commander Europe, and from other NATO officials. The Canadian Representative to the North Atlantic Council, Mr. L. D. Wilgress, played host to the Canada-bound group in Paris before their departure for Canada on Saturday, June 5, aboard a North Star aircraft supplied by the Department of National Defence.

Flying from the Azores direct to Rockcliffe Airport, Ottawa, the journalists were met by officials of the Departments of External Affairs and National Defence and representatives of the NATO embassies in Ottawa before beginning a three-day stay in the capital. During this period, briefings were given to the journalists by Cabinet Ministers and other government officials and, at a government reception in the Parliament Buildings, the Prime Minister greeted the group before a representative Ottawa gathering sponsored by the three Canadian Ministers of External Affairs, National Defence and Finance and attended by various Senators and Members of Parliament, the Ottawa diplomatic corps, and the Parliamentary Press Gallery. Addresses of welcome were delivered by the Minister of National Defence and the President of the Press Gallery, with replies being made on behalf of the group by Mr. Henning Sinding-Larsen of *Aftenposten*, Oslo, and M. Raoul Crabbé of *La Libre Belgique* of Brussels.

During the following three weeks, the twenty journalists, accompanied by Paul Lieven, a Canadian member of the NATO Information Service, and Robert Dunn of the Department of External Affairs, travelled over 8,000 miles



by air across Canada and back, busily inspecting defence installations, industrial projects, and civic institutions, while sampling the delights of Canadian scenery and acquiring some insight into the Canadian way of life. The flight progressed from Ottawa through Winnipeg to Vancouver and Victoria. After flying over the length of the Rockies in British Columbia, the group were given a look at the Northwest Highway and frontier life in Whitehorse in the Yukon. Flying south to Calgary, visits to Banff and Lake Louise preceded a visit to the Canadian Joint Air Training Centre at Rivers, Manitoba, where the journalists met compatriots receiving their flying training as a part of Canada's NATO contribution. After inspection of defence installations at Churchill, the tour returned to the eastern part of the country and spent varying periods of time in Toronto, Niagara Falls, Montreal, Quebec, Arvida, Sept Isles and Halifax before saying farewell to Canada at Gander on June 27, and recrossing the Atlantic to Paris.

A Twenty-Man Atlantic Community

Representing in themselves a journalistic NATO assembly, the group quickly acquired a keen interest in what they saw and learnt of the Canadian scene and of Canada's accomplishments in fulfilment of her NATO obligations. As the trip progressed, the early inhibitions of an international group of strangers speaking various tongues thawed under the effect of proximity and Canadian hospitality. By the time Whitehorse was reached, such incidents as a nocturnal competition to throw each other and Canadian air force officers into a northern swimming pool illustrated the feeling of fraternity which had developed among this twenty-man Atlantic community. As one journalist said in speaking of the officers accompanying the tour: "By their own example of harmonious and efficient co-operation they managed to deliver the whole pack in Paris again not only on speaking terms, but on terms of warm friendship as well."

Through the co-operation of municipal and industrial organizations, the group was enabled to make a quick survey of the major civic and industrial developments of present-day Canada, and carry away with them impressions which have since been given enthusiastic publication in some of the major journals of Europe and the United States. Interviews with the individual journalists were recorded by the International Service of the CBC in the native language of each correspondent for subsequent broadcast in NATO countries.

American representation on the tour was achieved by inclusion of the Ottawa correspondents of the *New York Times* and of *Time* magazine. Both have subsequently published reports of the trip, with the *New York Times* series being carried in about nineteen affiliated United States papers. The editor of *Vatan* in Istanbul has just published his eleventh front page article on Canada for Turkish readers, and other series of articles on Canada are beginning to be featured in the continental press.

Participating Group

The group participating in the tour was as follows:

Belgium	M. Walter Hautekiet M. R. Crabbé	— <i>Het Laatste Nieuws</i> — <i>La Libre Belgique</i>
Denmark	Mr. Paul de Wolff	— <i>Den Konservative General-</i> <i>korrespondance</i>
France	M. Pierre Cressard M. Claude Julien	— <i>Ouest-France</i> , Rennes — <i>Le Monde</i>
Greece	M. Vasilis Kazantzis M. Anastasios Skouras	— <i>Ethnos</i> — <i>Vradyni</i>
Iceland	Mr. Kaukur Snorrason	— <i>Dagur</i>
Italy	M. Antonio Lovato M. Alberto Ronchey	— <i>Il Momento</i> and others — <i>ANSA</i>
Luxembourg	M. Mathias Guillaume	— <i>Luzemburger Wort</i>
Netherlands	Mr. Anthonius Brouwers Mr. Joannes Ersebeek	— <i>De Zuid-Oost-Pers</i> — <i>Netherlands News Agency</i>
Norway	Mr. Henning-Sinding-Larsen	— <i>Aftenposten</i> , Oslo
Portugal	M. Morais Cabral	— <i>Diario de Noticias</i> , Lisbon
United Kingdom..	Mr. John C. Giddings Mr. Thomas Pocock	— <i>The Western Mail</i> , Cardiff — <i>The Times</i>
Turkey	Mr. Ahmet Emin Yalman	— <i>Vatan</i>

At the time of writing, many clippings from European newspapers are still to be received but, from a Canadian standpoint, the all-round success of this 16,000 mile tour spanning an ocean and a continent cannot be contested. In addition to fulfilling a NATO obligation and furthering the objectives of friendly association within the NATO partnership, a group representative of some of the best traditions of world journalism have returned to their homes as continuing emissaries of goodwill towards Canada. One Canadian post in Europe has commented on the homecoming of the local participant in the tour:

“(He) has gone completely ‘overboard’ as regards the organization of the tour which in his opinion was the best of its type that he has ever been



TOUR OF NATO JOURNALISTS

—Editorial Associates

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, with NATO journalists from thirteen NATO countries after their press conference in Montreal.

on. He was most impressed with the fact that although one should expect some slight and even major hitches in such a tour, the Canadian tour was conducted without the least hitch. Apart from the enthusiasm for Canada reflected in (his) articles, his general impressions of Canada are so favourable that he tends perhaps to exaggerate in conversation. He has even now decided to send his two sons to a Canadian university in the hope that they will decide to settle in Canada."

Impressions of Tour

Perhaps the general impression gained by the journalists after spanning Canada can best be illustrated by the words of the representative of the Kemsley newspapers of the United Kingdom when he stated:

"In itself (the tour) provided a striking example of the success being achieved in promoting a closer understanding within the NATO family. During the month we spent together travelling from and to Europe and through Canada there was not one 'international' incident.

"The final, formal function of the tour was a reception at Admiralty House, Halifax, Nova Scotia. There I had the honour of saying to the assembled guests these words on behalf of my colleagues:

"We have been given a bird's eye view of Canada's present strength in all things, and of her potentialities. So far as we can see there is nothing

beyond her capabilities. The future is hers, with a greater measure of prosperity in store than is likely to be enjoyed by any other country in the world . . . Yet you are not keeping all these good things to yourselves.

'We as the representatives of the rest of NATO have seen how you are sharing them through the medium of mutual aid within the Organization. We appreciate the sacrifice you are making in this very solid contribution to the defence and well-being of the free world. We can only say a very inadequate "Thank you".'



—Capital Press

GENERAL GRUENTHER VISITS OTTAWA

General Alfred M. Gruenther, Supreme Commander Allied Powers in Europe, visited Ottawa on June 10 and 11 at the invitation of the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton. On the first day of his visit, General Gruenther placed a wreath at the National War Memorial, and visited the House of Commons where he met the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet Defence Committee. On the following day he spoke to Senators and Members of Parliament in the Railway Committee Room and held a press conference in the Parliamentary Press Gallery. Above, General Gruenther, left, and the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent.

Observance of Canada Day Abroad

ON July 1, Californians, who tuned in to a popular radio broadcast by Virgil Pinkley, publisher of the *Los Angeles Mirror*, heard a glowing ten minute tribute to Canada on its 87th birthday. "Nowhere in the world", he declared, "do two such powerful neighbours live in such harmony. More than three thousand miles of frontier between us, with no troops facing across it in either direction—only a few customs inspectors to keep an eye on the border!" In far away Colombo on the same day, *Radio Ceylon* broadcast a friendly message from the High Commissioner for Canada, as part of a half-hour programme on Canada's national day, to which the programme narrator replied: "We in Ceylon warmly reciprocate those sentiments. Canada has a varied past, and she has a great future too—a future in which she will seek to help solve the world's problems through international understanding and co-operation, and as members of one great and unique family—the Commonwealth of Free Nations". *Belgrade Radio* devoted half an hour to a special programme of Canadian music distributed by the CBC International Service, ten minutes of which was given up to a background commentary based on material sent from Ottawa. Between June 26 and July 2, the press of Montevideo, Uruguay, carried three articles on Canada's birthday, and on July 1, three local radio stations broadcast Canadian music.

Widely Observed

Such illustrations of the recognition of Canada's national day drawn from four continents were typical of the far-flung observance of the occasion in many parts of the world. Press releases, pictorial features, radio recordings and TV materials had been forwarded to Canadian posts abroad and their generous use by local media of communication bore witness of the friendly attitude of widely separated countries toward Canada.

The British Broadcasting Corporation and Radio France devoted a liberal amount of time to Canadian music either on July 1 or during the surrounding week and in general the publication of press material and the broadcasting of Canadian music throughout the countries in western Europe were more generous than ever before. The radio and press facilities of Pakistan, India, Ceylon, and Indonesia devoted much time to the observance of Canada Day, and all Latin American capitals having Canadian diplomatic representation broadcast the special CBC (IS) musical programme over national systems.

As usual, observance in the United States far exceeded that of other countries. A specially prepared film clip for TV purposes by the National Film Board was used by many of the 268 stations to which it was supplied. Broadcast Music Incorporated of New York provided some three hundred U.S. stations with a specially prepared musical tribute to Canada featuring Frank Sinatra and entitled "Happy Birthday Canada". Healy Willan's "Coronation Suite" was carried over the NBC network, as well as over many independent stations. WNYC, New York, is reported to have devoted no less than six hours of its time to Canadian music on July 1, and many sponsored programmes all across the country donated time to pay their respects.

Receptions and talks given by Canadian diplomatic representatives necessarily marked the day in many of the world's capitals. At Djakarta, Indonesia, the first Canadian reception of this type ever to be held was attended by about seven hundred guests who listened to music and witnessed the screening of Canadian films. And at other Canadian missions scattered over six continents, thousands of guests of Canada and Canadians abroad attended gay functions in honour of the day.

In Korea, in France and in Germany, the armed services of Canada staged special sports programmes and entertainments for their own benefit and that of the host country. At Tokyo, which HMCS *Haida* visited, the senior officer commanding Canadian destroyers in Far Eastern waters, Captain John A. Charles, planted a Canadian blue spruce in Hibiya Park.

Space permits little more than a hasty gleaning from reports on the July 1 celebrations, but the abundance of detail provided from more than 50 missions abroad bears impressive witness to the widespread display of goodwill towards Canada on her 87th birthday.



—United Nations

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE CONTRIBUTION

Mr. David M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, left, presents a cheque for \$1,356,267.85 to Acting Secretary-General Benjamin Cohen, representing the balance of \$1,500,000 which the Canadian Government had undertaken to contribute to the 1954 Technical Assistance Programme of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies. At the right is Mr. Andrew W. Cordier, Executive Assistant to the United Nations Secretary-General.

Indochina - Membership on International Commissions

Invitation from the Geneva Conference

Text of message from co-chairmen of Geneva Conference on Indochina to Secretary of State for External Affairs, July 21.

We have the honour to address you as co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indochina which concluded its work on July 20th 1954. The Conference took note of agreements ending hostilities in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, and organizing international control, and the supervision of the execution of the provisions of these agreements. In particular it was agreed that an international commission should be set up in each of the three countries for control and supervision of the application of the provisions of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Indochina. It was further proposed that these commissions should be composed of an equal number of representatives of Canada, India and Poland, presided over by the representative of India.

2. On behalf of the Conference, we accordingly have the honour to invite the Canadian-Indian Government in consultation with the Governments of Canada-India-Poland to designate representatives to form the International Supervisory Commissions for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia as envisaged in the agreements on the cessation of hostilities, and on supervision in those three countries.

3. It is hoped that the three International Supervisory Commissions can be established on the spot as soon as possible from the date on which the cease-fire comes into force.

4. The text of the final declaration adopted by the Conference, and of all other agreements and declarations concerning the cessation of hostilities, and the organization of supervision in the three countries of Indochina will be transmitted to you as soon as possible.

5. We have the honour to request an early reply which we shall at once transmit to the members of the Conference.

Signed: Anthony Eden
V. Molotov

Statement on Canadian Membership in the International Commissions for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia

Text of Press Release issued on July 27 by the Department of External Affairs.

The Canadian Government has today (July 27) transmitted to Mr. Anthony Eden, co-chairman, with Mr. Molotov, of the Geneva Conference on Indochina, its acceptance* of the invitation forwarded by him on July 21 to designate representatives to form, with India and Poland, the International Supervisory Commissions for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Officials are being sent to New Delhi

* See page 260.

this week to take part in preliminary organizational discussions, prior to the actual establishment of the Commissions in Indochina. The Canadian representatives on the Commissions will be named shortly.†

The Government has decided to accept this invitation only after detailed study of the cease-fire and armistice agreements which are to be supervised by the International Commissions, and with full knowledge and appreciation of the responsibilities and difficulties that will go with membership. There are no illusions about the magnitude and complexity of the task.

Canada is geographically remote from Indochina and her collective security responsibilities in Southeast Asia are limited to those that arise from membership in the United Nations. We know from experience, however, that just as local conflicts can become general war, so conditions of security and stability in any part of the world serve the cause of peace everywhere. If, therefore, by participating in the work of these Indochinese Commissions, Canada can assist in establishing such security and stability in Southeast Asia, we will be serving our own country, as well as the cause of peace.

While it is a matter of regret to us that the settlement in Indochina and the supervision of that settlement are not directly under the aegis of the United Nations, the Government is satisfied that Canadian participation will be fully in harmony with our responsibilities as a member of the world organization.

It should be emphasized that acceptance of membership on these Commissions does not mean that we have been called upon to guarantee or enforce the Indochina cease-fire. Nor does it involve any new military or collective security commitments for Canada.

The actual execution of the cease-fire agreements is the responsibility of the two sides directly concerned, functioning through Joint Commissions established by the Armistice Agreements. The International Commissions themselves have no enforcement obligation or responsibility. Their function will be solely supervisory, judicial and mediatory. Under Indian chairmanship, the Commissions will be responsible for supervising the proper execution of the provisions of the agreements by the parties directly concerned; will assist these parties with the interpretation of those provisions; will be available to settle disputes; and, in cases where disputes cannot be settled, will report the matter to the members of the Geneva Conference. India, Poland and Canada are also expected to assume responsibility at a later stage for supervising elections.

In carrying out their tasks the International Supervisory Commissions should be able to function more effectively than the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Korea which, because of equal Communist and non-Communist representation, very often had effective action blocked, and which could report only to the two military commands.

The Indochina Commissions will each consist of three members—Indian, Polish and Canadian—and in most cases will be able to take decisions by majority vote. In those special and designated cases where unanimity is required by the cease-fire agreements but cannot be obtained, the commissions will submit majority and minority reports to the Geneva Conference powers. It will then be the responsibility of those powers to deal with the matter.

In addition to providing representatives for each of the three Supervisory

† See page 262.



—Chitrakar

INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISORY COMMISSION FOR INDOCHINA

Canadian members of a preliminary conference held at New Delhi to establish the Indochina Supervisory Commission were, left to right: the High Commissioner for Canada in India, Mr. Escott Reid; Air Commodore H. H. C. Rutledge; Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Mr. R. M. Macdonnell; Brigadier R. E. A. Morton; and Mr. Bruce Williams, Department of External Affairs.

Commissions, India, Poland and Canada will supply a number of military officers for the fixed and mobile inspection teams which will supervise the execution of the cease-fire agreements in the field, under the direction of the Supervisory Commissioners.

A study of the information available has led us to the conclusion that the Commissions have a reasonable chance of operating effectively and of making a constructive contribution to the successful implementation of the cease-fire agreements, and hence to peace in Southeast Asia. If our expectations unfortunately prove ill-founded, and the Commissions are frustrated by obstruction, then, of course, no useful purpose would be served by continuing their existence.

The exchange of views which we have had with those powers with whom we are especially closely associated in efforts to maintain peace and strengthen security, has confirmed our conviction that we ought to accept this onerous but honourable assignment.

Finally, we have been conscious of the serious consequences which might follow if we were to decline the invitation, since this could delay and complicate the implementation of the cease-fire agreements with unhappy, and possibly even serious results. We have no illusions that the task we are undertaking will be either easy or of short duration, but we take satisfaction from the fact that in performing it Canada will be playing a worthy and responsible part in an effort to strengthen peace.

Reply to Invitation

Text of message, July 27, 1954, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Right Honourable Anthony Eden, Co-Chairman, Geneva Conference, conveying Canada's decision to accept membership on International Supervisory Commissions for Indochina.

I have the honour to acknowledge your message of July which you and Mr. Molotov sent in your capacity as co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indochina, containing the invitation to the Canadian Government to designate, in consultation with the Governments of India and Poland, representatives to form the International Supervisory Commissions for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia as envisaged in the agreements on the cessation of hostilities, and on supervision in those three countries.

Conscious of the grave responsibilities which the task will impose, but in the hope that it can contribute to the establishment of peace and security in Indochina, the Canadian Government accepts this invitation. The Canadian Government has been in touch with the Government of India concerning preliminary arrangements and intends to send representatives to New Delhi in the immediate future to consult with Indian and Polish officials on the setting up of the International Supervisory Commissions provided for in the agreements drawn up by the Geneva Conference.

The Canadian Government would be grateful if you would transmit the text of this reply to the members of the Geneva Conference on Indochina, whose continuing interest and support will be required if the Commissions are effectively to carry out their functions and if the agreements on the cessation of hostilities are to be successfully implemented.

Communiqué

Following is the text of the final communiqué issued on conclusion of preliminary talks on the work of the Indochina Supervisory Commissions, New Delhi, August 6, 1954.

The Governments of Canada, Poland and India having acceded to the request of the Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indochina to accept for their respective countries membership of the International Commissions on supervision and control of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, as provided in the respective agreements on the cessation of hostilities done at Geneva on July 20, 1954, met in conference at New Delhi on the invitation of the Government of India from August 1-6.

The Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, inaugurated the Conference and welcomed the visiting delegations.

The status of this Conference is that of a meeting of duly appointed representatives of the three governments concerned to study the terms and provisions in the agreement relating to the International Commissions, the functions and duties arising therefrom and to initiate the necessary steps to establish the Commissions in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia on the due date.

Conference reached the following decisions unanimously:

(I) *Advance mission.*

That an advance mission composed of representatives of the three

governments should leave New Delhi on Saturday, the 7 August, for Phnom Penh (Cambodia), Vien Tiane (Laos) and Hanoi (Vietnam). The advance mission will assist the International Commissions to establish themselves in the three territories on the due date in terms of the provisions of the respective agreements. The advance mission will also study and explore the organizational and other problems relating to the three Commissions and report back to the three governments within approximately two weeks.

(II) *Establishment of the Commissions*

(a) Date

The International Commissions for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos will be established on the 11 August, the last date of cessation of hostilities in Indochina, in terms of Articles 44, 23 and 37 of the three respective Agreements.

(b) Locations

(i) In accordance with Articles 11 and 25 of the Laos and Cambodia Agreements respectively, the Commissions will be set up on Phnom Penh (in Cambodia) and Vien Tiane (in Laos);

(ii) In respect of Vietnam, the Commission will be installed and begin its work at Hanoi. Future locations of the Commission and its subordinate organs, other than the inspection points designated in the agreement, will be decided upon by the Commission taking into account the circumstances and requirements and after consultation with the Trung Gia Commission.

(III) *Personnel*

(a) The personnel of the International Secretariat and all elements for the common pool in each of the three Commissions will normally be provided and arranged for by India. Canada and Poland will also provide part of this personnel;

(b) Each government will provide the confidential and personal staff for its national delegation;

(c) The Polish Government, having regard to the special circumstances of the use of the Polish language by the personnel of their delegation, will arrange to provide interpreters and translators in Polish as required;

(d) A committee composed of representatives of the Government of India, the High Commission of Canada and the Embassy of Poland in New Delhi will establish the rules and conditions of service, the necessary qualifications, rates of pay, etc., for the personnel of the International Secretariat and staff and arrange for their recruitment. This committee will also make appropriate arrangements for similar recruitment of local personnel in Indo-China;

(e) India will have responsibility for the administration of the International Secretariat.

(IV) *Secretaries General*

Appropriate arrangements will be made for the appointment of Secretaries General and Deputy Secretaries General for the three Commissions Secretariat.

(V) *Supervision and control*

Fixed and mobile inspection teams composed of an equal number of officers from each of the three countries, in accordance with the provisions of the three Agreements, will be established as soon as practicable at the points prescribed and in terms of the relevant provisions of the three Agreements. Each country may provide technical personnel as required for each team and India will provide the additional technical personnel for the common services.

(VI) *Finance*

The pay and allowances of personnel included in the national quota of each delegation will be paid by their respective governments. Pay and allowances of the International Staff and all other expenses will be a charge on the general expenditure of the Commission as provided for in the Agreements.

India, as Chairman of the three Commissions, will communicate with the Chairmen of the Geneva Conference in regard to the financial arrangements.

On the morning of 4 August the Conference welcomed the delegates of Cambodia, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, France, Laos and the Associated State of Vietnam who promised their support and co-operation and wished the Commissions success in their work.

Members of the Conference are happy to place on record that the entire work of the Conference was carried out in a spirit of harmony and cordiality and with expedition. All problems were fully and frankly discussed and all decisions were unanimous.

The representatives of Canada and Poland expressed their warm appreciation of the hospitality extended by the Government of India and the admirable arrangements made by the Government of India for the successful work of the Conference.

Canadian Representatives on Supervisory Commissions

The Canadian Government on August 17 designated the three Canadian representatives for the International Supervisory Commissions for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia which are to supervise the cease-fire and armistice agreements in Indochina. The final cessation of hostilities took place August 11, 1954.

Mr. Sherwood Lett has been appointed the Canadian representative on the International Supervisory Commission for Vietnam; Mr. Leon Mayrand on the Commission for Laos and Mr. R. M. Macdonnell on that for Cambodia. The Commissioners will have the rank of Ambassador.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. K. P. Kirkwood was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, Pakistan, to home leave, effective June 7, 1954.
- Mr. S. M. Scott was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, Japan, to home leave, effective June 18, 1954.
- Mr. P. L. Trottier was posted from home leave (Moscow) to Ottawa, effective June 21, 1954.
- Mr. G. H. Blouin was posted from home leave (New Delhi) to Ottawa, effective June 29, 1954.
- Mr. J. L. E. Couillard was posted from home leave (London) to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C., effective July 7, 1954.
- Miss G. Bearman was posted from the Canadian Consulate General, San Francisco to Ottawa, effective July 19, 1954.
- Mr. M. Meech was posted from home leave (Paris) to Ottawa, effective July 20, 1954.
- Mr. M. Cadieux was posted from the Canadian Permanent Delegation to the North Atlantic Council, Paris to home leave, effective July 20, 1954.
- Mr. D. C. Reece was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, India, effective July 23, 1954.
- Mr. J. E. Hyndman was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Vienna, Austria, effective July 24, 1954.
- Mr. W. M. Wood was posted from home leave (Athens) to Ottawa, effective July 26, 1954.
- The following were appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officers Grade I: James Gordon Harris (June 28), Ian William Robertson (June 30), Leonard Houzer (July 12), William Andrew MacKay (July 19).

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund. Annual Report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board. A/2659. New York, 1954. General Assembly Official Records: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 8. Pp. 13.

Resolutions of the Seventeenth Session of the Economic and Social Council (30 March - 30 April 1954). E/2596. New York, May 1954. Pp. 19. ECOSOC Official Records: Seventeenth Session, Supplement No. 1.

Economic Survey of Latin America 1953. E/CN.12/358. New York, 1954. Pp. 246. \$2.50. Sales No.: 1954.II.G.1.

United Nations Tin Conference 1950 and 1953—Summary of Proceedings. E/CONF. 12/12. New York, 1954. Pp. 26. Sales No.: 1954.II.D.4.

Special Study on Educational Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories ST/TRI/SER.A-8/Add.1. New York, 1954. Pp. 133. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1954.VI.B.1.

UNESCO

International Catalogue of recorded Folk Music. Oxford University Press, 1954. Pp. 201 (bilingual).

International Yearbook of Education 1953. Paris (UNESCO). Int. Bureau of Education, Geneva, Publication No. 153. Pp. 399. \$2.00.

A Bibliographical Guide to the English Educational System by George Baron, Organizing Tutor, University of London, Institute of Education. University of London, The Athlone Press, 1951. Pp. 70.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

Utilization of Saline Water—Reviews of Research on Problems of Utilization of Saline Water (Arid Zone Programme IV). Paris 1954. Pp. 96.

Proposed Programme and Budget for 1955 and 1956 (presented to the General Conference at its Eighth Session, Montevideo, November–December 1954). 8 C/5. Paris 1954. Pp. 259.

Arts and Letters (UNESCO and its Programme—X). Paris, June 1954. Pp. 27.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Information and documentation in respect of the territory of South West Africa. A/AC.73/L.3. Pp. 483, and addenda.

Annual Report of the World Meteorological Organization for 1953. E/2594. 5 May 1954. Pp. 107.

Customs Convention on the temporary importation of private road vehicles. E/CONF.16/22. 7 June 1954. Pp. 19 and Annexes 1–5.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 54/32—*Statement on Geneva*, statement by the Acting Head of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. C. A. Ronning, made at Geneva, June 11, 1954, at the conference on Korea and Indo-China.

No. 54/33—*University of Maine Commencement Address*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered at the University of Maine, June 20, 1954.

No. 54/34—*The World We Live In*, an address by the Secretary of State for Ex-

ternal Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at the Seventh International Conference of Social Work, Toronto, June 27, 1954.

No. 54/35—*Statement of the Canadian Representative on the Disarmament Commission*, the statement made in the United Nations Disarmament Commission on July 21, 1954, by Mr. David M. Johnson, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, and Canadian Representative on the Disarmament Commission.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

The Gold Coast

RECENT developments in this British African colony have attracted widespread attention, particularly in the light of developments elsewhere in that continent, and in other colonial areas. The impact of these developments has provided material for much speculation on the future of non self-governing territories. In this article, an attempt is made to provide some of the factual background information about the conditions in the Gold Coast which have made rapid progress towards complete self-government possible.

Historical Development

The Gold Coast has passed through several stages of formation and growth. It first became known to the Western world through Portuguese navigators who visited the Coast in 1471, searching for spices, ivory and gold. They built



defensive works along the shore, principally with the objective of protecting their trading activities. English and Dutch competition caused the Portuguese to abandon their holdings, and yet other nations arrived and established enclaves. Slave-trading was rife. In 1871, the Dutch, the only other European nation which by then still maintained a foothold, ceded their settlements to Great Britain. The colony of the Gold Coast was created by charter shortly afterwards in July 1874.

Disputes between the peoples of the Gold Coast and the inland peoples of the Ashantis fought out in a series of bitter wars, were ended in 1900 by the defeat of the Ashanti Confederation and its annexation to the British Crown in 1901. The Northern Territories came under British rule at about the same time, as a

result of agreement with the chiefs of that area. In 1922, the former German colony of Togoland was split between France and Great Britain. The narrow strip of land which passed to Britain was first held as a League of Nations mandate, and more recently as a United Nations trust territory. It is administered as part of the Gold Coast, under conditions recognizing the obligations imposed on the administering authority by the trusteeship agreement.

The People

The present inhabitants are thought to have arrived mainly during the past seven centuries, but their tribes have a metal culture which dates back

a considerable way. Many of the inhabitants call their country Ghana, which is the name of an early West African Kingdom founded in the 9th century and reaching its peak of prosperity in the 14th.

Much the greater proportion of the population is engaged in agriculture, principally cocoa and subsistence farming. They are peasant farmers, who farm in family units or sometimes organize in communal groups.

The New Constitution

The elections held on June 15, 1954, inaugurated a new era in the colony's history. The new constitution under which these elections were held provides for an enlarged Legislative Assembly, chosen by direct election on the basis of complete adult suffrage, and for a Cabinet, over which the Prime Minister will normally preside, drawn from the Assembly.

The Governor has certain limited reserved powers and retains responsibility for External Affairs, Defence, Togoland, and for certain matters concerning the police. The constitutional instruments provide, however, that the Cabinet, as the principal instrument of policy, is to be responsible for the internal self-government of the country. The Governor will be assisted in the discharge of his responsibilities by a Deputy Governor and will be advised by a committee, including the Prime Minister and members of his Cabinet.

The independence of the judiciary will be ensured through a Judicial Service Commission to advise on, and later to be responsible for, judicial appointments other than that of the Chief Justice.

Similarly, the existing Public Service Commission will become responsible for appointments to the Public Service.

The Constitution contains a guarantee of fair compensation in the event of nationalization as a measure to preserve the confidence of overseas investors. The present government has stated however that it has no plans for nationalization.

That the United Kingdom regards the new constitution as the prelude to full self-government in all matters is clear from the following statement made by the United Kingdom Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, when announcing the new constitution in the House of Commons:

Under these changes the powers retained by Her Majesty's Government are the minimum which they must retain so long as they have any responsibility for the Gold Coast. These changes must therefore be regarded as the last stage before the Gold Coast assumes full responsibility for its own affairs. The grant of such responsibility within the Commonwealth is a matter for the United Kingdom and Parliament and I can say that at the appropriate time Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will be prepared to take such steps as may be necessary for that purpose.

The Elections

In the first elections under this Liberal Constitution, Dr. Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party won a comfortable working majority, although the opposition polled a considerable vote. He and his Ministers have exercised considerable authority for the past three years and gained valuable experience thereby to fit them for their new responsibilities.



—British Information Services

GOLD COAST ELECTIONS

The thumb of a registered voter is inked before he records his vote, to show that he has already voted, and cannot vote again.

The voting took place under interesting conditions. For illiterate voters, the rival parties adopted symbols to which supporters were rallied. Dr. Nkrumah's party adopted the cockerel as its symbol; a star and crescent symbolized the Moslem Association Party and a black fist the Northern Peoples Party. Registered voters formed long queues at some polling stations. They voted by dropping unmarked ballot papers into boxes marked with party symbols. Each voter was required to press his thumb on a pad of indelible ink to prevent double voting, an important point in a country where so many people are unsure of their names, or have the same names. The secrecy of the ballot was vigorously enforced and wide publicity given to the fact of secrecy.

Self-government was not an issue at the elections, since it is taken for granted. There were altogether some 320 candidates for the 104 seats. Apart from the Convention Peoples Party, there were many independents, and candidates from the Ghana Congress Party, the Northern Peoples Party and the newly formed Moslem Association Party. A Togoland Congress Party favours union of British with French Togoland and subsequent federation with the Gold Coast.

The C.P.P. sought support to enable Dr. Nkrumah and the party to go forward to the "logical conclusion of complete independence within the Commonwealth". The Ghana Congress party had a similar objective, and sought to expose weaknesses in the administration. These were the only two parties issuing popular manifestos. The Northern Peoples Party was concerned with avoiding the domination which might come from the south with independence, and was chiefly concerned with economic development and the position of its chiefs.

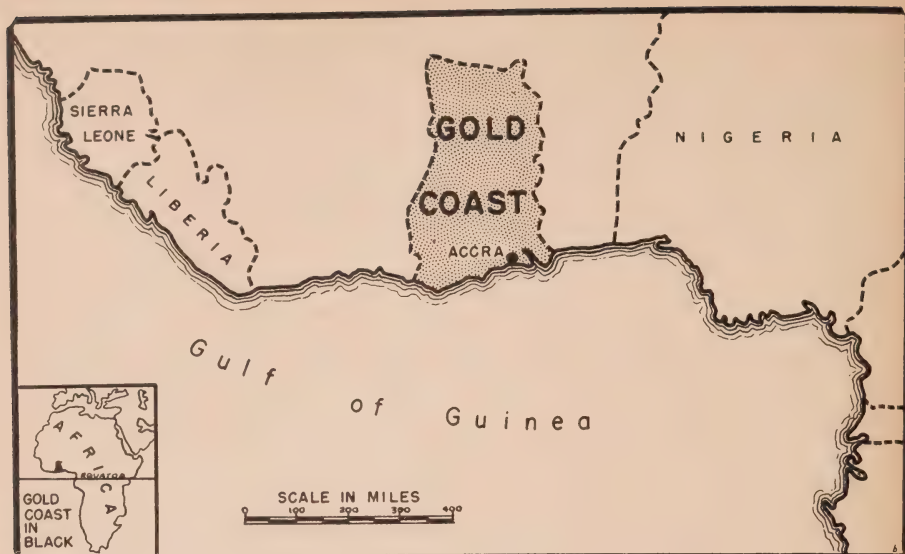
The Economy

This dramatic progress towards self-government which so considerably exceeds the advances made elsewhere is traceable to a combination of advantageous circumstances. The tropical climate has not favoured white settlement and indeed out of a population of nearly 4½ million only 4,200 are British non-Africans. The Africans themselves are the owners of most of the land. In the colony and Ashanti, the land tenure is in part reminiscent of the feudal system, the land being owned by "stools" (symbol of a chief's authority), families or individuals. In general, the vesting of rights in land is controlled by the Government and the concentration of land in the hands of non-Africans has therefore not taken place. There is thus no racial problem of colour or of extensive white landholding to hamper social and political development. The country produces considerable quantities of cocoa (over one-third of the world's supply), and bauxite. It enjoys a consistently favourable balance of trade, amounting in 1952 to nearly £20 million and so is incomparably richer than most under-developed lands. The chief factor in this economic strength is cocoa, which since the war has been in great world demand, with supply never quite adequate for requirements. This crop accounts for nearly 70 per cent of exports. It is produced in many small holdings and the considerable revenue derived from sales is widely spread throughout the population. The African-controlled Cocoa Marketing Board which handles these transactions as agents for the producers had assets of £74.9 million in 1952.

This general level of prosperity is reflected in the budget which in 1952 had a comfortable surplus of nearly £2 million.

Development projects are in hand, sponsored by private enterprise, by the government and by international organizations. The Gold Coast Development Plan, which was approved by the Legislative Assembly in 1952, provides for an expenditure of over £70 million over a period of years. This is divided between social services, communications, economic and productive services and common services. Grants from the United Kingdom of approximately £4 million have been made from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds.

The greatest single scheme is the Volta River project, in which Canadian aluminium companies are interested. It envisages a £124 million expenditure shared by the Gold Coast and United Kingdom Governments, and United Kingdom and Canadian aluminium interests, whereby a dam and hydro-electric station built on the River Volta would provide electricity for a large scale aluminium industry, leaving a large surplus for other purposes. A lake of some 2,000 square miles, the largest artificial lake in the world, would be created and this water reserve would also be available for irrigation. Local bauxite, of which reserves estimated at over 200 million tons exist, would be used and the total eventual production proposed is 210,000 tons of alu-



minium a year. Related projects include a new port, railway and road facilities, housing, schools and hospitals. Additional and much needed port facilities are being provided by the construction of a new harbour near Accra, and road and rail links with it are also in hand.

Over £2 million was spent in 1952-53 on health services and £3.3 million on education (free primary education was introduced in 1952) and the expenditures under these heads are continually increasing. A residential University, the University College of the Gold Coast, has been opened and now has 450 students; about twice this number receive training of different types in the United Kingdom. There is a College of Technology, Arts and Science at Kumasi, with some 450 students in residence.

The Future

It is therefore against this historical and economic background that the Gold Coast is the subject of a bold and progressive experiment in political advancement.

The problems besetting the path of the Gold Coast are certainly not inconsiderable. A particular problem arises from the fact that the country is not one, but four territories, one of which at least, the Northern Territories, is considerably under-developed. To weld areas with such varying interests and at such varying stages of progress into a unit, will require considerable statesmanship.

Another problem has been that of potential communist infiltration. Dr. Nkrumah has said in respect of employment in the Government Service that his Government will "refuse to employ in certain branches of the Public Service persons who are proved to its satisfaction to be active communists . . . The Government will not tolerate employing public servants who have shown that their first loyalty is to an alien power or "foreign agency" which seeks to bring our country under its domination." The contrast between these words and the situation in British Guiana requires no emphasis.

The achievement of responsibility brings new problems, amongst them that of integrity. Before the elections, accusations were levied that Ministers had been guilty of malpractice in administering government contracts. The Government thereupon established a Public Commission of Inquiry which discovered only very minor cases of corruption on the part of three junior members of the government, involving sums which were tiny in comparison with the total amounts administered while they were in office. The men were instantly dismissed and two of them sentenced to a period of imprisonment.

The way in which the Gold Coast Government has handled these two contentious issues is an encouraging prelude to an experiment which, if successful, can pave the way to a better understanding in Africa and elsewhere.

In the favourable conditions which have obtained in the Gold Coast, not only has the seed of self government flourished, but the causes of discord, which have hamstrung progress elsewhere have been much less in evidence. These fortunate circumstances, combined with a liberal colonial policy, have led to the creation of this, the first responsible African administration to be set up in an area once ruled by a European Colonial Power. A distinguished author has written:

Since, however, the crucial question throughout Africa is now and will be for decades to come whether or to what degree the African can take responsibility for his own destiny, the Gold Coast experiment has more than the simple interest of novelty, it will inevitably be watched by Africans and by non-Africans as the proving ground of African maturity.



—British Information Services

GOLD COAST ELECTIONS

A Northern Territories voter is shown into the polling booth where he will record his vote in secret.



The Colombo Plan

THE Colombo Plan is known throughout the world as the Commonwealth's response to the need for economic development in South and South-East Asia. This idea is essentially correct but in certain respects it is an over simplification. The present may be a suitable time at which to recall the way in which the Plan began and developed and the way in which it works.

On October 4 some seventy delegates from the 14 Colombo Plan countries will assemble in Ottawa for the 1954 meeting of the Consultative Committee on Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia—to give the Consultative Committee its full title. This meeting will be preceded by a two-week meeting of officials from Colombo Plan countries commencing September 20. The officials will do the preparatory work for the Consultative Committee meeting and prepare a draft report for consideration by the Committee. The officials will also participate in the meeting of the Committee as advisors to the leaders of their delegations.

First Meeting in North America

The October meeting will be the first meeting of the Consultative Committee to take place in North America. Canadians will have an unusual opportunity to extend a friendly welcome to distinguished visitors from most of the Commonwealth countries, most of the countries of South and South-East Asia, and the United States. At the same time they will have an equally good opportunity to learn more about the policies and problems, the ways of life and cultures of the less familiar of these countries.

The Consultative Committee will be concerned with urgent down-to-earth questions of an economic and humanitarian kind. At the same time, there will be drama, even a little glamour, in its meetings. It is not every day that Canadians are able to meet representatives from such different and distant lands as Australia, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Laos, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, the United Kingdom (and its dependent territories Brunei, North Borneo, Sarawak, Singapore and the Federation of Malaya), the United States and Viet-Nam. Most of these countries will be represented by Cabinet Ministers, for the Consultative Committee is a committee at the Ministerial level.

Several of these Ministers will be Ministers of Finance or Ministers with similar portfolios who are concerned with economic development; others will be Ministers of External Affairs or Ministers whose responsibilities lie in this field; two or three countries will be represented by their diplomatic representatives in Washington or in Ottawa; and one or two will send senior officials responsible for economic development. The United Kingdom territories will be represented by two Ministers, one from the Federation of Malaya and the other from Singapore. Thailand, and possibly the Philippines, will be represented by observers.



Burmese peasants in rice fields.

There will also be observers representing the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, two agencies of the United Nations which have for many years done important work in the economic development field in South and South-East Asia, and whose representatives regularly attend the meetings of the Consultative Committee. The Director of the Colombo Plan Council for Technical Co-operation and the Colombo Plan Information Officer will attend from Colombo.

What has happened during the past few years to bring all these people to Ottawa in this month of October 1954? What is their purpose in meeting here? What business do they conduct both at their annual meetings and during the interval between meetings? What is the Consultative Committee and what is the real nature of the Colombo Plan? The purpose of this article is to provide reasonably comprehensive answers to these questions for those who are interested in the meetings and in the work of the Plan. Information regarding what has been accomplished under the Plan must, in the main, be sought elsewhere.*

* An article on "Canada and the Colombo Plan" by Nick Cavell will appear in the autumn issue of the *Queen's Quarterly* and may be obtained in reprint from the Department of External Affairs. (The *Queen's Quarterly* will also contain two valuable analytical articles on the Colombo Plan.) Less up-to-date but otherwise comprehensive information on Canada's part in the Plan was published in the April and May 1953 issues of *External Affairs Bulletin*. The most comprehensive summary of progress under the Plan, including information about what is being done by all the member countries, is contained in the Annual Report of the Consultative Committee published last October following the 1953 meeting at New Delhi. The 1954 report will be published shortly after the Ottawa meetings and will be obtainable from the Department of External Affairs. The Department of External Affairs has prepared an extensive bibliography of information material on the Colombo Plan obtainable both from Canadian sources and from sources in other Colombo Plan countries. The Ottawa Information Offices of some of these countries can provide some material of this kind.

How the Colombo Plan Began

The Colombo Plan owes its name to the fact that it was initiated in Colombo, the capital of Ceylon. In January 1950, the Foreign Ministers of Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom met in that city to discuss a number of political and economic matters of common interest. The Ministers, framing in the context of public affairs a proposition which is of great human significance, agreed that economic development of South and South-East Asia is vitally important to the maintenance of political stability in the countries in that area, and to the growth of an expanding world economy based on multilateral trade.

This was by no means a new idea. Its importance with respect to all the under-developed areas of the world had already been recognized in the aims of the United Nations, in the activities of its Specialized Agencies and of other United Nations organizations such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and, in the assistance programmes of national governments such as that of the United States with its Point IV programme. But up to this time the main effort had been directed toward restoring the shattered economies of European countries and other areas afflicted by the war. This in itself had channelled some aid to under-developed areas, but their need was still very great and the achievements in these areas had been relatively small.

Conditions Which the Plan was Designed to Meet

Perhaps three-quarters of the world's 2,400,000,000 people live in what we have come to call under-developed areas. It is impossible to generalize over such a wide and varied region, but some idea of the standard of living in such areas may be gained from the fact that in South Asia the average weekly food ration is about 12 ounces of grain per person, the per capita national income is well below \$100 a year and life expectancy is about half what it is in North America. Under-developed areas exist in almost every continent but most glaringly in Asia, Africa and South America. The Commonwealth Foreign Ministers concentrated on Asia—specifically that part of it commonly described as South and South-East Asia. Three-quarters of the people in this area live in Commonwealth Countries or in territories still controlled by the United Kingdom, and the whole area has long had economic relations of the first importance both with the United Kingdom and Western Europe and with North America.

South and South-East Asia is vast enough in itself. It contains some 600,000,000 people—almost a quarter of the world's population. During the war and the years immediately following it, vast changes affecting the lives of these people took place. The first was the physical impact of the war itself. In many parts of South-East Asia, east of the Assam hills where the skeletons of tanks once readied for the Burma road may still be found rusting, the war left physical devastation and a legacy of personal misery.

The second change was psychological. There had already arisen among the peoples of this region, urgently among their leaders and dimly but persistently among the masses, an upsurge of national feeling. Peoples with ancient cultures and traditions but relatively little experience of modern self-govern-



ROAD BUILDING IN SARAWAK

Part of a thirty-mile stretch of road built to serve two oil wells in Sarawak, British North Borneo.



The Tilpara Barrage, (Mayurakshi Project).

ment had begun reaching toward national self-realization. The war and its aftermath quickened this aspiration.

This led to the third change, which was political. There are still parts of South and South-East Asia which are not self-governing—Malaya and New Guinea, for example; but enlightened efforts are being made, often in the face of enormous difficulties, to lead the peoples of these areas toward self-government. A few small states in South and South-East Asia, which never came directly under colonial rule, retain their own traditional forms of independent government, in some cases modified by the introduction of democratic processes. Thailand and Nepal, of the countries associated with the Colombo Plan, fall in this category. The Associated States of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia, which we commonly cover with the name Indo-China, are emerging out of the crucible of war into a condition of independence as yet difficult to define. The Philippines, on the eastern fringe of South-East Asia, has been self-governing for several years. Perhaps the most striking political change in this area in recent years has been the emergence of five new independent countries—India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia. The governments of these countries, which contain the bulk of the people of the area, are all trying, in their own ways and according to their own lights, to build up stable, democratic societies and to throw off the shackles of feudalism and outmoded caste structures.

The fourth change was economic. While populations increased faster than ever, overall production of food grains failed to keep pace—partly as a result of natural calamities and because of disruptive civil wars in the main rice-producing areas, but mainly because there had been insufficient advance in agricultural methods and in systems of irrigating dry land and controlling floods to keep pace with increasing populations. At the same time the dollar surplus which the area had enjoyed before the war was replaced by a chronic dollar shortage, only intermittently relieved by demand for the area's raw materials. Also, the steady flow of capital into the area, which marked the pre-war period, dwindled, either as a result of disturbances caused by the war or because private investors became afraid to risk their savings in the face of new uncertainties.

Drawing up the Plan

These changes launched South and South-East Asia into a new era of its history. It was to the problems attendant on these changes that the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers addressed themselves in January 1950. Having agreed on the urgent need to quicken the pace of economic development, the Foreign Ministers set up a committee to consider in greater detail what might be done. This committee was and is known as the Consultative Committee on Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia, and it held its first meeting in Sydney, Australia, in May 1950.

It was decided that a comprehensive plan should be prepared, and at its next meeting in London in October 1950, the Consultative Committee drew up the Colombo Plan.* The Plan consists of a review of the conditions it is designed to meet, an outline of the development programmes of the Commonwealth countries and territories of South and South-East Asia, and an estimate

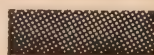
* The Plan, entitled the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia was printed by H.M. Stationery Office, London.



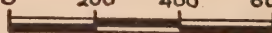
COUNTRIES OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA THE COLOMBO PLAN AREA

Members

Observers



0 200 400 600 MILES



REPUBLIC

PEIPING

East China
Sea

TAIPEH
TAIWAN

HONG KONG

PHILIPPINES

MANILA

LAOS

THAILAND

BANGKOK

CAMBODIA

VIET-NAM

SAIGON

MALAYA

KUALA
LUMPUR

SINGAPORE

PALEMBANG

South China Sea

BRUNEI

SARAWAK

BORNEO

BANDJARMASIN

KUCHING

SANDAKAN

NORTH
BORNEO

CELEBES

MACASSAR

SUMATRA

INDONESIA

JAVA

JAKARTA

Ocean

TOKYO

KOREA

of the resources, both internal and external, needed to achieve the goals set by the Plan. This estimate could not, of course take account of subsequent changes affecting the scope and cost of individual programmes nor could it take account of the needs of countries not yet members of the Plan.

Economic development can proceed intelligently in an area as vast and complex as South and South-East Asia only if the needs and conditions are carefully studied and sensible priorities are established. The Commonwealth authors of the Plan sought from the start to draw up realistic assessments of the needs of the countries of the area and of the resources available to meet those needs. An important and integral part of this assessment was the development programmes which countries in the area were themselves drawing up or were likely to draw up if encouraged to do so.

The Governments of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, which had already made progress with development projects of their own, contributed such programmes when the Plan was first drawn up in October 1950, as did the Governments of the United Kingdom territories in the area, which also had development schemes under way. India subsequently produced a revised plan, drawn up after exhaustive consultation with state governments and interested public bodies, which is a most impressive document occupying two large volumes each the size of a Montreal telephone directory. Other governments, sometimes with the assistance of agencies such as the International Bank, are constantly striving to improve their programmes. A few, in which political conditions are unsettled, are faced with special problems and have therefore made less progress in their national planning than the others. But all are devoting increasing attention to this work.

Nature of Development Plans

The main emphasis in the development programmes of the countries of South and South-East Asia is on projects designed to increase agricultural production. These include large multi-purpose dams, small irrigation projects such as barrages, wells and pumps, community development schemes for villages, agricultural extension work, and schemes to provide farmers with seed, fertilizer, tools and so on. These are supplemented, in certain countries, by land reform measures designed to give farmers better landholding terms and better credit and marketing facilities while, it is hoped, at the same time reducing the small holdings which have plagued agriculture and introducing a measure of co-operative farming. Other development projects to which constant attention is being given include: improvement of transport and communications, increasing or initiating production of essential industrial products such as steel, cement, fertilizer, machine tools and locomotives, resettlement of homeless refugees, the provision of more widespread educational and medical facilities, and the broadening of community life in rural areas. Taken together, these objectives add up to an enlightened effort to give individuals a fuller life and to make national economies more diverse and productive.

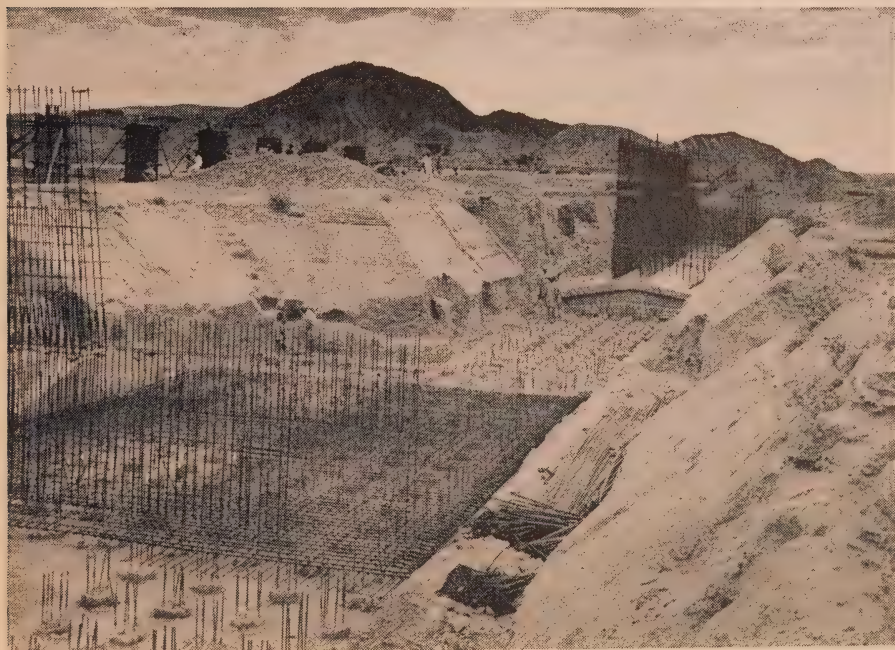
Participation by Other Governments and Agencies

When the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers launched the Plan in 1950 they hoped that it would focus world attention on the needs of South and South-East Asia and thus encourage increasing co-operative economic devel-



DENTAL NURSES GRADUATE

The Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. S. G. Holland, right, and the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. T. C. Webb, with six graduate dental nurses from Ceylon outside the Dominion Training School, Wellington, after the graduation ceremony.



DANDKAL CEMENT PROJECT, PAKISTAN

opment of the area. The Commonwealth countries were themselves embarking on a great co-operative venture but it was recognized from the start that the needs of the area are far greater than the Commonwealth alone can meet, and that Commonwealth efforts would have to be co-ordinated with the efforts of other countries and agencies already at work or likely to be at work in the area.

This wider co-operation has, up to a point, been accomplished. The United States, which since 1950 has itself operated economic assistance programmes in South and South-East Asia, has been a full member of the Consultative Committee since 1951. As was stated above, both the International Bank and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (which has done valuable statistical work on South and South-East Asia and assisted in other ways) have been regularly represented at its meetings.

In taking their joint initiative in Colombo, the Commonwealth countries also contemplated that all countries in South and South-East Asia should be invited to participate on equal terms in whatever plan was devised. Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia and Thailand were represented by observers at the London meetings. By 1952, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Nepal and Viet-Nam had become full members and Indonesia participated as a full member at the 1953 meetings in New Delhi. Thailand had sent observers to three meetings by 1953 and the Philippines had been represented in this way at two meetings.

The Nature of the Plan Itself

The Colombo Plan is not only or even primarily an aid programme. It is the sum of the development programmes of the Asian countries which are members of the Plan, and of the aid programmes of the other member countries; in short, it is, as its full title states, a co-operative plan. Furthermore, the major burden of economic development is borne by the Asian countries themselves. They have themselves embarked on programmes of economic development and are working very hard to improve their own conditions; this is the essential basis on which the Plan rests.

At the same time they know, as do we, that they cannot achieve their objective without help from their friends — help that is urgently needed now which will be needed for the next few years at least. The pump needs to be primed. Certain economic goals such as higher national production, greater capital availability, an increased flow of foreign investment and freer trade, which it is hoped will be a secondary result of the first years' efforts to raise the living standards of the people of South and South-East Asia, will have to be realized before the countries of the area can consider themselves economically self-reliant.

The Colombo Plan, considered in both its capital assistance and technical co-operation aspects, has no permanent machinery or secretariat and no central headquarters. Special machinery exists for the handling of technical co-operation but co-ordination and orderly development in the capital field is achieved through bilateral negotiations, supplemented by consultation with others where necessary, and through the annual meetings of the Consultative Committee. There has thus grown up a flexible, pragmatic procedure which spreads among a great many governments and agencies on a continuing basis — and, once each year, on the host government and on the delegates to the Consultative Com-



—Australian Official

AUSTRALIAN TRACTORS AND TRUCKS FOR CEYLON

Tractors and motor-trucks being loaded at Melbourne for Ceylon under the Colombo Plan Technical Co-operation Scheme.

mittee meeting. This system, by placing the emphasis on direct contacts, keeps overhead costs to a minimum and makes for a high degree of efficiency in the day-to-day operations of Colombo Plan assistance programmes.

How Capital is Provided

How does a "donor" country, for example Canada, provide capital assistance under the Plan? First the Asian government concerned suggests to us certain projects with which it thinks we can help and we look into the matter with them and decide what we can most usefully do. In this process the authorities concerned with economic development both in the Asian country and in Canada, as well as the diplomatic missions in each country, all play a part. We have now worked out in practice a variety of methods which are flexible enough to provide for differing needs and at the same time based on mutually accepted administrative and financial principles. The Departments of External Affairs, Trade and Commerce, Finance, Agriculture, National Health and Welfare and Labour, as well as such agencies as the Bank of Canada, all play a part in this work.*

* The Department of External Affairs has prepared a paper outlining the main principles which govern the provision of Canadian aid, and which also contains a summary statement of Canadian capital assistance under the plan up to the present time.

The Work of the Consultative Committee

The Consultative Committee meets once a year to review progress and future prospects and to prepare an annual report. It is, as its name implies, a "consultative" body: no collective policy decisions binding member governments are taken. The Plan was framed to cover the six-year period June 1951 to June 1957. After the meeting in London in 1950, when the Plan was drawn up, there was a meeting in Colombo in 1951. This meeting was mainly concerned with setting up the Council for Technical Co-operation. In 1952, when the Plan had been operating for about a year, it was time to have a meeting to review progress. This meeting was held in Karachi. Another meeting to review progress after two years' operations was held in New Delhi in October 1953. This year's meeting will review the situation after three years' operations.

In Ottawa, as in Karachi and New Delhi, the Ministers will review progress and future prospects, agree upon the annual report and discuss common problems. These meetings will consider both technical co-operation and capital assistance, with the main emphasis on the latter since the former is primarily in the hands of the Council for Technical Co-operation, which has already met in Colombo and will not be meeting in Ottawa.

Technical Co-operation

Colombo Plan technical aid, like capital assistance, is given bilaterally on a country-to-country basis. But the Bureau for Technical Co-operation at Colombo processes requests for such aid and endeavours to find the required assistance in other Colombo Plan countries. The members of the Council for Technical Co-operation to which the Bureau is responsible, are drawn from the permanent representatives of Colombo Plan countries in Ceylon. The Director of the Bureau is an official specially seconded to the post from one of the Colombo Plan countries. The present Director is an Australian. The Colombo Plan technical assistance programme is regarded as supplementary to the work being done by the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration and by Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, such as the WHO and FAO.

The Information Unit

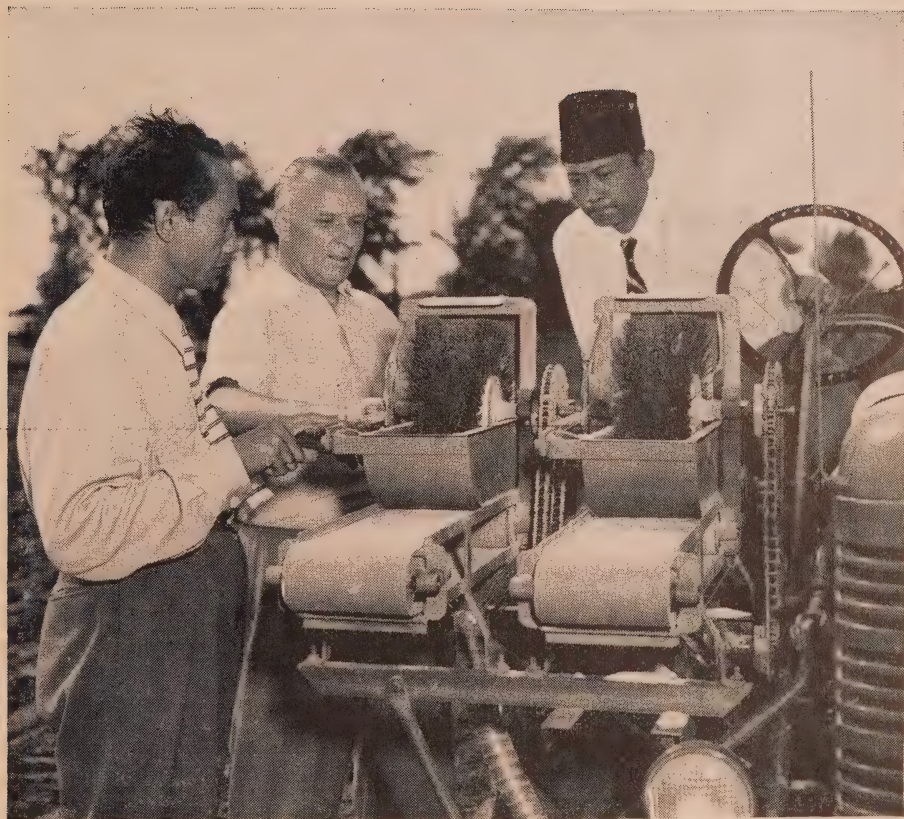
The Colombo Plan now has an Information Unit in Colombo. The Information Officer, like the Director of the Bureau for Technical Co-operation, is an official specially seconded from one of the Colombo Plan countries. The present Information Officer is an Indian. The Unit assists member governments to publicize what is being done under the Colombo Plan, and is beginning to supplement their work with information material of its own.

A Meeting Ground for Asia and the West

The Colombo Plan has brought an increasingly large number of westerners and Asians together and enabled them to learn more of each others' ways of thinking and working. The annual meetings of the Consultative Committee are one example of this. The various technical co-operation schemes also bring about this desirable result. We give Asians material assistance and technical know-how, but, in doing so, we always try to remember that Asians

have their own ways, some long established, some as modern as our own, of tackling their own problems and that we on our part have a great deal to learn from them. Essentially the Colombo Plan is an expression of friendship, of co-operation between peoples in two widely separated parts of a shrinking world who are coming increasingly to realize that their welfare is inter-dependent.

■



—Capital Press

CANADIAN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Mr. Purbadwijejo, left, and Mr. Siswadi, of Indonesia, watch a demonstration at the Central Experimental Farm, Ottawa, of a fertilizer metering attachment for use on tobacco. In the centre is Mr. L.E. Gilmore of the Tobacco Division, Experimental Farms Service.

The Canada-United States Committee on Education

By J. B. Edmonson, Dean-Emeritus, School of Education, University of Michigan and Charles E. Phillips, Professor of Education, University of Toronto, Co-Chairmen of the Canada-United States Committee on Education.*

IN the spring of 1944, a few educators from Canada and the United States held conversations about the development of stronger educational bulkworks for safeguarding the friendly relations between the two countries. These conversations led to the formation in the autumn of 1944 of the non-governmental Canada-United States Committee on Education. This Committee has been sponsored in the United States by the American Council on Education, and in Canada by the Canadian Education Association in co-operation with the Canadian Teachers' Federation and the National Conference of Canadian Universities.

To perpetuate good will through a positive programme of education is the primary aim of the Canada-United States Committee on Education which has now completed its tenth year. There are twenty members of the Committee, ten from each country. The officers are a chairman and secretary from each nation. These and other Committee members serve without compensation. The ten Canadian members of the Committee are as follows: Mr. G. G. Campbell, Principal, Sydney Academy, Sydney, Nova Scotia; Dr. Myrtle Conway, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Mr. L. John Prior, President Canadian Teachers' Federation, South Burnaby, B.C.; Dr. O. J. Desaulniers, Superintendent of Education, Quebec; Dr. N. A. M. MacKenzie, President, University of British Columbia; Abbé Arthur Maheux, Archivist, Laval University, Quebec; Mr. A. R. McCallum, Deputy Minister of Education, Regina, Saskatchewan; Dr. G. A. Frecker, Deputy Minister of Education, St. John's, Newfoundland; Dr. Charles E. Phillips, Professor of Education, University of Toronto; and Mr. F. K. Stewart, Executive Secretary, Canadian Education Association. Since the Committee was organized, seven meetings of the full Committee have been held. Three of these meetings have been held in cities in the United States and four in Canada. The last meeting was held in Toronto in December 1953. Between committee meetings the work is carried on by the Executive Committee consisting of the co-chairmen and the co-secretaries.

Committee Projects

The Committee's primary objective of strengthening the bonds between the two countries is furthered by such undertakings as the following:

1. Studies are sponsored relating to attitudes and practices that might build good relationships or threaten such relationships, especially those that might influence instructional programmes of the schools and colleges of the two countries.
2. Efforts are made to increase the amount of instruction about Canada

* It is deeply regretted that shortly after this article was written, Dean Edmonson died suddenly on June 4.

in the schools and colleges of the United States, especially in those educational institutions where Canada is less well known.

3. Exchanges of teachers and students are promoted as well as visits by educators to the other country.
4. The exchange of instructional materials, including films, recordings, book lists, art exhibits, and other materials conducive to understanding the neighboring country is encouraged.

Clearing House for Information

The Committee also serves as a clearing house for information on educational needs and problems of Canada and the United States. The Committee has produced a number of articles published in Canadian and American periodicals, and several pamphlets reporting special studies. Two of the best known of these are: *A Study of National History Textbooks Used in the Schools of Canada and the United States* (1947) and *The Growth of Peaceful Settlement Between Canada and the United States* by G. W. Brown (1948). In 1951 an extensive study of the news published in representative newspapers of the two countries was conducted for the Committee by the Ryerson Institute of Technology and the University of Michigan School of Journalism. A pamphlet outlining the similarities and differences in the governments of Canada and the United States is now in draft form.

In recent years the Canada-United States Committee has made a special effort to acquaint the people of the United States with the distinctive character of the culture of the Canadian people and their independence as a nation, as well as to give Canadians a clearer insight into some of the more perplexing problems of their neighbour to the south.

Early in June 1953 a project to identify the significant values which are common to the people of the two neighbouring nations was undertaken. This project was made possible by a small grant to the American Council on Education by the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation. The plans for the study were made by the Executive Committee of the Canada-United States Committee on Education with the help of President Arthur Adams of the American Council on Education. Mr. Dennis Wrong, a native of Canada and recently a resident in the United States, was selected to carry out the study. He is the son of the late Hume Wrong, who, after a number of years as Canadian Ambassador to the United States, was appointed Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs shortly before his death.

Mr. Wrong made an analysis of the writings of statesmen, historians, and sociologists, as well as a study of popular writings, which related to the ideals and values of Canada and the United States. His study is now being completed and may subsequently be published. It is anticipated that it will be of much interest to scholars in both countries; its primary purpose, however, is to assist in planning testing programmes designed to improve instructional materials of schools and colleges.

In May 1954, the Executive Committee, in co-operation with a joint committee of the Chambers of Commerce of Canada and the United States, began an inquiry relating to the aims and activities of about fifty non-governmental organizations and committees concerned with the mutual problems of the

two nations. The possible values of a conference of these agencies is also being considered. It is believed that such a conference might help to identify the more effective means of strengthening the friendly ties between the two countries.

Financial Support

In the past years financial support for the work of the Committee has been received chiefly from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Special projects have been financed by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Marshall Field Foundation and the Fund for the Advancement of Education. In Canada, the Committee has also received some financial assistance from the Canadian Citizenship Council, (formerly the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship) and valuable office services from the Canadian Education Association. While the Committee has made significant contributions with limited financial support, the matter of finances has frequently constituted a problem.

In a publication issued by UNESCO in July 1953, the following comment was made on the Canada-United States Committee on Education:

"This Committee has many interesting features. To begin with it is the first of its kind to have achieved tangible results since the end of the Second World War." (*Educational Studies and Documents* No. IV. p. 6).

The foregoing appraisal would seem to justify continued efforts by the Committee to promote its primary objective.

By virtue of geographic contiguity, of common elements in tradition, and of similarity in convictions and ideals and interests, the United States and Canada are drawn together by multiple ties. The two countries have striking similarities and significant differences, and each strongly influences the welfare of the other. There is a strong tradition of good will and co-operation between the two countries. To perpetuate that good will through a positive program for increased mutual understanding and respect is a responsibility that the educational and cultural agencies of both countries cannot avoid.

International Bureau of Education

Official Opening of New Canadian Exhibit

A new Canadian exhibit located at the International Bureau of Education at Geneva Switzerland, was officially opened on July 8, 1954, during the XVIIth International Conference on Public Education. The Canadian delegates to this Conference were Dr. W. H. Swift, Deputy Minister of Education for the Province of Alberta and Vice-President of the Canadian Education Association, and Mr. L. J. Prior, President of the Canadian Teachers' Federation.

Statements at the opening ceremony were made by Dr. Swift, who officially opened the exhibit, and by Mr. Hector Allard, the Canadian Permanent Delegate to the European Office of the United Nations. Dr. Swift spoke as follows:

I am pleased indeed to be a representative of Canada the year that our new exhibit is officially opened. I understand that in years past our display has done us very much less than justice, which fact was reported by my predecessors here, Dr. L. W. Shaw of Prince Edward Island in 1952, and Dr. B. O. Filteau from the French speaking Province of Quebec, who was here a year ago.

In part at least this was due to the fact, to which I referred before the assembly of delegates, that we have no national ministry or office of education which might assume responsibility.



—G. G. Vuarchex

CANADIAN EXHIBIT OPENED

Present at the official opening of the new Canadian Exhibit at the International Bureau of Education at Geneva were, left to right: Dr. W. H. Swift, Deputy Minister of Education for Alberta and Vice-President of the Canadian Education Association; Dr. J. Piaget, Director of the International Bureau of Education; Mr. P. Rossello, Assistant Director of the International Bureau of Education.

The Canadian Education Association, of which I am currently vice-president, interested itself in this matter and with the great assistance of the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission, and of Mr. Hector Allard, who is the Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations here at Geneva, the present display was produced.

Canada is a country of two chief languages and culture. It is a land of great cities and of lonely hinterlands. It encompasses vast distances and its people pursue many occupations. For these reasons its educational needs are many and must be met by varied sorts of schools and school programs. To illustrate them here is quite impossible.

It would be fair to say, I think, that in Canada we are attempting to retain the undoubted values of education as it has been known through the centuries, and as it has come to us from the older civilizations, especially of this continent in which we now are, and at the same time to adapt it to our own circumstances and a rapidly changing society. It must fit our own emerging nationhood.

It is our intention to effect some changes in our exhibit from year to year and to this end a ten-year schedule has been drafted. During that period, while certain essentials in the nature of books, statistics, and general information will remain, there will pass before those whose good fortune it is to visit this world centre of educational thought and development, illustration of many aspects of our school system.

By way of general observation relative to exhibits may I say that I regret that we all find it easy to show books, buildings, and objects, metalwork, statistics and other concrete objects, but not some of those highly important things referred to by many of the delegates. I refer to processes of thought, development of character, the intimate relationship which exists between a good teacher and a child, and other intangible matters. We have these things also in Canada. If any of you discover how to include a representation of these in a display, please let us know.

May I thank you for doing my country the honour of attending here today. I take great pleasure in declaring, in your presence, that this exhibit is officially open.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. K. D. McIlwraith was posted from the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, to home leave, effective July 11, 1954.
- Mr. F. G. Ballachey was posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory and Control Commissions, Indochina, effective August 1, 1954.
- Mr. R. A. Farquharson was appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Information Adviser to the Ambassador, Canadian Embassy, Washington D.C., effective August 9, 1954.
- Miss M. A. MacPherson was posted from home leave (Washington) to Ottawa, effective August 10, 1954.
- Mr. L. V. J. Roy was posted from National Defence College Kingston, to Ottawa, effective August 16, 1954.
- Mr. D. Stansfield was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, effective August 19, 1954.
- Mr. H. F. Davis was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective August 22, 1954.
- Mr. M. Cadieux was posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions for Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam effective August 23, 1954.
- Mr. A. R. Crepault was posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective August 23, 1954.
- Mr. R. V. Gorham was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective August 24, 1954.
- Mr. R. Duder was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, to the International Supervisory Commissions for Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam effective August 25, 1954.
- Mr. J. H. Thurrott was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, to the International Supervisory Commissions for Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam effective August 26, 1954.
- Mr. M. A. Crowe was posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective August 30, 1954.
- Mr. J. L. Delisle was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Warsaw, effective August 30, 1954.
- Mr. A. R. Kilgour was posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective August 31, 1954.
- Mr. Joseph Ernest Gilles Lalande joined the Department of External Affairs as a Foreign Service Officer Grade 1 on August 3, 1954.
- Mr. Thomas Maurice du Monceau Pope joined the Department of External Affairs as a Foreign Service Officer Grade 1 on August 9, 1954.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

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| <p><i>Budget Estimates for the financial year 1955 and Information Annex. A/2647. New York, 1954. Pp. 107. \$1.25. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 5.</i></p> | <p><i>Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. A/2648. New York, 1954. Pp. 24. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 13.</i></p> |
|---|--|

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; Winnipeg Book Store, 493 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

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ILO — Eighth Report of the International Labour Organization to the United Nations, 1954. Geneva, 1954. Pp. 332.

ILO — Higher Productivity in Manufacturing industries. (Studies and Reports, New Series No. 38). Geneva, 1954. Pp. 194.

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UNESCO

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ference, December 1952. (Studies on Compulsory Education — XIII). Paris, May 1954. Pp. 157. \$1.00.

The Education of Women for Citizenship — Some practical suggestions. By Marjorie Tait. (Problems in Education Series). Paris, April 1954. Pp. 105. \$1.00.

Basic Facts and Figures. Illiteracy, education, libraries, museums, books, newspapers, newsprint, film, radio and television. Paris, April 1954. Pp. 84. \$1.00.

The University teaching of social science — Political science. Report prepared by William A. Robson. Paris, 1954. Pp. 249. \$1.00.

Inventories of apparatus and materials for teaching science. Vol. III, Part 4: Technical Colleges — Electrical Engineering. Paris, June 1954. Pp. 147. \$2.75.

Secondary teachers' salaries (XVIIIth International Conference on Public Education, Geneva, 1954). Pp. 289. \$2.00. UNESCO, Paris/Int. Bureau of Education, Geneva, Publication No. 157.

Secondary teacher training (XVIIIth International Conference on Public Education, Geneva, 1954). Pp. 202. \$1.75. UNESCO, Paris/Int. Bureau of Education, Geneva, Publication No. 155.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Nationality including statelessness — Survey of the problem of multiple nationality (Prepared by the Secretariat). A/CN.4/84. 14 May 1954. Pp. 149.

Report of the International Law Commission covering the work of its sixth session. A/CN.4/88. 5 August 1954. Pp. 60.

Report of the Inter-American Peace Committee on the Dispute between Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. S/3267. 13 July 1954. (Washington, D.C., 8 July 1954). Pp. 75.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



CANADA

October 1954

Vol. 6 No. 10

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

Trieste

THE City of Trieste, with the best harbour facilities in the Adriatic and an industrious and skilled population, is located at the base of one of the strategically and economically most important areas in Europe. It was for a century the main port and naval base of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and, as such, served the vast hinterland of Central Europe. Its inhabitants, mostly Italians with a Slovene minority, owed their prosperity to the Austrian Empire, and economic self-interest moderated their predominantly Italian nationalism. They considered themselves to be citizens of an Italian city-state owing allegiance to the Austrian Emperor.

After the First World War, Trieste and the Istrian peninsula to the south-east of it were separated from Austria and ceded to Italy. The union was acclaimed by Italian nationalists, but the main *raison d'être* of the city disappeared. While Trieste was part of Austria, Venice had been the major Italian port in the Adriatic and it was difficult after 1919 to reverse this. The new state of Czechoslovakia tended to direct its overseas trade through Hamburg while Yugoslavia used ports on its own littoral. Post-war Austria could not provide the trade to keep the port of Trieste employed at previous levels. As a result Trieste lost much of its former importance.

Military Administration Set Up

At the end of the Second World War, the province of Trieste was claimed by Yugoslavia for ethnic reasons and as compensation for the damage caused by the Italian occupation of Slovenia and Croatia. Yugoslav forces occupied the territory and Marshal Tito voiced his determination to incorporate it into Yugoslavia. With equal determination Italy protested against the annexation of the Istrian peninsula and especially the city of Trieste. The Allied armies in Italy, wishing to have the question settled at the Peace Conference and to avoid any attempt at settlement by force, persuaded the Yugoslav forces to withdraw from the predominantly Italian part of the territory and an Allied Military Administration was set up in this region pending a final settlement of the dispute, the line of demarcation being known as the Morgan Line. The city of Trieste was placed under Allied administration, while the part of the province east of that line was left under Yugoslav control without prejudice to the ultimate disposal of that area.

At the Paris Peace Conference in 1946 the U.S.S.R. backed Yugoslavia's claims to the whole territory under dispute. The Western Powers were prepared to compromise but refused to consider assigning purely Italian areas to Yugoslavia. The Conference finally decided that the largest part of the Istrian peninsula, including the largely Italian cities in Western Istria and the naval base of Pola, should be given to Yugoslavia. The rest of the province was assigned to Italy except the city of Trieste and its immediate neighbourhood which, by way of compromise, was to be made a Free Territory.

The decisions of the Conference with respect to Trieste were embodied in Annexes to the Italian Peace Treaty, the principal ones being entitled: the



Permanent Statute of the Free Territory of Trieste, the Instrument for the Provisional Regime of the Free Territory of Trieste, and the Instrument for the Free Port of Trieste. Under the Permanent Statute, the Security Council of the United Nations, after consultation with Italy and Yugoslavia, was to appoint a Governor over the Free Territory. His term of office was to be five years and his salary was to be borne by the United Nations. He was to have wide discretionary powers in the administration of the Territory and was to be responsible to the Security Council. Provision was made for a Constitution, for a popularly-elected Constituent Assembly, for a responsible Council of Government, and for a free and independent judiciary. Until the Governor's appointment, the Permanent Statute of the Free Territory was to remain in abeyance and the administration of the Territory was to be governed by the Instrument

for the Provisional Regime. This Instrument provided for the temporary administration of the area, pending the appointment of a Governor, by the Allied Military Commands in their respective zones—the United Kingdom and the United States in Zone A, and Yugoslavia in Zone B. Troops stationed in the Free Territory were not to exceed 5,000 men for the United Kingdom, 5,000 for the United States and 5,000 for Yugoslavia.

These Peace Conference decisions concerning Trieste resulted in placing a territory of 86 square miles under United Kingdom and United States administration in Zone A, with a population of 299,000 persons, and placing a territory of 199 square miles under Yugoslav administration in Zone B, with a population of 73,500 persons. The city of Trieste itself became a part of Zone A. Ethnically, according to earlier censuses, Yugoslavs predominated in the coast between the Italian border and Trieste City in Zone A and also in the hinterland of Zones A and B, while the Italians predominated in Trieste City (comprising four-fifths of its population of approximately 250,000) and in the towns on the coast of Zone B.

The Security Council first discussed the question of the appointment of a Governor for Trieste on June 20, 1947. A number of candidates for the post were nominated in subsequent meetings by various members of the Council, but none was acceptable to all five permanent members. In December 1947, the Security Council asked Italy and Yugoslavia to consult upon a candidate and report the results of their consultation. However, the nominees of neither State proved acceptable to the other, and the Security Council made further attempts at agreement on a candidate. After these efforts proved unsuccessful, the Security Council suspended discussion of the governorship of Trieste.

Three Power Proposal

Following this, the United Kingdom, the United States and France on March 20, 1948, proposed the return to Italy of the whole of the Free Territory, claiming that the economic and social measures taken by Yugoslavia in Zone B had made it virtually impossible for any Governor to carry out the tasks envisaged for him in the Peace Treaty and that it would, therefore, now be impossible to set up a viable Free Territory. On April 5, 1948, the Secretary of State for External Affairs announced Canada's support of this Three-Power proposal.

Trieste was again discussed in the Security Council in 1949 when the U.S.S.R. tabled a resolution calling for the immediate appointment of a Governor for the Free Territory. The position of the Western countries was that the provisions of the Peace Treaty respecting the Free Territory had become unworkable because of the difficulties of agreeing with the U.S.S.R. on a Governor and because of the virtual administrative incorporation of Zone B in Yugoslavia. On May 10, 1949, the Council put to a vote the U.S.S.R. resolution, which was rejected by 2 in favour (U.S.S.R. and Ukrainian S.S.R.), with 9 abstentions (including Canada).

After the rift in 1948 between Yugoslavia and the other Communist states who were members of the Cominform, efforts were made to have the Trieste question solved through bilateral negotiations between Italy and Yugoslavia.



THE PORT OF TRIESTE

These efforts had the support of the United Kingdom and the United States, who were anxious to explore all possible means of improving relations between Italy and Yugoslavia and thus strengthening the security of the Western world. Numerous proposals were made by both sides during the five-year period from 1948 to 1953, but in every case the proposals of each side proved unacceptable to the other. These proposals included such arrangements as a division along the existing Zone A-Zone B frontier, an ethnic solution, a plebiscite, internationalization of Trieste through its administration by a group of powers, a condominium in Trieste by Italy and Yugoslavia jointly, etc.

Finally, in the summer of 1953, the situation deteriorated. Public speeches made in Yugoslavia and Italy showed that both sides were still as far from agreement as ever. On August 28, a *YUGO PRESS* communiqué dealt with the necessity of re-examining Yugoslavia's position in view of Italian actions in Zone A. This gave rise to Italian fears of a Yugoslav threat to Zone B. Italy moved troops to its eastern frontier with Yugoslavia, and concentrated naval

vessels at Venice. A later Yugoslav announcement on August 31, denying that Yugoslavia had any intention to annex Zone B, helped reduce the temperature somewhat. Nevertheless, in a speech on September 6, Marshal Tito advocated the cession of the whole Slovene hinterland of the territory of Trieste to Yugoslavia, and the internationalization of Trieste City. This was answered by a speech by the Italian Prime Minister, Signor Pella, calling for a plebiscite for the Free Territory as a whole.

Memorandum of Understanding

In the belief that the deadlock should be broken, the United Kingdom and the United States Governments announced, on October 8, that they had decided to terminate Allied Military Government in Zone A, to withdraw their troops, and, bearing in mind the predominantly Italian character of Zone A, to transfer the administration of that zone to the Italian Government. Unfortunately, the reaction of Italy and Yugoslavia to the United Kingdom-United States announcement was such that the two administering powers could not withdraw, but they continued their efforts to find a solution acceptable to both countries. Early in 1954 negotiations were begun in London between the United Kingdom, the United States, Italy and Yugoslavia and were successfully ended on October 5, 1954 with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding by representatives of the four governments.

The underlying basis of the settlement reached in London was that it had proved impossible to put into effect the provisions of the Italian Peace Treaty relating to Trieste and that the United Kingdom, United States and Yugoslav Governments could not be expected to continue indefinitely a military occupation which was intended to be temporary. Among other things, the Memorandum provided for:

- (a) the termination of military government in Zones A and B of the Territory;
- (b) the division of the territory between Italy and Yugoslavia approximately along the zonal boundary with boundary adjustments in the neighbourhood of the village of Lazzaretto;
- (c) the extension of civil administration by Italy and Yugoslavia over the areas for which they will have responsibility;
- (d) the maintenance on a non-discriminatory basis, of the city of Trieste as a free port;
- (e) guarantees of the rights of Italian and Yugoslav minorities left under alien jurisdiction by the agreement.

The Memorandum further provided for the communication of the terms of the agreement to the Security Council.

It had been Canada's interest to see an amicable settlement reached on the problem of Trieste by Italy and Yugoslavia. The signing of the Memorandum of Understanding by removing this source of friction, opens the way to closer co-operation between Italy and Yugoslavia, and thus will contribute greatly to the strengthening of the welfare and security of the free world.

The Work of the International Supervisory Commissions in Indo-China

Text of a radio interview with Mr. Sherwood Lett, Canadian Representative on the International Supervisory Commission for Vietnam, by Mr. W. J. Herbert of CBC network on Monday, September 27, 1954.

Mr. Herbert:

Would you outline the task undertaken by Canada in Indo-China?

Mr. Lett:

Canada is one of three countries which has accepted the invitation of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China to form International Supervisory Commissions to supervise the carrying out of the three cease-fire agreements for Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. The other two countries are India and Poland. There will be three separate commissions, with representatives of the three nations sitting on them. As the Canadian representative on the International Commission for Vietnam, I will be concerned only with the implementation of the cease-fire agreement in that state, which is the eastern-most, and most heavily populated of the three states.

Mr. Herbert:

What does the agreement call for, Mr. Lett?

Mr. Lett:

The Vietnam agreement provides for the removal of French and Vietnamese troops from that part of Vietnam which is North of the military demarcation line of the 17th parallel, and the removal of Viet Minh troops from South Vietnam. The agreement also contains provisions for the transfer of civil authority, release of prisoners and civilian internees, and the introduction into the country of military personnel, and of all kinds of arms, munitions and war materials.

I should like to make it clear that the functions of the commission are supervisory, judicial and mediatory. It can make recommendations but cannot of itself enforce recommendations that it may make. The Commission is required to set up fixed and mobile inspection teams, made up of an equal number of officers appointed by the three countries concerned. These military teams under the direction of the commission, will do much of the actual work of supervising the movement of troops into the provisional assembly areas and re-grouping zones, the rotation of military personnel, and the introduction of military supplies and equipment into the country. They'll also hold on-the-spot investigations into any incidents or alleged breach of the cease-fire agreement by either side.

I should have mentioned that if one of the parties refuses to put into effect a recommendation of the commission, the commission reports the circumstances to the Geneva Conference powers.

Mr. Herbert:

What's the size of the Canadian staff required for the task?

Mr. Lett:

At the present time the number of Canadian military personnel in Indo-China is about 120 officers and men and about 20 civilians, for a total of 140. Canada also has one Deputy Secretary-General on the international secretariat of the Commission, and will also have to provide some interpreters for the inspection teams.

Mr. Herbert:

Which of the three kingdoms will give the greatest difficulty in your opinion?

Mr. Lett:

At the present moment, I would say Vietnam. This country has been the main battleground of the war and the bulk of the military forces involved are there. Regrouping these forces is probably the biggest task and hence is probably the biggest trouble potential. Furthermore, the Vietnam agreement provides for a less permanent type of settlement than the agreements for Laos and Cambodia. In those two countries the Viet Minh forces are to be removed and the local resistance forces are to be "absorbed" into the national community. The cease-fire agreements imply no changes in the existing governmental structure of these two countries. But in Vietnam, the agreement provides for a cease-fire only, and even if it is successfully implemented without serious incident, it will leave very difficult political problems in its wake. Time alone will tell how it will work out.

Mr. Herbert:

What, in your opinion, will be the hardest problems to solve in Vietnam?

Mr. Lett:

I expect the most difficult task in Vietnam will be to build up an attitude of trust and good faith between the French and the Viet Minh. After the long and bitter war in Indo-China, it would not be surprising if the two sides regard each other with some suspicion and have some doubts about the other's good faith with respect to carrying out the terms of the cease-fire agreement. But, so long as they both are determined to see that the job is carried out, our task should not be too difficult. But there's another problem too. I understand the cease-fire agreement was drafted in some haste, and I imagine that experience will show us that in some places the terms of the agreement are not clear. In these instances, we on the commission will have to reach an agreed interpretation and persuade both sides to accept it. So long as the commission is able to decide unanimously on a proper interpretation of the agreement, things should go reasonably well. If, however, one of the members of the commission does not agree with the interpretation advocated by the other two, there will undoubtedly be greater difficulty in persuading both sides to accept the commission's interpretation. There are some provisions in the agreement which may be difficult to carry out. For instance, Article 14 provides among other things that each party will refrain from any reprisal or discrimination against persons or organizations, on account of their activities during the war, and to guarantee their democratic liberties. It also provides that any civilians residing in a district controlled by one party, who wish to move to the other zone, should be helped to do so by the authorities in that district. The agreement, in fact, calls on both parties to do certain things, which in light of the unsettled con-

ditions on both sides of the cease-fire line, may seem to them to cut across their own security arrangements, in areas which have recently been the scene of bitter fighting. Furthermore, neither party can be expected to be too enthusiastic about the exodus of large numbers of inhabitants from areas they've just taken over. The requirements of the agreements, though, are quite clear, and the International Commission will have to see to it that the local residents are fully aware of their rights, and that they are permitted to take advantage of them. It will be the job of each of the commissioners to do his best to interpret the terms of the agreement justly and fairly, and that is what I intend to do.

Mr. Herbert:

What is the relationship of the commission to the great powers which took part in the Geneva conference? And . . . do you expect any interference from them?

Mr. Lett:

The International Commission is responsible only to the Geneva Conference Powers. It has no executive responsibility. If either side refuses to carry out our recommendations, then we simply report to the Geneva Powers. Similarly, if the commission is hindered in its work it must report to the Geneva Powers. In certain situations where a violation is considered likely to start the war again, then the Commission must take a recommendation by unanimous vote. If, however, we cannot reach unanimity in these cases, then we submit majority and minority reports to the members of the Geneva Conference, for the conference powers to work out a solution. I imagine that the Geneva Conference powers may make known their views on the situation in Indo-China generally and on the implementation of the agreement. But this I wouldn't classify necessarily as "interference". I trust—and I'm sure the Canadian Government hopes—that the commission will not become a new cockpit for the struggle between East and West. The Commission has been set up to do a specific job, and it is the view of the Canadian Government that everything possible should be done to ensure that the Commission sticks to this job, and does not become involved in side issues.

Mr. Herbert:

What will India's role be in the truce supervision, Mr. Lett?

Mr. Lett:

The Indian representative is chairman of the supervisory commission. I have no doubt that he will, like myself, do his best to interpret the cease-fire agreement in as fair and just a manner as possible. The representatives on this commission, will, like judges in any courts, likely reflect their different cultural and social backgrounds. In this case, they will likely reflect in some measure the views and policies of their governments. I'm sure that India, like Canada, is anxious to see the settlement for Indo-China maintained as a first step towards establishing peace and security in Southeast Asia. Indian and Canadian foreign policies differ on some points, though our ultimate objectives are similar. I don't think, though, that any differences that may exist as to the means to be employed in reaching these objectives will impose any great difficulties in our work.

Mr. Herbert:

How about Poland and the commission?

Mr. Lett:

The Polish representative will, I expect, reflect the views of the Communist government of Poland, which will undoubtedly resemble the views of the Soviet and the Chinese Communist governments.

These important Communist powers took part in the Geneva Conference on Indo-China. They signed the final declaration of that Conference. So . . . we have good reason to expect their support in seeing the cease-fire agreements successfully implemented.

Mr. Herbert:

What, if your mission does end successfully, could be the far-reaching effects of the truce on other troubled sections of Southeast Asia?

Mr. Lett:

The purpose of the Vietnam agreement is to regroup the military forces of the two sides to areas in a manner that will most likely ensure that hostilities will not be resumed. The agreement also provides for the free movement of the civil population to enable those who wish to do so to move from one zone to another; and for the release of prisoners and civil internees. It prescribes regulations which are intended to restrict or prevent the build-up of the military forces on either side of the demarcation line. When these tasks have been successfully carried out, the stage will be set for the next operation which will be the holding of general elections in 1956 for the establishment of an All-Vietnam Government. I expect that the making of agreements for these elections, the holding of the elections and the establishment of an All-Vietnam Government will be a more difficult task than the execution of the cease-fire agreement itself. The prerequisites for a political settlement, if such a settlement is attainable, are the maintenance of the truce which has been attained, and the carrying out of the terms of the cease-fire agreement without a resumption of hostilities. If hostilities are resumed, a political settlement will of course be impossible. If the cease-fire agreement is successfully carried out, a political settlement may be possible. At this point, it is not possible to say how stable a political settlement in Vietnam might be. However, the Canadian view is that the successful implementation of the three cease-fire agreements in Indo-China is a first step towards the achievement of conditions of stability and security throughout Southeast Asia.

Mr. Herbert:

In summing up, what would you say at the moment are your chances of success?

Mr. Lett:

At the moment I would say that the prospects of a successful conclusion to Canada's assignment in Indo-China are fairly good. Indications so far are that the two parties are carrying out the terms of the agreement in good faith and without serious difficulties. So long as this attitude persists, the possibility of carrying out the military phase of the settlement would appear fairly bright. It is too early to say anything about the political phase which will come later.

UNESCO-Eighth General Conference

THE eighth General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) which will celebrate its tenth birthday during 1955, will be held at Montevideo, Uruguay, from November 12 to December 11, 1954. It will be the primary purpose of the forthcoming General Conference to review and evaluate UNESCO's programme during its first ten years in order to determine the direction that should be followed in the years to come. The Conference will consider a report recommending that a remodelled and reoriented programme be instituted in 1957. It has been proposed that the years 1955-56 should serve as a transitional period and the programme and budget for these years will be examined in this light. An understanding of the inspiration of the proposal to redesign UNESCO's programme and of the importance of the Montevideo meetings at which it will be discussed will be gained by a brief examination of UNESCO's history and Canada's participation in it.

Historical Background

Canadian representatives participated with delegations from 46 other nations in drafting the Constitution of UNESCO in 1945, and the first General Conference of the Organization convened in November 1946, at Paris. In its early years UNESCO's energies were directed toward post-war rehabilitation. In Canada, the Canadian Council for Reconstruction through UNESCO (C.C.R.U.) was established to provide fellowships and scholarships for educators and scientists to study in this country, to collect books for the restoration of libraries and to offer direct aid to individuals and institutions in war-devastated countries. UNESCO's programme of rehabilitation having been largely completed, the C.C.R.U. terminated its activities in 1951 and surrendered its charter in 1953.

Meanwhile, in 1948, the first Director-General of UNESCO, Julian Huxley, was succeeded by Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, of Mexico, an international authority on mass education. The aim was now that UNESCO would concentrate on the eradication of ignorance and illiteracy in under-developed countries, and on other urgent problems of a specific nature. Substantial steps in this direction were taken during the next five years. Technical experts on education were despatched to Asia, Africa and Latin America. Fundamental education teacher-training centres were established at Patzcuaro, Mexico, and Sirs-el-Layyam, Egypt. Research on compulsory education and educational techniques was initiated. On the whole, however, the relatively small resources of the Organization were dispersed over what the interested Canadian authorities considered to be much too broad a range of activities; the results were correspondingly disappointing.

At the sixth General Conference the Canadian delegation, supported by others interested in a concentrated programme consisting of a limited number of practical projects, succeeded in obtaining approval of a resolution requiring the assignment of priorities to all proposed projects. At the seventh General Conference in 1952, this resolution was partially implemented and a new pro-



—Uruguay Official

UNESCO CONFERENCE SITE

The Plaza Independencia, Montevideo, Uruguay, with the Victoria Plaza Hotel, at the left, where the Canadian UNESCO Delegation is accommodated.

gramme and budget were approved. The Director-General resigned when the Conference did not approve the expanded budget which he had presented. An extraordinary session of the General Conference was called in July 1953, and Dr. Luther H. Evans, former Librarian of the United States Congress who had a background of administrative ability and experience, was elected Director-General. In his speech of acceptance Dr. Evans said:

. . . UNESCO is groping for the best modalities of action to achieve peace and progress through education, science and culture, and in this it has made surprising progress in seven years; we must concentrate on the objective of determining conscientiously what type of activities and what methods and procedures are fruitful and give them priority over others . . .

Review and Reorientation

The new Director-General instituted a comprehensive survey of UNESCO and its programme, and the Secretariat of the Organization co-operated closely with a working committee of the Executive Board in the preparation of recommendations for a remodelled programme. Surveying the present situation, the committee listed UNESCO's outstanding accomplishments—

- (a) It had strengthened and fostered international collaboration between specialists in many disciplines.
- (b) It had launched an international attack on such outstanding educational and scientific problems as illiteracy and restoration of the world's arid deserts.
- (c) It had focussed public attention on paramount problems which are the basis of world peace and the progress of mankind.

The Committee remarked:

These are not inconsiderable achievements and UNESCO has no cause to be ashamed; to them must be added many other lesser results, more narrow in scope but each useful within its own limits; publications, radio programmes, films, exhibitions which have made their mark; reconstruction and relief activities.

But no one, least of all those who know UNESCO best, would pretend that it has achieved all that it should have achieved or made the full impact on world opinion it should have made. If its action has sometimes been timid and fumbling, directed toward irrelevant or secondary aims, all too limited in relations to the problems to be solved, to what defects in the Organization's structure and programme can these shortcomings be attributed?

In the Committee's opinion, some of these defects were:

- (a) The complete confidence of governments of member states had not been won and effective national commissions had not been established in many countries.
- (b) There had been a failure to enlist the interest of the world's intellectual leaders and a failure to gain public sympathy.
- (c) Too much importance had been attached to abstract and general problems and too little action had been taken to meet urgent and immediate needs. Too much had been attempted with too limited resources.

With these achievements and inadequacies in mind, the working committee of the Executive Board proposed that the future programme of UNESCO be reconstructed in two phases of operations:

- (1) Continuing general services—These would include all forms of international collaboration: clearing house documentation and information activities; promotion of international conferences and seminars; formation of international conventions and regulations; technical advice to the United Nations and other Specialized Agencies; and all of the other present activities which service the continuing requirements of member states.
- (2) An action programme on specific problems—This programme would consist of a very few major projects (probably four or five) initiated by UNESCO, and others undertaken at the request of member states. The problems and projects should be specific and local, not general. For example; a major project on education might place special emphasis on primary education in Southeast Asia; or adult education in Latin America; or education of women in the Middle East. There would not be one project embracing all of these problems. Each project would be precisely defined in terms of the countries or regions during any given programme.

These proposals went a long way toward meeting Canadian views of what UNESCO should be and should attempt. The working committee's recommendations were considerably weakened by amendments during the discussion of them in the Executive Board, but the remodelling resolution may be strengthened during the forthcoming General Conference because it was approved by the Executive Board with only one dissenting vote.

Transitional Years 1955-56

The organization has been "in business" for almost ten years. The 1955-56 programme will have to be designed as a transition toward the "new look". During this period of transition, emphasis will be given to those projects which are to become major spheres of action in any remodelled programme; an effort will be made to bring many of these projects to a successful conclusion during the next two years; and some low-priority undertakings that cannot be concluded quickly may have to be abandoned.

In preparing the programme which will be discussed at Montevideo, the Director-General took into consideration the recent entry to UNESCO membership of the U.S.S.R., the Ukraine and Byelorussia, the applications for membership by Rumania and Bulgaria and the probable return to active participation of Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. The additional revenue from contributions of these countries would make possible either a reduction in the present scale of assessments on member states or, alternatively, an expansion of the Organization's activities. For these reasons the proposed 1955-56 programme has been delineated throughout in two sections corresponding to:

(a) the "present level" of expenditures (\$18,000,000 for 1955-56);

(b) a "higher budgetary level" (\$21,005,952 for 1955-56).

Each chapter of the proposed programme and budget has also been divided into two sections to emphasize the transition toward a remodelled programme. Projects included in the first section are designed to benefit all members of UNESCO, to promote continuing international co-operation and collaboration. In addition to these continuing general services, the second section proposes action on specific practical problems with definite objectives. Among the subjects that have been suggested as major action projects and toward which special emphasis might be directed during 1955-56 are: fundamental education in under-developed countries; the extension of elementary education, research on the world's arid zones; teaching about the United Nations and human rights with a view to increasing international understanding; an evaluation of UNESCO's programme and procedures with a view to increasing public knowledge of the Organization and gaining the confidence of member governments.

Executive Board

The Conference will be asked to approve strengthening of the structure of the Executive Board. Members of the Board are now elected as individuals competent in the arts, humanities and education, and not as representatives of their respective governments. Some countries think that in the two-year interval between UNESCO General Conferences the guidance, which the Director-General and the Secretariat require in implementing the resolutions of the General Conference, should come from the governments of member states rather than from individuals. A resolution to this effect was co-sponsored by Canada, Australia and Brazil at the seventh General Conference in 1952, but a decision on this question was postponed until 1954.

New Members

Another alteration in the complexion of UNESCO will arouse interest at the Montevideo meeting. For the first time the U.S.S.R., the Ukraine and Byelo-

russia will be represented. These countries have long been eligible to enter UNESCO because of their membership in the United Nations. Until recently they have been very critical of the work of the Organization. In joining UNESCO, they have accepted the Constitution, the preamble of which declares that all members "believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives". The nature of the Soviet contribution will be one of the most significant aspects of the forthcoming General Conference of UNESCO in Montevideo.



Canada and the United Nations

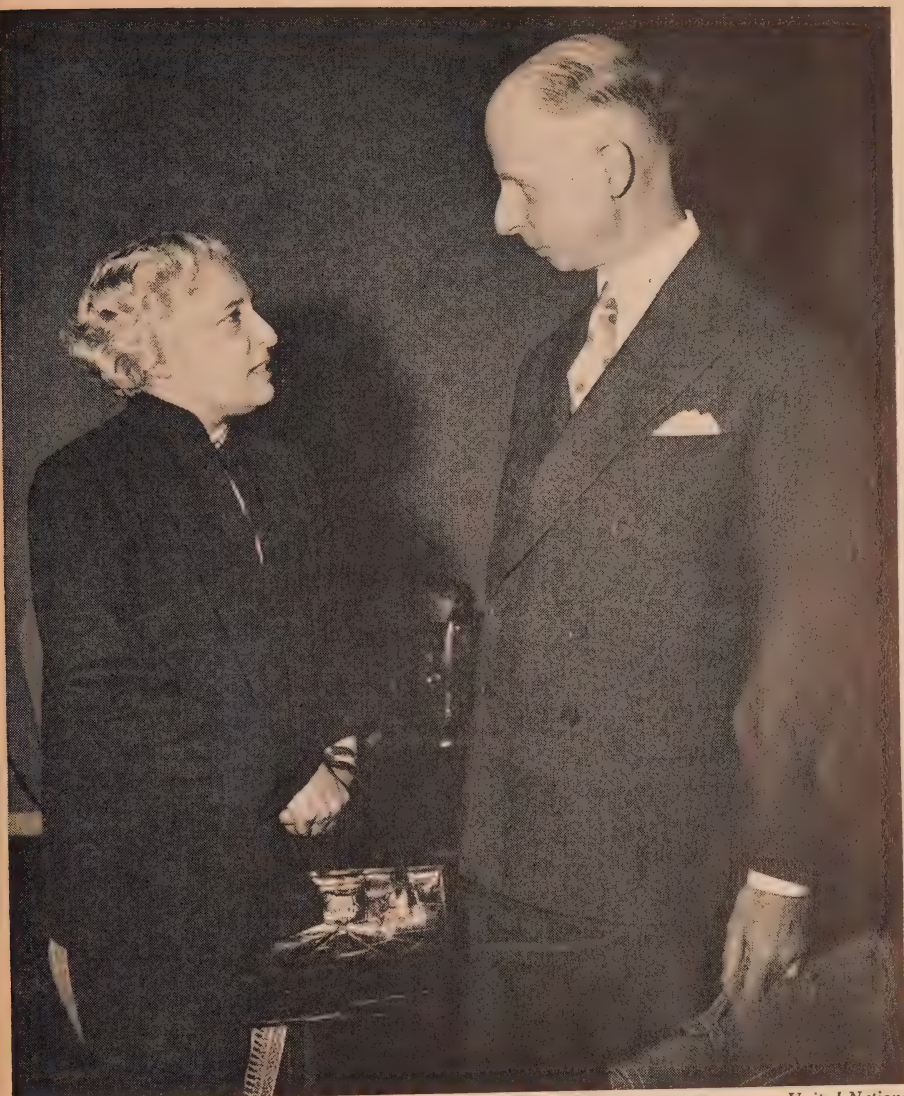
Eighteenth Session of the Economic and Social Council

The eighteenth session of the Economic and Social Council met in Geneva June 29 to August 6, 1954. There was a full-scale debate on the world economic situation and the problem of maintaining full employment introduced in an address by the Secretary-General. Mr. Hammarskjöld, in introducing the *World Economic Report 1952-53* prepared by the Secretariat, and in speaking of the opportunities for a wide approach at the highest possible level afforded by these annual debates in the Economic and Social Council, stated that the world economic situation was precariously balanced, that it would not automatically right itself and that there was no assurance it would not get worse rather than better. He referred to the widespread political fears which had prevented full recovery since the war and said it was essential that governments and international organizations should co-operate to the fullest extent in providing sound long-term solutions for the basic economic problems, taking a realistic view of the direct scope of the difficulties and of the measures required to meet them. Succeeding speakers, while giving high praise to the Secretariat's analysis of the situation in the period 1952-53, pointed out that the recession which had followed the Korean war boom of 1950-51 appeared to have levelled off, and expressed confidence that with informal co-operation it would be possible to correct any unfavourable trends. Remedies variously suggested were measures to ensure stability in international commodity prices; to encourage the freer flow of trade between East and West, and to cushion the effects upon employment of the conversion from war industry to peaceful production. There was also, of course, considerable discussion of the problems of economically under-developed areas and of the steps which could be taken to assist them.

Importance of International Co-operation

The resolution adopted by the Council affirmed the importance of international co-operation to deal with the problems discussed and recommended it to governments in general terms. With regard to the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, the Council expressed approval of Mr. Raymond Scheyven's interim report on the subject and recommended that the ninth session of the General Assembly extend the appointment of Mr. Scheyven "in order that he may continue his consultations with governments". A Permanent Advisory Commission on International Commodity Trade was established to consist of 18 member states, elected by the Economic and Social Council to serve for three-year terms. The first elections are to take place at the resumed eighteenth session of the Council which will meet during the ninth session of the General Assembly.

The organization and administration of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance was studied by the Technical Assistance Committee and discussed in the Council and a resolution was adopted which will relate the allocation of funds to the various agencies directly to the requests for assistance received by those agencies and would also relate the filling of such requests to the planning of integrated programmes of development by country and by region. These recommendations and others dealing with specific financial procedures have been submitted to the ninth session of the General Assembly for approval.



—United Nations

OPENING OF THE NINTH SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Mme Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, of India, President of the eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly, congratulates Dr. Eelco N. van Kleffens, of the Netherlands, the newly elected President of the ninth session.

In the social field, the Council considered the reports of the Commission on Human Rights and the Commission on the Status of Women. It transmitted the two draft International Covenants on Human Rights, completed by the Human Rights Commission at its tenth session, to the General Assembly. Opinion on the allowability of a reservations clause was sharply divided and the Council was obliged to refer it to the Assembly without recommendation. The Secretary-General was requested, in consultation with the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, to make the preliminary arrangements for the calling of a conference of non-governmental organizations interested in the

eradication of prejudice and discrimination. He was also requested to transmit to the International Law Commission for its information and to member governments for their observations the text of a draft Convention of the Nationality of Married Women submitted by the Commission on the Status of Women.

The Council also devoted some time at this session to a discussion of its own methods of work, centering around the problem of shortening its sessions and its agenda and steering its debates towards general policy-making, to be carried on by high-level representatives of member states, and away from over-detailed consideration of questions which could better be dealt with by technical and expert bodies. It also considered recommendations made by the Secretary-General regarding the economic and social work of the United Nations which have arisen out of his re-organization of the Secretariat. The resolution adopted provided for two sessions a year; the June session of four weeks to be for high-level policy talks, the spring session of six weeks (divided

(Continued on page 313)



"Canada and the United Nations 1953-54"*

Canada and the United Nations 1953-54, the eighth in the regular series of reports prepared by the Department of External Affairs on the work of the United Nations, is now available. The developments reviewed in the present volume occurred for the most part in the period July 1, 1953, to June 30, 1954, during which the General Assembly held its resumed seventh session and its eighth session and the Economic and Social Council its sixteenth and seventeenth sessions.

Canada and the United Nations is a work of reference for those interested in United Nations affairs who may not have access to official reports and other more exhaustive sources of information. It is intended to present concise explanations of the problems with which the United Nations is dealing and of the work of the Specialized Agencies. Special attention is given to explanations of Canadian policy on specific issues. Limitations of space have prevented the reprinting of texts of Canadian speeches stating or explaining policy. However, a full list of source documents is included in the appendices. Reviews of current developments necessarily occupy most of the publication, but background material is included when necessary for an understanding of problems and procedures.

In a brief Foreword, the Secretary of State for External Affairs has written:

In free countries, public opinion must and should be built upon an understanding of the facts, discouraging as well as hopeful, and upon the sober judgment that comes from the willingness to see things as they are.

Canada and the United Nations 1953-54 has been designed to make the facts of Canada's participation in the United Nations readily accessible.

* *Canada and the United Nations* is available from the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, at 50¢ per copy.

"University of the East Block"

BEFORE he is posted abroad the newly-recruited Foreign Service Officer¹ undergoes a period of training in Ottawa which normally lasts about two years. The major part of this training consists of what is commonly called "on-the-job" training—actual desk work on the day-to-day problems confronting the Department of External Affairs. Supplementing and balancing this apprentice type of learning is a course of lectures covering the work and organization of the Department of External Affairs, the functions of other Government Departments, Agencies, Boards, Commissions, and Crown Corporations, and the life and responsibilities of a Foreign Service Officer abroad.

On the Job Training

Upon completion of a brief reception, induction, and personal documentation programme of about two days' duration, the novice is assigned to one of the various "Divisions" into which the Department is organized. Here he is allotted a desk and shares an office with a more senior officer. The Head of the Division assigns the junior officer specific tasks to perform either alone or as an assistant to other officers in the Division. After a stay of four or five months in his first Division, the new officer is transferred to another Division, doing an entirely different type of work. There are three types of Divisions in the Department: "Political" or "Area" (American, Commonwealth, European, Far Eastern); "Functional" (Consular, Defence Liaison (1) and (2), Economic, Information, Legal, Historical Research and Reports, Protocol, and United Nations); and "Administrative" (Establishments and Organization, Finance, Personnel, and Supplies and Properties). Before his first posting abroad the new officer will normally spend a few months in a Division of each type in order to acquaint him with a variety of the operations and problems of the Department at home and abroad.

The series of lectures which complements his on-the-job training during his first year reminds the junior officer of his university days, which accounts for the use of the familiar expression "University of the East Block" to describe this aspect of his training. The lecture periods provide ample time for lively discussion after the talk by the guest speaker. The lecture programme is generally divided into three phases, each of which has its particular purpose. The first part consists of talks given by persons, usually at the deputy minister level, on the work of other Government Departments and agencies with interests abroad. The primary purpose of this type of lecture is to familiarize the new officers with the work and organization of closely related Government Departments, with the nature of the problems they deal with and the policies they are following. A complementary purpose is, of course, to improve the junior officer's knowledge of the machinery of the Federal Government and of Canadian affairs generally. Among typical topics discussed in the past were the following: "Technical and Capital Assistance to Under-developed Countries", Canada's Foreign Economic Policy", "The Budget and Canada's Fiscal Policy", "The

¹ For a description of the manner in which Foreign Service Officers are recruited, see "The Foreign Service Officer Competition", *External Affairs*, July 1953.

Role and Operation of the Treasury Board", "The Cabinet and the Privy Council", "The Canadian Arctic", "The CBC and the CBC-IS", "Canadian Health and Welfare Policies", "The Organization and Policy of the Department of National Defence", "The International Joint Commission and The Permanent Joint Board on Defence", "The Work of the Defence Research Board", and "The Administration of Justice in Canada with Special Reference to Federal-Provincial Rights".

The second series of lectures is planned to provide the junior Foreign Service Officer with practical information about his profession. This series generally consists of talks by officers of the Department who have recently served abroad as a Third Secretary. Subjects dealt with concern the practical application of such functions and duties as the making of social and official calls, entertaining, liaison with the press and radio, cultural relations, tourist and travel promotion, consular activities, political reporting, office administration, and disposition of personnel problems.

The third stage in the lecture programme does not necessarily take place in that chronological sequence but is usually arranged to take advantage of the presence in Ottawa of senior officers of the Department who have served abroad as Heads of Posts or who have specialized knowledge of particular nations or areas of the world. These sessions between the most senior officers and the most junior officers, at which major foreign policy problems are discussed, serve as a suitable climax to the Departmental training programme.

FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER COMPETITION

The Department of External Affairs through competitive examinations conducted by the Civil Service Commission of Canada offers appointment to young men and women graduates or final-year students to start as Foreign Service Officers, Grade 1, at an initial salary of \$3,480 annually with opportunities of salary advancement and promotion.

A written examination will be held on Saturday, November 20th, by the Civil Service Commission at university centres across Canada and at posts abroad. Only graduates, or under-graduates in their final year, from a university of recognized standing, who have had at least ten years' residence in Canada, and who are below the age of 31 as of June 1, 1955 are eligible to write the examination. Candidates who are successful in the written examination will be interviewed by an oral examining board which makes an assessment of general suitability.

Candidates may apply by forwarding a completed copy of Civil Service Commission standard application form CSC 69 to the Civil Service Commission, Ottawa. Please quote competition number 54-727. For further information, write to the Civil Service Commission or the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.



—Capital Press

JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER VISITS OTTAWA

On his arrival at the Parliament Buildings, during his visit to Ottawa on September 27, the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Shigeru Yoshida, is welcomed by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent.



CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

(Continued from page 310)

into two parts) for dealing with a limited number of major questions of a less general nature. The question of the Economic and Employment Commission's status was re-opened and referred to the Secretary-General for study, a decision to be taken at the resumed eighteenth session of ECOSOC held during the ninth session of the Assembly. The Fiscal Commission was discontinued; annual meetings were decided upon for the Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on the Status of Women, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities; biennial meetings for the Population Commission, the Statistical Commission, the Social Commission and the Transport and Communications Commission.

CO-EXISTENCE

An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, Windsor, Ont., August 30, 1954.

Some twenty-five hundred years ago a political writer in Greece by the name of Aristotle, who was interested in municipal problems, stated that though men first came together in cities in order to live, they remained there in order to live well. He was concerned by the implications of this development, as most of you must be concerned today, because it meant extending the responsibilities of city government from the protection of life and property to such things as education, health, recreation and social welfare. No doubt many of you, interested, and perhaps often harassed by such problems as how to relate new services to old revenues, must at times be tempted to think that this extension of municipal functions and the difficulties it creates is not sufficiently appreciated by provincial, or even federal politicians and officials.

Aristotle, however, was not so much interested in the problem of the relations between city and province (in his time and place the city was itself a state) as he was in the deeper and more universal problem of political purpose in the government of his day; and, particularly, in the deterioration that takes place in society when men limit and lower their vision and reconcile themselves to the mediocre and shoddy. He would have agreed with a remark made not long ago that the fault is not in missing, but in aiming low.

The Ever Present Danger

This possibility, that men may sell themselves short, and may voluntarily or unthinkingly accept sub-standards and unworthy objectives, has always been one of the greatest dangers to face free human societies. This danger, that of inadequate political purpose, which worried the Greek observer of five hundred B.C., is still here to worry us today. This applies to the field of municipal politics with which you are concerned, as well as to that of international politics which absorbs most of my time. The appeal to the second-rate, and the insidious effort to substitute the spurious for the genuine, is the more dangerous today, because all the media of mechanistic propaganda can be brought to bear in its support. There never was a time in history when so much ingenuity was used to confuse, to conceal and to betray. Especially is this true of the propaganda of international communism.

In this connection, a strange new word has lately been insistently and cleverly pushed by the communists—"co-existence". In its discussion it occasionally becomes a "fighting word". It is certainly a "fooling" word. It is also the thinnest word, I think, that I have ever heard. It may be appropriate enough to its source, which is the Kremlin, but it is unimpressive if you set it in any other context.

It would be a pretty poor family, for example, if the best you could say for it was that its members co-existed. Not much affection there, not much co-operation, not much life. Merely a tolerance of each other's existence; and the implication that it is a pretty drab existence at that.

Also, it would be a bad day for Canada if the municipalities merely co-existed with the provinces; and the provinces with the Dominion. If we lived and worked together in any such sterile way, our country would never achieve the great destiny that lies ahead of it; and which we have the right to hope and expect it *will* achieve.

Room for Progress

Though we Canadians of different sections and origins do much more than co-exist, there is, of course still room for progress in working out the implications of our unity.

I have often thought, for example, that I would like to be Minister of Education in one of our provinces, at least for *one* purpose. I would like to negotiate agreements with my colleagues in other provinces for the exchange of teachers. I would like to give the school children of my province the opportunity of close contact with teachers from each of the other main sections of our country; and I would like as many as possible of my province's teachers to have had the enriching opportunity, at some stage in their careers, of two or three years' experience as an exchange teacher living and working with the children and parents of at least one of the other main regions of our broad and richly-varied land.

Again, as our wealth increases, might not some of it usefully be spent in organizing and making possible for our children vacation tours on an exchange basis in other provinces? This need not cost much. Given the initiative and a little organization, it would certainly be found that many parents would be happy to put up school children from another province for a few weeks, if in exchange their own children received a corresponding opportunity elsewhere.

Given our almost unique opportunities we can and should be much more bilingual, as a people, than we are. There is in fact plenty of scope for diplomatic negotiations within our own federal state in the challenge and the adventure of working out our unity on a basis that is far more lasting than mere co-existence.

In a wider field, our relations with the United States, our friendship and co-operation with our great neighbour, go far beyond anything that could be called co-existence. To look at another part of the world, Western Europe, from here we know that France and

Germany can, of course, "co-exist" there, even if the problem of their association together in EDC or in NATO is left entirely unsolved. But it might be co-existence without confidence, where controversy and competition might easily replace collaboration. It might delay and even prejudice both European co-operation and growing unity and the development of the Atlantic coalition. The opportunity to write a shining new chapter in history would, for the time being at least be lost. One cannot help but feel deep anxiety at the possible failure to exploit this great opportunity for peace that may not soon or easily recur. But one can also hope that this anxiety will be removed by the action of those in Western Europe who would be the first to suffer from the consequences of failure.

No Reason for Despair

That hope is not by any means destroyed—so far as I am concerned—by the decision of the French Parliament not to ratify EDC. One method of solving this problem—a method originally worked out by the French Government itself—has now been discarded. That may be disappointing, but it is certainly not any reason for despair. The free nations of Western Europe, including Germany, will, I feel sure, wish now to try to accomplish their objective of closer co-operation for collective defence and unity, by some other method. The other members of the North Atlantic coalition, the United Kingdom, United States and Canada, will, I am sure, wish to assist in this process, and the best way to do that, in my view, would be to look at the whole problem in an Atlantic context.

— Today, however, the word "co-existence" has required a special and narrow significance which has nothing to do with the family, the nation, or even the European or Atlantic communities. It has become a promise—or a lure—by the men in the Kremlin that their world, their system, *can* live, and *desires* to live, peacefully and amicably with ours.

Perhaps it is not surprising that this appealing but ambiguous slogan, "co-existence", should have been launched by men who have inherited and maintain the device known as the "iron curtain", that complex of ingenious barriers, physical and psychological, designed, organized and administered to deny and prevent normal relations and friendly intercourse between men and between nations, and incidentally, to poison the free and frank relationship between individuals even in the same political society. How long, for instance, would a citizen of Moscow co-exist with other Muscovites if he mounted a soap box in the Kremlin Square and called for a change of government by peaceful means?

A Loaded Question

Out of this concept of co-existence there has come a perplexing new query which tends, in certain quarters, to become almost a challenge or an accusation: "Do you believe

in the possibility of peaceful co-existence with communism?". It reminds one of the old question, "Have you stopped beating your wife?". You are condemned by your own mouth whether you answer "yes" or "no".

If you answer "yes" to the possibility of peaceful co-existence, this might seem to imply a softness towards communism at home and abroad, an unwariness of its menace, a willingness, a readiness to relax one's guard. "Live and let live" is generally sound doctrine, but it can suggest a tendency to minimize a danger, to become less alert, to turn our attention elsewhere. If we believe that we can live and let live, surely (the argument would run) we can abandon some of the precautions against danger and ease some of the burdens of defence. Weary of the effort which seven years of cold war have involved, we can now afford to be distracted, for "peaceful co-existence" has arrived!

But if saying "yes" to this loaded question about peaceful co-existence is apt to be risky and confusing, saying "no" is worse. It is a wrong and defeatist, a despairing answer, for it assumes to inevitability of war. Furthermore, if Western governments return a short "no" to Moscow's declared belief in the possibility of peaceful co-existence, they would be attacked as intransigent warmongers by friendly neutrals and the well-intentioned uncommitted. To those who judge these issues only by words, and who hear words usually in the careless condensed and confident form of headlines, this blunt "no" would appear as the rejection of what might have been a proffered truce. At the very least it would blur the question of the responsibility for continuing international tensions. Those who say "no" to the possibility of peaceful co-existence, are thus apt to lend colour to the despondent, fatalist belief that war is inevitable—a belief that is not only false but profoundly dangerous, since, if widely accepted on either side, it could lead to ill-considered actions which might certainly *make* war inevitable.

We would be wrong then to under-estimate the power and the danger of this loaded question about peaceful co-existence. The measure of that danger is the fact that it has become the key-note of all recent communist propaganda. Communist dictators are good at using semantics as weapons. The debasement of good words by "double-talk" is one of the main characteristics of totalitarian tactics and propaganda. But "double-talk" can be just about as dangerous as "double-think". Indeed, the two go together.

Though the question about co-existence, then, is so phrased, so contrived, that a short "yes" or "no" answer is confusing, it is, I think, worth trying to clear up the confusion, and to examine the real issue which it raises. It is an issue central to many of the problems of our time, as we face the menace of the international communist conspiracy.

A first point to notice about this question of co-existence is that we have, in fact, been co-existing with communism for the past thirty-five years.

But another and more significant point is that a good many countries, such as the Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the democratic regimes in Poland and Czechoslovakia, which co-existed with the U.S.S.R. for some years, have now ceased as free nations to exist at all. Co-existence is no problem for them. It has become the co-existence of Jonah and the whale that swallowed him. You will recall, however, that Jonah was eventually liberated by spontaneous convulsion, but without, I understand, any interference from outside!

There is plenty of evidence that communist dictatorships inevitably tend to expand, and that as they do, they will destroy the "co-existing" possibilities of free regimes in other countries wherever and whenever they think they can get away with it. It is something to remember.

The Price of Co-Existence

The moral of this is plain, that adequate defensive strength and eternal vigilance is the price to be paid for "co-existence". In the world in which we live it is dangerous to try to secure it on lesser terms. You can't get security, in present circumstances, by a small down payment.

If we lack power and vigilance, if we become careless and disunited in the free world, "co-existence" could soon be replaced by "non-existence". But if we follow steadily but persistently the other course, peace through defensive collective strength, and patient, persistent diplomacy, I don't see why we shouldn't continue to exist indefinitely alongside the communist world.

There is, I think, because of our growing collective strength, less danger at this time of a deliberate frontal aggression than a few years ago.

The Soviet leaders are realists. They know that such an attack would be met by swift and annihilating atomic retaliation, which would leave their great cities in ruins. For this reason, they *may* be quite sincere when they advocate co-existence in present conditions, because they know that the alternative in case of war is co-destruction.

But they undoubtedly also hope that we may ourselves weaken the strength, unity and resolve that make co-existence as essential for them—as for us. They will certainly do their best to encourage us in this suicidal tendency.

Even, however, if we can successfully hold off deliberate and full-scale aggression, war could come in one of two other ways. It could come by accident or miscalculation; a war which neither side intends, but which might

result from a misunderstanding of current moves, and a tragic misinterpretation of each other's intentions.

Means of Avoiding Aggression

This could happen. To avoid it we should, among other things, keep our diplomacy active and flexible; keep open the channels of communication and contact such as the United Nations, and remove, where we can, barriers, including psychological barriers, to understanding. No easy task—indeed, an all but impossible task, when you are dealing with communist states but one which we should never, I believe, abandon.

We should also do our best to find out what is the purpose and plan of the potential adversary in every move he makes. But what is even more important, we should leave him in no doubt about our own policy; about what is in our own minds. This means, of course, that we of the free world should *know* our own minds and follow, together, a policy which is broad principle, objectives and basic purposes, is steady, fixed and firm.

It means also that we should avoid panic and provocation; that we should be "trigger ready" without being "trigger happy"; that while maintaining our strength, we should make it quite clear, by word and action, that this strength will never be used for any aggressive purpose.

The only other way in which war could come is that our free civilization should lose its nerve, its patience, its confidence, and, above all, lose touch with its own moral values. Such a tragic deterioration is, if not unthinkable, at least highly unlikely.

The kind of co-existence with communism which I have been describing is not, of course, "peaceful", in the sense that it is founded on friendship and co-operation. It is hardly more than mutual toleration, derived in large part from the sure knowledge that each side can wipe out the other, and that the victor would have nothing to gloat over but rubble and ruins.

This kind of co-existence does not give one too much joy or comfort in the future. But it is realistic and, as such, the best adjustment to the present situation. We accept it as the best possible solution at this time, but also in the hope that in time a better basis of understanding and a stronger foundation for peace may grow out of it.

Confused Thinking

— There are, of course, some people—some good and sincere people—who take the view that brutal atheistic communism being inherently evil, it is impossible, and in any case would be morally wrong, to accept any kind of "co-existence" with it. This view seems to me to involve a confusion not only of words but of thought. Good has always, in this

world, had to co-exist with evil, and though some day this situation may end, that day has certainly not yet arrived. It has never, I think, been sound doctrine, either theologically or politically, to believe that because a good man hates sin, he should seek to destroy every sinner. On the contrary, our moral traditions are based on the teaching that the thing to do with a sinner is to save him from his sins. Ostracism, or the refusal to communicate or have any dealings with publicans or other sinners, is for the Pharisees. It may, for a time, make the individual feel better. It has never made society better.

None of this means, of course, that Western civilization and communism should be expected to exist together on equal terms, or that one could in any sense equate or assimilate them. Our civilization is the heir to two thousand years of Christendom, and embodies, too, the rich traditions of Judean, Greek and Roman civilizations before it. Communism, on the other hand, is a nihilistic rejection of every moral value.

~ This flight from and rejection of moral values and moral responsibility has, on occasion, created dynamic societies but they are often more virulent than virile. For a period these movements, Naziism, Fascism, Communism, may occupy a strong position in the centre of the human stage. But they are in essence insubstantial and they can pass.

Philosophically and ideologically, communism, far from being a new, permanent and revealing concept of life, is merely a narrow Western heresy, born amidst the abuses of the industrial revolution of the last century, and morally and, therefore, intellectually bankrupt.

There is no reason to believe that, considered in historical perspective, communism can long survive. Men are in their deepest natures moral beings to whom questions of good and evil are basic. But communism is fundamentally anti-moral. The very nature of man, therefore, makes it inevitable that sooner or later totalitarian and tyrannical regimes

based on philosophies like communism either evolve or explode. If we remain strong and patient, therefore, we may before too long have something better to co-exist with than the international communism of today. —

No Need for Panic

Quite apart from this fundamental point, the internal conflicts of interest, and the internal distrust of group for group, and of man for man, which one finds in any totalitarian society, is so great that ultimately such societies must change their nature or destroy themselves. The internal stresses and strains are such that sooner or later, it seems to me, the so-called monolithic societies of the totalitarians must crumble. So, though we must remain wary and alert, and take adequate precautions against the danger that they might burst outwards, we should also refuse to become panicky or too impatient as these inevitable historical processes are slowly working themselves out. We should also assist the process when that can be properly and wisely attempted.

As I see it, the answer to the question whether co-existence with communism is possible, lies basically in recognition of the simple fact that we have to share a planet, not with abstractions, but with fellow human beings, who have now learned the secret of destroying life itself on that planet. The real question, in fact, is not whether we can "co-exist", but whether we can prevent the unspeakable catastrophe of an atomic war, and ultimately find ways not merely of co-existing, but of co-operating with the peoples of Russia and China; without at the same time betraying our own principles, weakening our values, or sacrificing our security.

Every one of us—in Canada and every other free country, and in some form or another—has a responsibility to take part in the search for the right answer to that question, for in finding that right answer, not merely peace, but, literally, existence on this planet, is at stake.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. L. Mayrand was appointed Canadian Commissioner, International Supervisory Commission for Laos, effective September 18, 1954.
- Mr. M. A. Crow was posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective August 30, 1954.
- Mr. J. A. Dougan was posted from home leave (Lima) to Ottawa, effective August 30, 1954.
- Mr. P. G. R. Campbell was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 1, 1954.
- Mr. R. W. Murray was posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions for Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, effective September 3, 1954.
- Mr. J. G. Hadwen was posted from home leave (Karachi) to Ottawa effective September 7, 1954.
- Miss V. Allen was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Boston, effective September 10, 1954.
- Mr. D. P. Cole was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York, effective September 10, 1954.
- Mr. E. T. Galpin was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, effective September 11, 1954.
- Mr. E. R. Bellemare was posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York to Ottawa (on temporary duty) effective September 13, 1954.
- Mr. B. A. Keith was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Military Mission, Berlin, effective September 13, 1954.
- Mr. G. P. Kidd was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, effective September 14, 1954.
- Mr. K. D. McIlwraith was posted from home leave (Geneva) to Ottawa, effective September 15, 1954.
- Mr. J. G. Maranda was posted from Ottawa to the International Supervisory Commissions, Indochina, effective September 15, 1954.
- Mr. A. E. Blanchette was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, effective September 20, 1954.
- Miss E. P. MacCallum was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Beirut, effective September 21, 1954.
- Mr. C. G. D. Roquet was posted to Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, Shemlan, effective September 22, 1954.
- Mr. H. H. Carter was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, effective September 24, 1954.
- Mr. P. Tremblay was posted from the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective September 1954.
- The following officers were appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officers, Grade I: Messrs. Marc-Daniel Baudouin, Godfrey Lewis Hearn and George Lewis Seens (September 1, 1954); Miss Mary Isabel Macdonald Dunlop and Mr. James Ross Francis (September 15, 1954); and Mr. A. R. Boyd (September 20, 1954).

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 54/36—*Statement on Canadian Membership in the International Commissions for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.* (Department of External Affairs Press Release No. 43, July 28, 1954.)

No. 54/38—*Co-Existence.* An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, Windsor, Ont., August 30, 1954.

No. 54/39—*The Position of Germany in International Defence*. An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at the Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto, September 7, 1954.

The following serial number is available abroad only:

No. 54/37—*Canada's Mental Health Services*. An address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin,

No. 54/40—*Canada and the United States—Our Area of Economic Co-operation*. An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at the University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y., September 2, 1954.

before the opening session of the Fifth International Congress on Mental Health, Toronto, August 14, 1954.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

A SELECTED LIST*

(a) Printed Documents:

Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly (embodying amendments adopted by the General Assembly up to and including its eighth session). A/520/Rev.3, 1 June 1954. Pp. 43. Sales No.: 1954.I.17.

United Nations Refugees Emergency Fund—Financial Report of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and Accounts for the period 1 March 1952 to 31 December 1953 and Report of the Board of Auditors. A/2648/Add.1. New York, 1954. Pp. 17. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session: Supplement No. 13A.

Report of the Trusteeship Council covering the period from 22 July 1953 to 16 July 1954. A/2680. New York, 1954. Pp. 308. \$3.00. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 4.

Report of the Economic and Social Council covering the period from 6 August 1953 to 6 August 1954. A/2686. New York, 1954. Pp. 138. \$1.50. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 3.

Report of the International Law Commission covering work of sixth session (3 June - 28 July 1954). A/2693. New York, 1954. Pp. 33. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 9.

Report of the Security Council to the General Assembly covering the period from 16 July 1953 to 15 July 1954. A/2712. New York, 1954. Pp. 69. 70 cents. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 2.

Report of the Committee on Contributions. A/2716. New York, 1954. Pp. 8. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 10.

Freedom of Information—Supplementary report submitted by Mr. Salvador P. Lopez,

Rapporteur on Freedom of Information and related documents. E/2426/Add.1 to 5. New York, 1954. Pp. 11. ECOSOC Official Records: Sixteenth Session, Supplement No. 12A.

Resolutions of the Eighteenth Session of the Economic and Social Council, (29 June - 6 August 1954). E/2654, 15 August 1954 (Geneva). Pp. 32. ECOSOC Official Records: Eighteenth Session, Supplement No. 1.

Railway Operating and Signalling Techniques in Europe, Japan and the United States of America. Report of the Expert Working Group from Asia and the Far East on Railway operating and signalling (2 October 1952 - 6 February 1953). ST/TAA/SER.C/6, 28 October 1953. Pp. 109. \$1.25. U.N. 1954. Sales No.: 1953.VIII.3.

European Seminar on Probation (London, 20-30 October 1952). ST/TAA/SER.C/11, 17 March 1954. Pp. 237. \$1.50. Sales No.: 1954.IV.13.

UNESCO

Compulsory Education in Pakistan by MUHAMMAD SHAMSUL HUQ. (Studies on Compulsory Education—XII). Paris 1954. Pp. 169. \$1.25.

Rebuilding Education in the Republic of Korea (Educational Missions—VI). Paris, May 1954. Pp. 221. \$1.75.

World Braille Usage by Clutha MACKENZIE, Chairman, World Braille Council. Paris, 1954. Pp. 172. \$2.50.

Interrelations of Cultures—Their Contribution to International Understanding. (Collection of Intercultural Studies). Paris 1953. Pp. 387. \$2.00.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

Science Liaison—The Story of UNESCO's Science Co-operation Offices. Paris, June 1954. Pp. 63, and Graphs.

India — Paintings from Ajanta Caves. (UNESCO World Art Series). Paris, 1954. 32 full page colour reproductions. Published by the New York Graphic Society by arrangement with UNESCO.

WHO

Resolutions and Decisions of the Seventh World Health Assembly, Geneva, 4 to 21 May 1954. Geneva, July 1954. Pp. 49. 50 cents. Offprint from Official Records of WHO, No. 55.

Executive Board, Fourteenth Session, Geneva, 27 and 28 May 1954. Resolutions and Annexes. Geneva, July 1954. Pp. 24.

50 cents. Official Records of WHO, No. 57.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Question of South West Africa—Supplement to the Report of the Committee on South West Africa to the General Assembly (A/2666, Supplement No. 14 of the G.A.O.R.), A/2666/Add.1. 17 September 1954. Pp. 5 and Annexes I to IV.

Economic Development of Under-developed Countries—Question of the Establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. A/2727. 17 September 1954. Pp. 36.

Organization of the Secretariat (Report of the Secretary-General). A/2731. 21 September 1954. Pp. 24.



GREAT LAKES FISHERIES CONVENTION SIGNED

—Department of State

A Convention on Great Lakes Fisheries was signed in Washington by the United States and Canada on September 10. The Convention provides for joint action in the field of fishery research and the elimination of the predatory sea lamprey in the Great Lakes. To carry out this task both governments agree to establish a Great Lakes Fishery Commission of three appointees from each country. Present at the signing were, left to right: Special Assistant for Fisheries to the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. William C. Herrington; the Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Walter Bedell Smith; the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. A. D. P. Heeney; and the Canadian Deputy Minister of Fisheries, Mr. Stewart Bates.

Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P., Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, Controller of Stationery, 1954.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

The Association of the Federal Republic of Germany with the North Atlantic Community

At the Palais de Chaillot in Paris on October 23, the Secretary of State for External Affairs signed on behalf of Canada a Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty providing for the admission of the German Federal Republic to NATO. The text of this Protocol is given below. He was also present, on the invitation of the Prime Minister of France, at the Quai d'Orsay the same day when Protocols to the Brussels Treaty were signed providing for the accession of the German Federal Republic and Italy and for accompanying arrangements concerning the control of armed forces and armaments.

The signature of these agreements marked the culmination of two months of difficult and complicated negotiations which were initiated by the United Kingdom following the decision of the French National Assembly to reject the Treaty providing for the establishment of a European Defence Community. The meeting of the Nine Powers in Paris on October 21 and the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council on October 22 brought to a successful conclusion an active period of preparation of the detailed agreements implementing the principles approved at the Nine-Power Conference which was held in London from September 28 to October 3. In all these meetings Canadian representatives participated. The texts of the communiqué issued by the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Paris and of the Final Act of the London Conference are given in full below.

The measures approved and the decisions noted by the North Atlantic Council are designed to associate the German Federal Republic with the West, to provide for a German defence contribution, and to promote European integration within the framework of a developing Atlantic community.

The interrelated elements of this general settlement include the termination of the occupation régime and the restoration of full sovereignty to the German Federal Republic; the admission of the Federal Republic to NATO and the formation of a new Western European Union which will include the Federal Republic and Italy; the reinforcement of these two Organizations; and assurances against any recourse to force in violation of Article Two of the United Nations Charter. It is intended that NATO should have authority to inspect the levels and effectiveness of the forces under the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe and to ensure that these forces are not used except with the approval of the appropriate NATO authorities. Maximum levels for the forces on the Continent of the Brussels Treaty powers have been set by special agreement, and it is intended that the Western European Union should also have effective control over the levels of armaments produced by its members on the Continent.

An article on the significance of the London and Paris meetings will appear in the next issue.

PROTOCOL TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ON THE ACCESSION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

The Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty signed at Washington on April 4, 1949,

Being satisfied that the security of the North Atlantic area will be enhanced by the accession of the Federal Republic of Germany to that Treaty, and

Having noted that the Federal Republic of Germany have, by a declaration dated October 3, 1954, accepted the obligations set forth in Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations and has undertaken upon accession to the North Atlantic Treaty to refrain from any action inconsistent with the strictly defensive character of that Treaty, and

Having further noted that all member governments have associated themselves with the declaration also made on October 3, 1954, by the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the French Republic in connexion with the aforesaid declaration of the Federal Republic of Germany,

Agree as follows:—

ARTICLE I

Upon the entry into force of the present Protocol, the Government of the United States of America shall on behalf of all the Parties communicate to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany an invitation to accede to the North Atlantic Treaty. Thereafter the Federal Republic of Germany shall become a Party to that Treaty on the date when it deposits its instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America in accordance with Article 10 of the Treaty.

ARTICLE II

The present Protocol shall enter into force, when (a) each of the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty has notified to the Government of the United States of America its acceptance thereof, (b) all instruments of ratification of the Protocol modifying and completing the Brussels Treaty have been deposited with the Belgian Government and (c) all instruments of ratification or approval of the Convention on the Presence of Foreign Forces in the Federal Republic of Germany have been deposited with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. The Government of the United States of America shall inform the other Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty of the date of the receipt of each notification of acceptance of the present Protocol and of the date of the entry into force of the present Protocol.

ARTICLE III

The present Protocol, of which the English and French texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the Archives of the Government of the United

States of America. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty.

In witness whereof, the undersigned Representatives, duly authorized thereto by their respective Governments, have signed the present Protocol.

Signed at Paris the twenty-third day of October nineteen hundred and fifty-four.

For Belgium: P. H. Spaak.

For Canada: L. B. Pearson.

For Denmark: H. C. Hansen.

For France: Mendes-France.

For Greece: Stephanopoulos.

For Iceland: Kristinn Gudmundsson.

For Italy: G. Martino.

For the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg:
Jos. Bech.

For Netherlands: J. W. Beyen.

For Norway: Halvard Lange.

For Portugal: Paulo Cunha.

For Turkey: F. Koprülü.

*For the United Kingdom of Great
Britain and Northern Ireland:*
Anthony Eden.

For the United States of America:
John Foster Dulles.

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

(Issued by the North Atlantic Council on 22nd October 1954)

1. The North Atlantic Council held a Ministerial Session in Paris today under the Chairmanship of Mr. Stephanos Stephanopoulos, Foreign Minister of Greece. This Meeting, which was attended by Foreign Ministers and Defence Ministers of member countries, dealt with issues of vital importance for the security of the free world, and for the promotion of greater European unity, within the framework of a developing Atlantic Community. In particular, the meeting was called to approve arrangements designed to bring about the full association of the Federal Republic of Germany with the West, and a German defence contribution. On the invitation of the Council, Dr. Adenauer, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, attended the meeting as an observer.

2. The Council noted that all the agreements reached at the London Conference and at the subsequent meetings of the Four and Nine-Power Conferences form part of one general settlement which is directly or indirectly of concern to all the North Atlantic Treaty Powers and which was accordingly submitted to the Council. The Council welcomed this settlement.

3. The Council was informed of the agreement reached between the Foreign Ministers of France, the German Federal Republic, the United Kingdom and the United States of America in regard to ending the occupation régime in the Federal Republic.

4. The Council was informed of the agreement reached on the text of four protocols strengthening and extending the scope of the Brussels Treaty Organization—now Western European Union—expanded to provide for the participation of Italy and of the German Federal Republic, and on the text of accompanying documents. The Council welcomed this agreement and agreed with the provisions of the Protocols to the Brussels Treaty insofar as they involve action by the North Atlantic Council or other NATO authorities.

5. The Council welcomed the declaration made in London by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on 3rd October, 1954, and the related declaration made on the same occasion by the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States. It noted with satisfaction that the representatives of the other parties to the North Atlantic Treaty have today associated themselves with the declaration of the Three Powers.

6. The Council approved a resolution to reinforce the existing machinery for the collective defence of Europe, chiefly by strengthening the powers of the Supreme Allied Commander Europe.

7. The Council approved a Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty inviting the Federal Republic of Germany to join NATO. The Protocol will be signed tomorrow by the fourteen Foreign Ministers and will enter into force when each of the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty has notified the Government of the United States of America of its acceptance, and when all instruments of ratification of the Protocol Modifying and Completing the Brussels Treaty have been deposited with the Belgian Government, and when all instruments of ratification or approval of the Convention on the Presence of Foreign Forces in the Federal Republic of Germany have been deposited with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany.

8. The Council heard a statement by the Foreign Minister of Italy on the recent agreements reached on the Trieste problem. The value of these agreements from the Atlantic and European point of view was emphasized.

9. The Council agreed to hold its next Ministerial Meeting on or about 15th December next.

10. The Council reaffirmed that the North Atlantic Treaty remains a basic element in the foreign policies of all member governments. It agreed that there must be the closest possible co-operation between Western European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in all fields and that any duplication of the work of existing agencies of NATO will be avoided. The Council reaffirmed its unity of purpose in the pursuit of peace and progress. The present conference and the agreements reached represent a new and decisive step in the development of the Atlantic Community.

FINAL ACT OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE (OCTOBER 3rd)

Following is the text of the "final act" of the London conference:

"The conference of the nine Powers, Belgium, Canada, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States, met in London from Tuesday, September 28th, to Sunday, October 3rd. It dealt with the most important issues facing the western world—security and European integration within the framework of a developing Atlantic community dedicated to peace and freedom. In this connection the conference considered how to assure the full association of the German Federal Republic with the west and the German defence contribution.

"Belgium was represented by M. Spaak, Canada by Mr. Pearson, France by M. Mendès-France, the German Federal Republic by Dr. Adenauer, Italy by Professor Martino, Luxembourg by M. Bech, the Netherlands by Dr. Beyen, the United Kingdom by Mr. Eden, and the United States by Mr. Dulles.

"All the decisions of the conference formed part of one general settlement which is directly or indirectly of concern to all the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Powers and will therefore be submitted to the North Atlantic Council for information or decision.

I. Germany

"The Governments of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States declare that their policy is to end the occupation régime in the Federal Republic as soon as possible, to revoke the Occupation Statute, and to abolish the Allied High Commission. The three Governments will continue to discharge certain responsibilities in Germany arising out of the international situation.

"It is intended to conclude, and to bring into force as soon as the necessary parliamentary procedures have been completed, the appropriate instruments for these purposes. General agreement has already been reached on the content of these instruments, and representatives of the four Governments will meet in the very near future to complete the final texts. The agreed arrangements may be put into effect either before or simultaneously with the arrangements for the German defence contribution.

"As these arrangements will take a little time to complete, the three Governments have in the meantime issued the following declaration of intent:—

"Recognizing that a great country can no longer be deprived of the rights properly belonging to a free and democratic people, and desiring to associate the Federal Republic of Germany on a footing of equality with their efforts for peace and security, the Governments of France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America desire to end the occupation régime as soon as possible.

"The fulfilment of this policy calls for the settlement of problems of detail in order to liquidate the past and to prepare for the future, and requires the completion of appropriate parliamentary procedures.

"In the meantime the three Governments are instructing their High Commissioners to act forthwith in accordance with the spirit of the above policy. In particular, the High Commissioners will not use the powers which are to be relinquished unless in agreement with the Federal Government, except in the fields of disarmament and demilitarization and in cases where the Federal Government has not been able for legal reasons to take the action or assume the obligations contemplated in the agreed arrangement.

II. Brussels Treaty

"The Brussels Treaty will be strengthened and extended to make it a more effective focus of European integration. For this purpose the following arrangements have been agreed upon:—

(a) The German Federal Republic and Italy will be invited to accede to the treaty, suitably modified to emphasize the objective of European unity, and they have declared themselves ready to do so. The system of mutual automatic assistance in case of attack will thus be extended to the German Federal Republic and Italy.

(b) The structure of the Brussels Treaty will be reinforced. In particular the consultative council provided in the treaty will become a council with powers of decision.

(c) The activities of the Brussels Treaty organization will be extended to include further important tasks as follows:—

The size and general characteristics of the German defence contribution will conform to the contribution fixed for the European Defence Community.

The maximum defence contribution to NATO of all members of the Brussels Treaty organization will be determined by a special agreement fixing levels which can be increased only by unanimous consent.

The strength and armaments of the internal defence forces and the police on the Continent of the countries members of the Brussels Treaty organization will be fixed by agreements within that organization having regard to their proper function and to existing levels and needs."

Armament Control: Purpose of New Agency

"The Brussels Treaty Powers agree to set up, as part of the Brussels Treaty organization, an agency for the control of armaments on the Continent of Europe of the continental members of the Brussels Treaty organization. The detailed provisions are as follows:—

(1) The functions of the agency shall be:

- (a) to ensure that the prohibition of the manufacture of certain types of armaments as agreed between the Brussels Powers is being observed.
- (b) To control the level of stocks held by each country on the Continent of the types of armaments mentioned in the following paragraph. This control shall extend to production and imports to the extent required to make the control of stocks effective.
- (2) The types of armament to be controlled under 1(b) above shall be:
 - (a) weapons in categories I, II and III listed in Annex II to Article 107 of the EDC Treaty;
 - (b) weapons in the other categories listed in Annex II to Article 107 of the EDC Treaty.
 - (c) A list of major weapons taken from Annex I to the same Article to be established hereafter by an expert working group.

Measures will be taken to exclude from control materials and products in the above lists for civil use.

(Weapons in categories I, II, and III listed in Annex II to Article 107 of the EDC Treaty are atomic weapons, chemical weapons, and biological weapons. Weapons in other categories listed in this annex are long-range missiles, guided missiles, and influence mines; naval vessels other than minor defensive craft; and military aircraft. Annex I to Article 107 of the EDC Treaty divides conventional and unconventional armaments into a number of categories.)

(3) As regards the weapons referred under paragraph 2 (a) above, when the countries which have not given up the right to produce them have passed the experimental stage and start effective production, the level of stocks that they will be allowed to hold on the Continent shall be decided by the Brussels Treaty council by a majority vote.

(4) The continental members of the Brussels Treaty organization agree not to build up stocks or to produce the armaments mentioned in paragraph 2 (b) and (c) beyond the limits required

- (a) for the equipment of their forces, taking into account any imports including external aid, and
- (b) for export.

(5) The requirements for their NATO forces shall be established on the basis of the results of the annual review and the recommendations of the NATO military authorities.

(6) For forces remaining under national control, the level of stocks must correspond to the size and mission of those forces. That level shall be notified to the agency.

(7) All importations or exportations of the controlled arms will be notified to the agency.

(8) The agency will operate through the examination and collation of statistical and budgetary data. It will undertake test checks and will make such visits and inspections as may be required to fulfil its functions as defined in paragraph 2 above.

(9) The basic rules of procedure for the agency shall be laid down in a protocol to the Brussels Treaty.

(10) If the agency finds that the prohibitions are not being observed, or that the appropriate level of stocks is being exceeded, it will so inform the Brussels council.

(11) The agency will report and be responsible to the Brussels council, which will take its decisions by a majority vote on questions submitted by the agency.

(12) The Brussels council will make an annual report on its activities concerning the control of armaments to the delegates of the Brussels Treaty Powers and to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe.

(13) The Governments of the United States and Canada will notify the Brussels Treaty organization of the military aid to be distributed to the continental members of that organization. The organization may make written observations.

(14) The Brussels council will establish a working group in order to study the draft directive presented by the French Government and any other papers which may be submitted on the subject of armaments production and standardization."

German Declaration Voluntary Limitation

(15) The Brussels Treaty Powers have taken note of the following declaration of the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany and record their agreement with it: The Federal Chancellor declares:—

"that the Federal Republic undertakes not to manufacture in its territory any atomic weapons, chemical weapons, or biological weapons, as detailed in paragraphs I, II, and III of the attached list;

"that it undertakes further not to manufacture in its territory such weapons as those detailed in paragraphs IV, V, and VI of the attached list. Any amendment to or cancellation of the substance of paragraphs IV, V and VI can, on the request of the Federal Republic, be carried out by a resolution of the Brussels Council of Ministers by a two-thirds majority, if in accordance with the needs of the armed forces a request is made by the competent Supreme Commander of NATO;

"that the Federal Republic agrees to supervision by the competent authority of the Brussels Treaty organization to ensure that these undertakings are observed."

Federal Chancellor's List Declaration by the Powers

"The following list is appended to the declaration by the Federal Chancellor. It comprises the weapons defined in paragraphs I

to VI and the factories earmarked solely for their production. All apparatus, parts, equipment, installations, substances, and organisms which are used for civilian purposes or for scientific, medical, and industrial research in the fields of pure and applied science shall be excluded from this definition.

I. Atomic weapons.

Text as in Annex II paragraph I to Article 107 of the EDC Treaty with the deletion of (c).

II. Chemical weapons.

III. Biological weapons.

IV. Long-distance missiles, guided missiles, magnetic and influence mines.

Texts as in Annex II paragraphs II, III, and IV to Article 107 of the EDC Treaty.

V. Warships, with the exception of smaller ships for defence purposes. These are:—

- (a) Warships of more than 3,000 tons displacement.
- (b) Submarines of more than 350 tons displacement.
- (c) All warships which are driven by means other than steam, diesel, or petrol engines or by gas turbines or by jet engines.

VI. Bomber aircraft for strategic purposes.

—The closest possible co-operation with NATO shall be established in all fields.”

III. United States, United Kingdom, and Canadian Assurances

The United States Secretary of State set forth the willingness of the United States to continue its support for European unity, in accordance with the following statement.

“If, using the Brussels Treaty as a nucleus, it is possible to find in this new pattern a continuing hope of unity among the countries of Europe that are represented here, and if the hopes that were tied into the EDC treaty can reasonably be transferred into the arrangements which will be the outgrowth of this meeting, then I would certainly be disposed to recommend to the President that he should renew the assurance offered last spring in connection with the EDC treaty to the effect that the United States will continue to maintain in Europe, including Germany, such units of its armed forces as may be necessary and appropriate to contribute its fair share of the forces needed for the joint defence of the North Atlantic area while a threat to the area exists, and will continue to deploy such forces in accordance with agreed North Atlantic strategy for the defence of this area.”

British Statement

The United Kingdom confirmed its active participation in the Brussels Treaty organization and gave the following assurance about the maintenance of United Kingdom forces on the Continent of Europe.

“The United Kingdom will continue to maintain on the mainland of Europe, including Germany, the effective strength of the United Kingdom forces now assigned to the

Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, four divisions and the Tactical Air Force, or whatever the Supreme Allied Commander regards as equivalent fighting capacity. The United Kingdom undertakes not to withdraw those forces against the wishes of the majority of the Brussels Treaty Powers, who should take their decision in the knowledge of the views of the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe.

“This undertaking would be subject to the understanding that an acute overseas emergency might oblige Her Majesty’s Government to omit this procedure.

If the maintenance of United Kingdom forces on the mainland of Europe throws at any time too heavy a strain on the external finances of the United Kingdom, the United Kingdom will invite the North Atlantic Council to review the financial conditions on which the formations are maintained.”

Canadian Affirmation

Canada reaffirmed in the following statement its resolve to discharge the continuing obligations arising out of its membership of NATO and its support of the objective of European unity.

“As far as we are concerned, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization remains the focal point of our participation in collective defence and of our hope for the development of closer co-operation with the other peoples of the Atlantic community. As such, it remains a foundation of Canadian foreign policy. While we emphasize, then, our belief in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, we welcome the proposed extension of the Brussels Treaty. We shall look forward to a growing relationship, within the framework of NATO, with the new Brussels Treaty organization, composed of countries with whom we are already bound by such close ties.”

German Membership of NATO Powers’ Recommendation

IV. NATO

“The Powers present at the conference which are members of NATO agreed to recommend at the next ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council that the Federal Republic of Germany should forthwith be invited to become a member.

“They further agreed to recommend to NATO that its machinery be reinforced in the following respects:

- (a) All forces of NATO countries stationed on the Continent of Europe shall be placed under the authority of the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, with the exception of those which NATO has recognized, or will recognize, as suitable to remain under national command.
- (b) Forces placed under the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, on the Continent shall be deployed in accordance with NATO strategy.
- (c) The location of such forces shall be determined by the Supreme Allied

Commander, Europe, after consultation and agreement with the national authorities concerned.

- (d) Such forces shall not be redeployed on the Continent or used operationally on the Continent without his consent, subject to appropriate political guidance from the North Atlantic Council.
- (e) Forces placed under the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, on the Continent shall be integrated as far as possible consistent with military efficiency.
- (f) Arrangements shall be made for the closer co-ordination of logistics by the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe.
- (g) The level and effectiveness of forces placed under the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, on the Continent and the armaments and equipment, logistics, and reserve formations of those forces on the Continent shall be inspected by the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe.

"The conference recorded the view of all the Governments represented that the North Atlantic Treaty should be regarded as of indefinite duration."

Principles of UN Charter German Acceptance

V. Declaration by the German Federal Government and joint declaration by the Governments of France, United Kingdom and United States of America:—

"The following declarations were recorded at the conference by the German Federal Chancellor and by the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom and United States of America.

Declaration by the German Federal Republic

"The German Federal Republic has agreed to conduct its policy in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and accepts the obligations set forth in Article 2 of the Charter.

"Upon her accession to the North Atlantic Treaty, and the Brussels Treaty, the German Federal Republic declares that she will refrain from any action inconsistent with the strictly defensive character of the two treaties. In particular the German Federal Republic undertakes never to have recourse to force to achieve the reunification of Germany or the modification of the present boundaries of the German Federal Republic, and to resolve by peaceful means any disputes which may arise between the Federal Republic and other States."

Declaration by the Governments of USA, UK and France

"The Governments of the United States of

America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the French Republic, being resolved to devote their efforts to the strengthening of peace in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and in particular with the obligations set forth in Article 2 of the charter.

- (i) to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered;
- (ii) to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations;
- (iii) to give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter, and to refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the United Nations take preventive or enforcement action;
- (iv) to ensure that States which are not members of the United Nations act in accordance with the principles of the charter so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security;

"Having regard to the purely defensive character of the Atlantic alliance which is manifest in the North Atlantic Treaty, wherein they reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all Governments, and undertake to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the principles of the Charter and to refrain, in accordance with those principles, from the threat or use of force in their international relations.

"Take note that the German Federal Republic has by a declaration dated October 3rd accepted the obligations set forth in Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations and has undertaken never to have recourse to force to achieve the reunification of Germany or the modification of the present boundaries of the German Federal Republic, and to resolve by peaceful means any disputes which may arise between the Federal Republic and other States:

"Declare that

1. They consider the government of the Federal Republic as the only German Government freely and legitimately constituted and therefore entitled to speak for Germany as the representative of the German people in international affairs.

2. In their relations with the Federal Republic they will follow the principles set out in Article 2 of the United Nations Charter.

3. A peace settlement for the whole of Germany, freely negotiated between Germany and her former enemies, which would lay the foundation of a lasting peace, remains an essential aim of their policy. The final

determination of the boundaries of Germany must await such a settlement.

4. The achievement through peaceful means of a fully free and unified Germany remains a fundamental goal of their policy.

5. The security and welfare of Berlin and the maintenance of the position of the three Powers there are regarded by the three Powers as essential elements of the peace of the free world in the present international situation. Accordingly they will maintain armed forces within the territory of Berlin as long as their responsibilities require it. They therefore reaffirm that they will treat any attack against Berlin from any quarters as an attack upon their forces and themselves.

6. They will regard as a threat to their own peace and safety any recourse to force which in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter threatens the integrity and unity of the Atlantic alliance or its defensive purposes. In the event of any such action the three Governments for their part will consider the offending Government as having forfeited its rights to any guarantee and any military assistance provided for in the North Atlantic Treaty and its protocols. They will act in accordance with Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty with a view to taking other measures which may be appropriate.

7. They will invite the association of other member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization with this Declaration."

European Unity Close Association of Britain

VI. Future Procedure

The conference agreed that representatives of the Governments concerned should work out urgently the texts of detailed agreements to give effect to the principles laid down above. These will be submitted, where appropriate, to the North Atlantic Council and to the four Governments directly concerned with the future status of the Federal Republic.

"The conference hoped that it would be possible to hold a Ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council on October 22nd to decide on the arrangements affecting NATO. This will be preceded by meetings of the four Foreign Ministers on the question of German sovereignty and of the nine Foreign Ministers.

"These agreements and arrangements constitute a notable contribution to world peace. A western Europe is now emerging which, resting on the close association of the United Kingdom with the Continent and on growing friendship between the participating countries, will reinforce the Atlantic community. The system elaborated by the conference will further the development of European unity and integration."



The following documents are annexed to and form part of the final act: Draft declara-

tion, and draft protocol to the Brussels Treaty; full text of statements by Mr. Dulles, Mr. Eden, and Mr. Pearson at the fourth plenary meeting on September 29th; conference paper on German defence contribution and arrangements to apply to the forces of the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, on the Continent.

Annex 1. Draft Declaration and Draft Protocol Inviting Italy and the German Federal Republic to Accede to the Brussels Treaty

"The governments of Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, parties to the Brussels Treaty of 17th March, 1948, for collaboration in economic, social and cultural matters and for legitimate collective self-defense.

"Aware that the principles underlying the association created by the Brussels Treaty are also recognized and applied by the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy.

"Noting with satisfaction that their devotion to peace and their allegiance to democratic institutions constitute common bonds between the countries of Western Europe.

"Convinced that an association with the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy would represent a new and substantial advance in the direction already indicated by the Treaty.

"Decide:

In application of Article IX of the treaty, to invite the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy to accede to the Brussels Treaty, as revised and completed by the protocol (and list of agreements and documents to be specified in the final text)."

Draft Protocol to the Brussels Treaty

"HM the King of the Belgians, the President of the French Republic, President of the French Union, HRH the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, HM the Queen of the Netherlands, HM the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her Other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth, parties to the treaty of economic, social and cultural collaboration and collective self-defense signed at Brussels on March 17th, 1948, hereinafter referred to as the treaty, on the one hand,

"And the President of the Federal Republic of Germany and the President of the Italian Republic on the other hand,

"Inspired by a common will to strengthen peace and security,

"Desirous to this end of promoting the unity and of encouraging the progressive integration of Europe,

"Convinced that the accession of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Italian Republic to the treaty will represent a new and substantial advance toward these aims,

"Have agreed as follows:

Article I

"The Federal Republic of Germany and

the Italian Republic hereby accede to the treaty, as revised and completed by the present protocol (and the list of agreements and documents).

Article II

"(A) The sub-paragraph of the preamble to the treaty" to take such steps as may be held necessary in the event of renewal by Germany of a policy of aggression" shall be modified to read:

"To promote the unity and to encourage the progressive integration of Europe."

"(B) The following new article shall be inserted in the treaty as Article IV:

"IV—In execution of the treaty, the high contracting parties and any organs established by them under the treaty shall work in close co-operation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

The present Article IV of the treaty and the succeeding articles shall be renumbered accordingly.

"(C) Article VIII, formerly Article VII, of the treaty, shall read:

"For the purpose of consulting together on all questions dealt with in the present treaty and its protocol and the agreements and other documents set out in Article I above and of strengthening peace and security and of promoting unity and of encouraging the progressive integration of Europe and closer co-operation between member states and with other European organizations, the high contracting parties will create a council, which shall be so organized as to be able to exercise its functions continuously. The Council shall meet at such times as it shall deem fit.

"At the request of any of the high contracting parties, the Council shall be immediately convened in order to permit the high contracting parties to consult with regard to any situation which may constitute a threat to peace, in whatever area this threat should arise, or with regard to any situation constituting danger to economic stability."

Article III

"The present protocol and the agreements set out in Article II shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Belgian government. They shall enter into force upon the date of deposit of the last instrument of ratification."

Annex 2. Conference Paper on German Defence Contribution and Arrangements to Apply to the Forces of SACEUR, on the Continent.

"The nine governments represented at the London conference agree to instruct representatives to draw up in Paris, in concert with the military and civilian agencies of NATO through the Secretary General, detailed proposals, for approval by the North Atlantic Council, for a German defense contribution and arrangements to be applied to SACEUR's forces on the Continent. These detailed pro-

posals should be based on the following principles agreed between the nine governments:

"1.—(A) The seven Brussels Treaty powers will conclude a special agreement setting out the forces each of them will place under SACEUR on the Continent.

"(B) The German contribution shall conform in size and general characteristics to the contribution fixed for the EDC brought up to date and adapted as necessary to make it suitable for NATO.

"(C) The terms of this special agreement will be agreed with the other NATO countries.

"(D) If at any time the NATO annual review recommends an increase above the figures in the Brussels special agreement, such increase will require the unanimous approval of the Brussels powers expressed in the Brussels Council or in NATO.

"(E) The Brussels powers will ask that arrangements be made for SACEUR to designate a high-ranking officer who will be instructed to transmit regularly to the Brussels Treaty Organization information acquired as indicated in 3 (F) below in order to permit that organization to establish that the figures agreed among the Brussels powers are being observed.

"2. All forces of NATO countries stationed on the continent of Europe shall be placed under the authority of SACEUR, with the exception of the forces which NATO has recognized or will recognize as suitable to remain under national command.

The strength and armaments on the Continent of the internal defense forces and of the police belonging to the members of the Brussels Treaty Organization shall be fixed by agreements made within this organization, taking into account the task for which they are intended and on the basis of existing levels and needs.

"3. Arrangements to apply to SACEUR's forces:

(a) Forces placed under SACEUR on the Continent shall be deployed in accordance with NATO strategy.

(b) The location of such forces shall be determined by SACEUR after consultation and agreement with the national authorities concerned.

(c) Such forces shall not be redeployed on the Continent nor used operationally on the Continent without his consent subject to appropriate political guidance from the North Atlantic Council.

(d) Forces placed under SACEUR on the Continent shall be integrated as far as possible consistent with military efficiency.

(e) Arrangements shall be made for the closer co-ordination of logistics by SACEUR.

(f) The level and effectiveness of forces placed under SACEUR on the Continent and the armaments, equipment, logistics and reserve formations of those forces on the Continent shall be inspected by SACEUR."

The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project

AFTER more than a half century of intermittent study and investigation and several sets of negotiations between Canada and the United States, developments during the summer of 1954 finally made possible the beginning of the long awaited hydro-electric power and deep-water navigation projects in the St. Lawrence River. The key factor was the decision by the United States Supreme Court on June 7 to deny a petition for a writ of *certiorari* in connection with the issuance by the Federal Power Commission of a licence to the Power Authority of the State of New York. This effectively removed the last legal obstacle to the power project, without which work on the seaway could not be contemplated. Sod-turning ceremonies on August 10 at Cornwall, Ont., and Masséna, N.Y., marked the beginning of actual construction on the power project, and intergovernmental negotiations between Canada and the United States on the seaway aspect were concluded on August 13.

In the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin, with a total drop of 603 feet between Lake Superior and the sea, nature has provided a great natural source of power and a navigation system extending some 2,000 miles into the heart of the North American Continent. Fort William, Port Arthur and Duluth, at the Head of the Lakes, lie almost half-way between Cape Breton and Vancouver Islands.

At the time the Welland Ship Canal was projected earlier in the century, it had been generally agreed that the economically optimum Great Lakes freighter was a vessel of approximately 25,000-ton capacity with a 25-foot draught. Such a vessel would therefore require a 27-foot channel for continuous safe navigation. About three-quarters of the world's merchant marine could also be accommodated in a 27-foot channel, and that depth therefore became the criterion of deep-water navigation in modern projects for developing the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin.

An International Question

From Lake Superior all the way through Lake Huron, Lake Erie, the Welland Canal, Lake Ontario and the Thousand Island section of the St. Lawrence River down to Prescott (see map), there is already a controlling channel depth of 25 feet* and this is capable of being increased to 27 feet by dredging only. However, through the 115-mile stretch from Prescott downstream to Montreal, navigation is limited to a depth of 14 feet through the existing Canadian canals, which bypass a series of rapids with a total drop of 225 feet. From Montreal to the sea, channels have already been dredged to a minimum depth of 32½ feet. Therefore the key stretch, with respect to both power and navigation development, is that section of the St. Lawrence River between Prescott and Montreal. The first part of this, i.e. the 47-mile stretch from Prescott-Ogdensburg to Cornwall-St. Regis, is bounded by Canada and

* i.e. in the downbound channels; there is 21 feet in the upbound channels in the Upper Lakes. The McArthur lock at Sault St. Marie and the Welland Canal locks provide 30 feet over the sills.



—Ontario Hydro

NEW POWER AND NAVIGATION WORKS AT IROQUOIS

The proposed site of the control dam stretching across the St. Lawrence River from the Canadian to the United States shore is indicated by the broken line. In the background can be seen the existing Canadian 14-foot canal system at Iroquois, Ont. Canada has commenced preliminary works for the construction of the new 27-foot canal and lock, which will traverse the area between the old canal and the new control dam.

the United States, and includes the Long Sault Rapids which are capable of developing 2.2 million horse-power. The remaining stretch from Cornwall to Montreal, which lies wholly within Canadian territory, contains the rapids at Soulanges and Lachine, which can provide an additional $2\frac{1}{4}$ million horse-power.

The key to an understanding of the St. Lawrence question is to be found in the following inter-related factors:

- 1) A major drop in the river, totalling 92.5 feet and including the Long Sault Rapids, occurs between Prescott and Cornwall. This is called the "International Rapids Section" as the river flows between Canada and the United States.
- 2) The development of 27 foot navigation in this section would be economically prohibitive without the concurrent development of the 2.2 million horse-power at Long Sault Rapids.
- 3) Development of power at Long Sault Rapids requires the erection of dams and power-houses *across the boundary* and the consequent *raising of water levels in boundary waters*.
- 4) Article II of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 provides that in boundary waters between Canada and the United States, either country can construct works on its side of the boundary which materially affect the level or flow of water on the other side *only if it concludes a special agreement with the other country or secures the approval of the International Joint Commission*.*

* For an article on the six-member Canada-United States International Joint Commission, see *External Affairs*, March 1951, pp. 90-95.

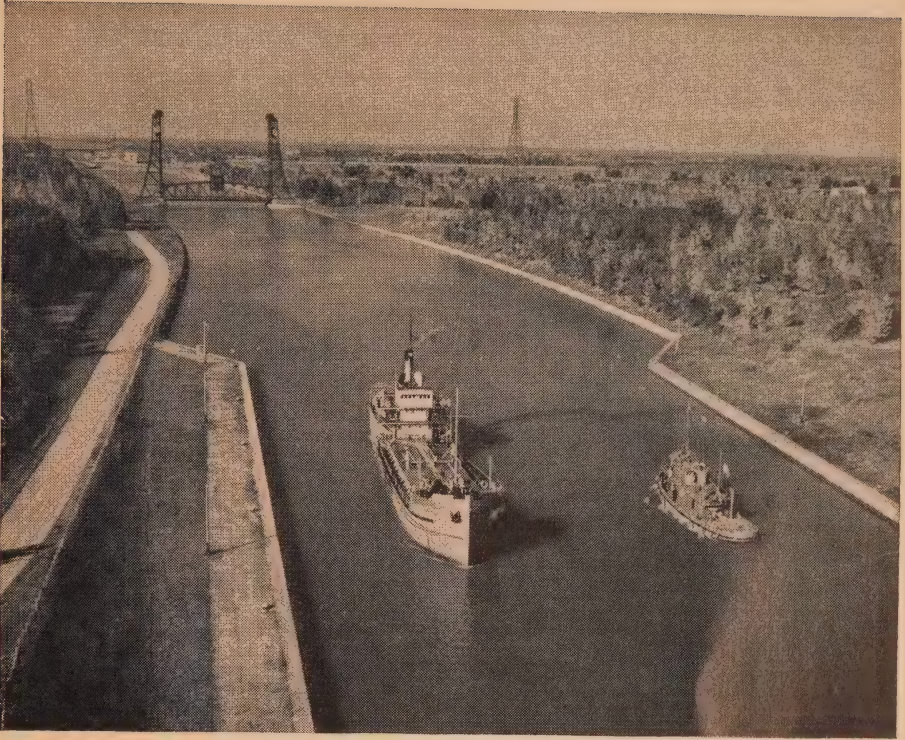
- 5) Therefore, the development of deep-water navigation in the International Rapids Section is dependent upon the prior or concurrent development of power, and the construction of power works cannot be undertaken there without the co-operation of, and agreement between, Canada and the United States.

While piecemeal development of the St. Lawrence system began centuries ago and important navigation improvements were carried out on the Canadian side during the nineteenth century, the main negotiations between Canada and the United States began towards the end of the century. Agitation for the improvement of inland waterways resulted, in 1895, in the appointment of Commissions of Enquiry by both countries. Canada completed its 14-foot navigation system in 1900 and in 1912 decided to construct the new Welland Ship Canal.* Proposals advanced by one or other country in the next few years did not receive real consideration because of World War I. Extensive studies and investigations were continued during the 1920's, culminating in the signing by Canada and the United States of the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Treaty of 1932. This Treaty provided for "the construction of a deep waterway, not less than 27 feet in depth, for navigation from the interior of the Continent of North America, through the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River, to the sea, with the development of the water power incidental thereto . . ." The Treaty did not reach a vote in the Senate until March 1934, when it failed to secure the necessary two-thirds majority (it was defeated by a vote of 46 in favour to 42 against). Further studies and negotiations took place during the 1930's, which led to the signing of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Agreement in March 1941. This Agreement provided for joint Canadian-United States development of the whole Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin and the settlement of outstanding questions such as the Chicago Diversion, Niagara Diversion and remedial works etc. Notwithstanding repeated efforts by the United States Administration all through the 1940's, this Agreement similarly failed to receive the approval of Congress.

1952 Agreement with the United States

Both the Treaty of 1932 and the Agreement of 1941 would have constituted the "special agreement" required by the Boundary Waters Treaty. In the absence of Congressional approval and in view of the power shortage that was developing in Ontario, the idea arose during the late 1940's of pursuing the alternative procedure provided by the Boundary Waters Treaty, viz., to secure the approval of the International Joint Commission for the construction of the power works in the International Rapids Section. In effect, the two countries decided to separate the power project from the navigation project in order to expedite both. By an Exchange of Notes dated June 30, 1952, the Canadian and United States Government agreed to submit joint Applications to the International Joint Commission for the development of power in the International Rapids Section by entities in Canada and the United States, *on the understanding that the Canadian Government would undertake to construct and operate all the works necessary to ensure uninterrupted 27-foot navigation between Lake Erie and Montreal*, and that the Canadian Government would

* The Welland Ship Canal was completed in 1932, at a cost of \$133,000,000. It would cost about \$300,000,000 to build today.



—NFB

THE WELLAND CANAL

Ships move through a broad expanse of one of the world's largest and most heavily travelled waterways, connecting Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. Much of the Canal already has 27 foot depth, and the remainder is being deepened by Canada from 25 to 27 feet to permit continuous deepwater navigation.

complete these navigation works as concurrently as possible with completion of the power works.*

On the strength of the agreement embodied in these Notes and on the same day, the Canadian and United States Governments submitted joint Applications to the International Joint Commission for the development of power in the international section.†

In October 1952, the International Joint Commission gave its Order of Approval to the power project. The situation at that time, therefore, was that Canadian and United States entities were to construct the power works jointly, while Canada alone, by agreement with the United States, was to undertake construction of all the works necessary to complete 27-foot navigation between

* Also on the understanding that the Canadian Government would:

- (a) agree that the amount to be paid to Canada, in lieu of the construction by the power entities of facilities required to continue 14-foot navigation, be excluded from the total power costs to be divided between those entities; and
- (b) contribute \$15 million towards the cost of the channel enlargement which the power entities must undertake in the International Rapids Section in consideration of the benefits accruing to navigation from these channel enlargements.

† See *External Affairs* July 1952, pp. 241-8, for the text of the Canadian Government's Application to the International Joint Commission, in which is given a description of the power works, and for the texts of the June 30, 1952 Exchange of Notes.

Lake Erie and Montreal.* Accordingly, in a Note dated November 4, 1952, Canada informed the United States that it considered the 1941 Agreement to have been superseded. The cost of the navigation works to be undertaken by Canada was approximately \$261 million. The cost of the power works was estimated at approximately \$500 million without interest, to be shared equally by the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario and the Power Authority of the State of New York which was subsequently designated as the United States power entity.

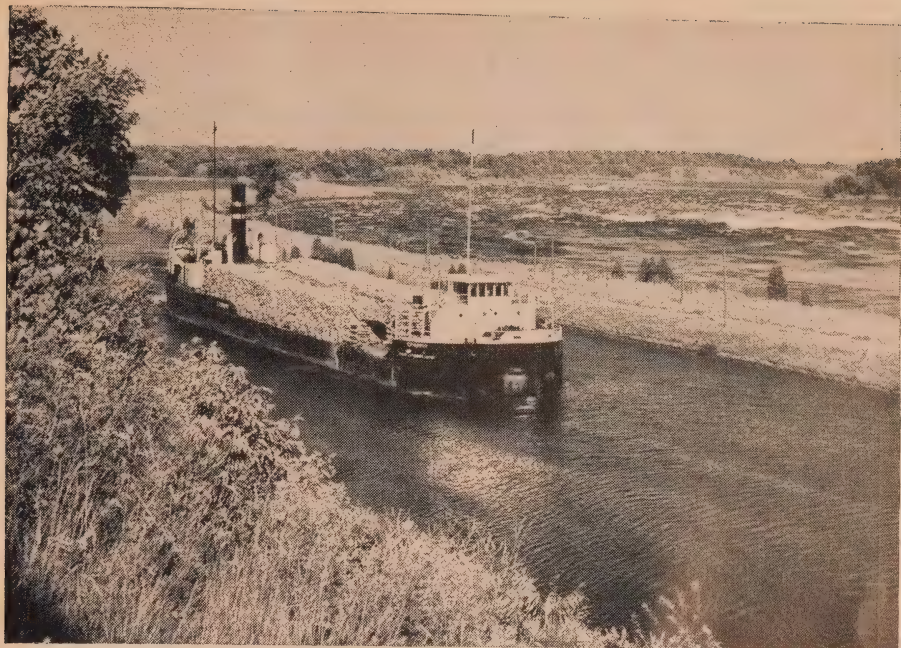
Effects of 1953 Litigation on Power and Seaway Works

Although the International Joint Commission had given the required approval, work could not immediately begin on the construction of the international power dams, and therefore on the navigation works, in the autumn of 1952. All the necessary authorization in Canada and all necessary international authorization for the construction of the power project and for the construction by Canada of the navigation facilities had been completed. There remained the authorization, in accordance with United States law, of an appropriate entity to construct the United States share of the power works. The Power Authority of the State of New York had applied to the Federal Power Commission for such authorization on September 22, 1952. Extensive hearings before an Examiner were held, and his decision in favour of licensing the Power Authority of the State of New York was issued on May 12, 1953. This decision was upheld by the Federal Power Commission itself on July 15, 1953. Under the Federal Power Act, decisions by the Federal Power Commission can be appealed to the Commission and then, within 60 days of the Commission's disposition of an appeal, to the Court of Appeals and finally to the Supreme Court of the United States. Appeals to the Commission were rejected on September 4 and were then brought before the Court of Appeals on November 3, 1953. On January 29, 1954 that Court denied petitions for rehearing and on May 19 a petition for certiorari was filed in the United States Supreme Court.

This litigation process not only held up the development of power; in addition, Canada could not begin to construct the 27-foot navigation works until the litigation was concluded and the Canadian Government could be sure that the pools of water to be created by the power dams would in fact exist and that ships could sail through them. The legal obstacles holding up the development of the power works were cleared away only on June 7, 1954 when the United States Supreme Court denied a petition for a writ of *certiorari*.

During this period between October 1952 and June 1954, while both governments were waiting for the power litigation to be settled, a new factor entered the navigation picture. Early in January 1953, bills were introduced in Congress by Senator Wiley and Representative Dondero to authorize the construction, *on the United States side*, of the navigation works required in the

* Use of the phrase "all-Canadian Seaway" to describe this arrangement has possibly led to some confusion. While all the *canals and locks* might be constructed on the Canadian side of the river, the *navigation channel* in the St. Lawrence proper (and also in the Upper Lakes) inevitably weaves back and forth across the International Boundary many times. Nature dictated that. Thus, even at the present time a ship which sails through the Canadian lock at Sault Ste. Marie and through the present Canadian canals in the St. Lawrence River would still have to cross the International Boundary many times into United States waters while sailing down the navigation channels in the St. Mary's River, the St. Clair and Detroit Rivers and the St. Lawrence.



LONG SAULT RAPIDS

At the Long Sault Rapids alone, the St. Lawrence drops 92 feet. The new power development in this area, which is being undertaken jointly by the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario and the Power Authority of the State of New York, will provide 2,200,000 h.p., to be divided equally between these entities. In the photo above, a freighter passes through the Canadian 14-foot canal system by-passing the rapids.

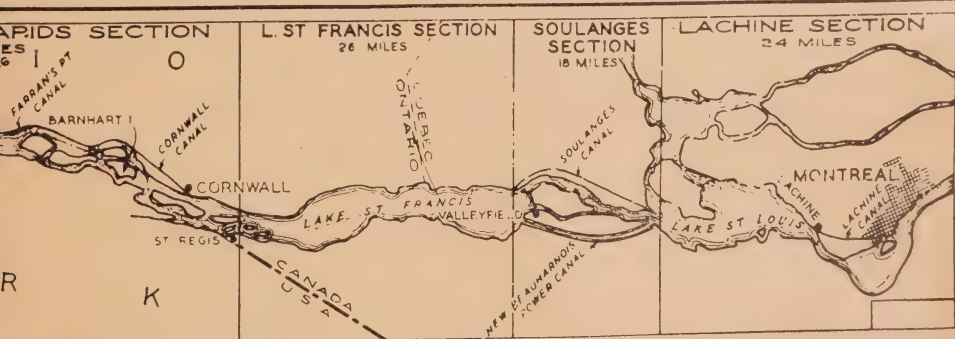
international section of the river. In view of the delays that had occurred through the years as a result of the consideration and rejection of seaway bills by Congress, Prime Minister St. Laurent, in a memorandum dated January 9, 1953 to the United States Ambassador at Ottawa, pointed out that the Canadian Government was most reluctant to engage in any further discussion which might delay the progress of the power project. However, Mr. St. Laurent added, once the United States designated its power entity, "if the United States Government wishes to put forward a specific proposal differing from that* put forward by the Canadian Government for the construction of the Seaway in the international section, which proposal would not delay the development of power under (present) arrangements . . . , the Canadian Government will be prepared to discuss such a proposal. The Canadian Government would naturally expect the discussion to be such as not to cause any delay in the completion of the whole Seaway."

Wiley-Dondero Legislation

For the next year and a half Canada marked time on the construction of the navigation works in the St. Lawrence while awaiting the outcome of the litigation in the United States courts with respect to the power licence. During this period the United States Administration was very co-operative indeed in having this litigation given the earliest consideration in the courts, and by the

* i.e. navigation works to be built wholly by Canada, under the June 30, 1952 arrangements.

WATER LEVEL PROFILE-GREAT LAKES & ST LAWRENCE DEEP WATERWAY



Supreme Court's decision of June 7, 1954, the legal obstacles to the power, and therefore the navigation, development were finally surmounted. However during this period the United States House of Representatives and the Senate considered the Dondero and Wiley Bills and on May 6, 1954, approved them. The resultant "Public Law 358" established a United States Saint Lawrence Development Corporation and authorized and *directed* it to construct on the United States side the works required for deep-water navigation in the international section.

Main Seaway Works and Cost

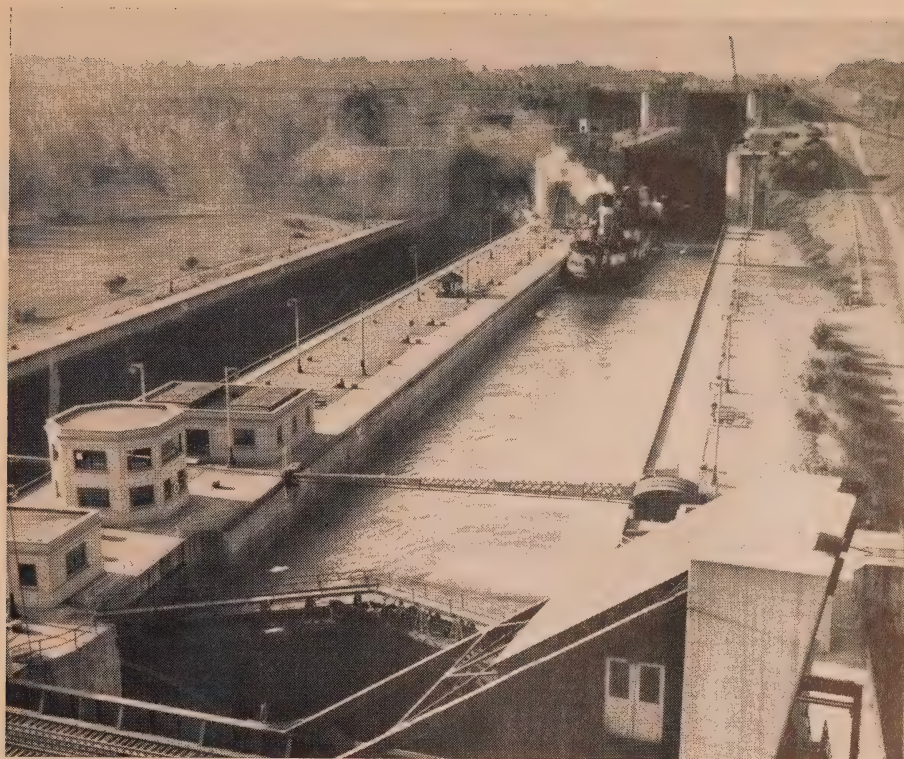
Following is a list of the main works to be constructed to provide 27-foot navigation between Lake Erie and Montreal, with an estimate of their cost:

<i>In Canadian Territory</i>	<i>\$ Millions</i>
a) Welland Canal—channel deepening.....	2
b) Lake St. Francis—excavations.....	4
c) Beauharnois—lock, bridge, etc.....	47
d) Lachine—canal, locks, etc.....	122
<i>In the International Section</i>	
e) Thousand Island Section—channel dredging.....	2
f) Iroquois—canal and lock.....	14
g) Barnhart Island—canal and locks.....	70
Total cost \$261 millions	

It will be apparent from the foregoing that the situation during the past summer was, in effect, as follows: The power litigation had been concluded and for the first time the way was open for construction of the power works and therefore of the navigation works. Canada had enacted legislation authorizing the construction of all the works listed above on the Canadian side of the river, had given an undertaking to the United States to do so and had received the agreement of the United States in the Exchange of Notes of June 30, 1952. The United States had enacted Public Law 358 authorizing and directing (i.e., ordering) the construction, on the United States side of the river, of two of these works, viz., the canal and lock at Iroquois and the canal and locks at Barnhart Island (and also the dredging in the Thousand Islands section of the river). Both countries were authorized to amortize their expenditures by the imposition of tolls, to be imposed either individually or jointly.

On the basis of Mr. St. Laurent's January 1953 statement that Canada would still be willing to consider a "specific proposal" that would delay neither power nor navigation development, the United States on June 7, 1954, requested a meeting with Canadian representatives in order to work out arrangements for proceeding with the navigation works in the light of the new situation. Preliminary meetings were held in Ottawa during July and inter-governmental negotiations took place during August. The Deputy Secretary of Defence, Mr. Robert B. Anderson, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, headed the United States and Canadian negotiators, respectively.

One of the main difficulties which confronted the negotiators was, of course, that the legislatures of both countries had authorized the construction of the same works on their own side of the international section. One of their main tasks therefore was to reconcile the national interests and aspirations of



LOCKS AT WELLAND

—NFB

A small freighter ascends the series of three twin flight locks in the Welland Canal near Thorold, Ont. Construction of the Welland Canal and locks, permitting deep-water navigation between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, was completed by Canada in 1932 at a cost of \$133,000,000. It would cost about \$300,000,000 to build today. The locks provide a depth of 30 feet over the sills.

both countries, and at the same time to preserve their own rights and freedom of action. In such circumstances common sense dictated that the two countries should work out an arrangement which would serve both, not only now but in the long-term future. The August negotiations resulted in a new Exchange of Notes dated August 17, 1954 (the full texts of which are given as an appendix to this article). The results of the negotiations can be summarized as follows:

(1) *Barnhart Island*—The Canadian Government informed the United States Government that it was prepared to modify the June 30, 1952 arrangements to the extent that Canada would be relieved of one undertaking, viz., to construct forthwith (in Canadian territory) the canal and two locks at Barnhart Island and to carry out the dredging in the Thousand Islands section. The United States Government agreed to this modification of the earlier Exchange of Notes and will build the facilities at Barnhart Island and do the dredging in the Thousand Islands section. Canada has lost none of its rights to build the canal and locks at Barnhart Island in Canadian territory in the future. Canada stated its intention of constructing a canal and locks on the Canadian side of Barnhart Island, if and when it considers that parallel facilities are required to accommodate existing or potential traffic. An important factor bearing on the requirement for parallel facilities on the Canadian side at Barnhart Island would be increasing volume of traffic. Another factor which, however,

the Canadian Government hopes and expects would not materialize, would be unreasonable or unwarranted interference with, or delays to, Canadian shipping.

(2) *Iroquois*—Canada, as stated in its Note, will construct forthwith a canal and lock on the Canadian side of the international section at Iroquois. The United States negotiators stated that the United States Government is committed by Congressional legislation to the construction of a canal and lock on the United States side at this point. Nevertheless, the Canadian Government expressed the hope that the United States may subsequently decide not to proceed with construction at Iroquois at this time.

(3) *Navigation Rights*—The two governments recognized, in the new Exchange of Notes, that it was of great importance to both that the St. Lawrence Seaway be used to the maximum extent, and they therefore agreed to use their best endeavours to avoid placing unreasonable restrictions on the transit of passengers, shipping or trade in the international section of the Seaway. They also agreed to consult before the enactment of any new law, or the promulgation of any new regulation, applicable on either side of the international section which might affect vessels of Canadian, United States or third-country registry. It was also agreed that “with respect to any laws or regulations now in force in either country which affect the shipping interests of the other country in the international section . . .” either Government could request consultation and the other would accede to such request.

(4) *14-foot Navigation*—The Canadian Government reserved the right, in its Note, to decide whether and how it will continue 14-foot navigation works through the International Rapids Section but agreed to consult the United States “on the question of levying tolls in connection with such works”.

Arguments Against Duplication

An important problem was whether Canada should build at Barnhart on the Canadian side immediately, paralleling the Barnhart Island works which the United States is going to build. In the Canadian view, the construction now by both countries of parallel 27-foot navigation works throughout the international section would obviously not be in the best interests of either country. In the first place, it was estimated that the volume of water-borne traffic in the St. Lawrence would not be sufficient in the immediate future to warrant the construction of two canals systems. Furthermore, even if traffic were now sufficient, there would be no economic purpose served in constructing double navigation facilities in the International Section unless other facilities up and down the line in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin were also duplicated at the same time. It was estimated that doubling these other facilities would involve expenditures of approximately \$100 million at Welland* and \$40 million at Lachine, additional to those already to be undertaken by Canada under present legislation. However, it is hoped and expected that the traffic situation will be quite different some years after the Seaway has commenced operation at the end of 1958. It is expected that the growth of traffic will justify the completion of works on both sides of the International Section of the St. Lawrence, at Barnhart and at Iroquois. When that time comes, Canada can then build a canal and locks on the Canadian side at Barnhart, and thus complete the

* There is a series of eight locks in the Welland Canal. Three of these are double locks. Therefore, to double the entire facilities would require the construction of an additional five locks, at an estimated cost of approximately \$20 million each.



—Malak

ONTARIO HYDRO MODEL OF BARNHART WORKS

The international powerhouse can be seen in the foreground and the power dam at Long Sault Rapids in the rear (right). The canal and locks to be built on United States territory at Barnhart Island are shown on the left.

final link in the canal-locks system on Canadian territory from Lake Erie to Montreal.

The table below gives a recapitulation of the major works to be constructed by Canada and the United States to provide deep-water navigation between Lake Erie and Montreal, with an estimate of their cost:

	\$ Millions
<i>To be Constructed by Canada</i>	
Welland Canal—channel deepening.....	2
Iroquois—canal and lock.....	14
Lake St. Francis—excavations.....	4
Beauharnois—lock, bridge, etc.....	47
Lachine—canal, locks, etc.....	122
<i>To be Constructed by the United States</i>	
Thousand Islands Section—channel dredging.....	2
Barnhart Island—canal and locks	70
[*Iroquois—canal and lock.....	14]

* As stated above, the Canadian Seaway Authority is now building a canal and lock on the Canadian side of the river at Iroquois. The United States Seaway Corporation considers that, under the terms of Public Law 358, it is obliged to construct a canal and lock on the United States side of the river at Iroquois. The Canadian Government has expressed the hope that the United States will decide not to proceed with construction at Iroquois at present (see Department of External Affairs Press Release No. 50 of August 18, 1954).

**CANADA-UNITED STATES EXCHANGE OF NOTES MODIFYING ARRANGEMENTS
ON DEVELOPMENT OF ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY CONCLUDED BY EXCHANGE
OF NOTES OF JUNE 30, 1954**

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA

OTTAWA, August 17, 1954.

No. X-214

SIR:

1. I have the honour to refer to the Exchange of Notes of June 30, 1952, between the Canadian Ambassador in Washington and the Acting Secretary of State of the United States, in which it was agreed that the Canadian Government would, when all arrangements had been made to ensure the completion of the power phase of the St. Lawrence Project, construct locks and canals on the Canadian side of the International Boundary to provide for uninterrupted 27-foot navigation between Lake Erie and the Port of Montreal.
2. With the co-operation of the Government of the United States, arrangements were made to ensure the completion of the power phase of the Project by the Power Authority of the State of New York and the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario. In the meantime, the Congress of the United States enacted and the President approved on May 13, 1954, Public Law 358 which created the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation and authorized and directed it to construct 27-foot navigation works on the United States side of the international section of the St. Lawrence River.
3. At the request of the United States Government, representatives of our two governments held meetings in July and August of this year to discuss the need for modification of the Notes exchanged on June 30, 1952, in the light of Public Law 358. Although the Canadian Government is ready and willing to complete the works necessary for 27-foot navigation in the St. Lawrence Seaway on Canadian territory, it understands the desire of the United States to participate in the Seaway Project by constructing certain navigation works on United States territory. Accordingly the Canadian Government is prepared to modify the arrangements set forth in the Notes of June 30, 1952, to the extent that the Canadian Government will be relieved of the obligation towards the United States Government to provide forthwith the navigation works in the general vicinity of Barnhart Island on Canadian territory and in the Thousand Islands section.
4. (a) The Canadian Government wishes to state, however, that it will construct forthwith a canal and lock at Iroquois and that in addition it intends, if and when it considers that parallel facilities are required to accommodate existing or potential traffic, to complete 27-foot navigation works on the Canadian side of the International Rapids Section.
- (b) Before undertaking these latter works in the general vicinity of Barnhart Island, the Canadian Government agrees to consult the United States Government and understands that, should the United States Gov-

ernment intend to build on United States territory in the International Rapids Section navigation works in addition to those provided for in Public Law 358, it would similarly consult the Canadian Government.

5. The Canadian Government reserves the right to decide whether and in what manner it will continue 14-foot navigation works through the International Rapids Section but agrees to consult the United States Government on the question of levying tolls in connection with such works.

6. (a) It is recognized that it is of great importance to Canada and the United States that the St. Lawrence Seaway be used to the maximum extent required by the needs of commerce. It is understood therefore that both Governments will use their best endeavours to avoid placing unreasonable restrictions on the transit of passengers, shipping or trade in the international section of the St. Lawrence Seaway.

(b) It is further agreed that each Government will consult the other before it enacts any new law or promulgates any new regulation, applicable in the respective national parts of the international section of the St. Lawrence River, which might affect Canadian or United States shipping, or shipping of third-country registry proceeding to or from Canada or the United States respectively.

(c) Similarly, with respect to any laws or regulations now in force in either country which affect the shipping interests of the other country in the international section of the St. Lawrence River, the Government affected may request consultation concerning such laws or regulations and the other Government shall accede to requests for consultation.

(d) The foregoing undertakings are in addition to the treaty obligations now in force between Canada and the United States affecting shipping in the St. Lawrence River and canals, particularly Article I of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909.

7. I should be glad to receive your confirmation that the United States Government agrees with the modification of the Notes of June 30, 1952, proposed in paragraph 3 and with the reciprocal undertakings set forth in paragraphs 4(b) and 6 of this Note.

8. The Canadian Government looks forward to the fruitful development of this great Seaway Project in constructive and harmonious co-operation with the United States and is confident that this joint enterprise will add to the strength and prosperity of our two countries.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

L. B. Pearson

Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Don C. Bliss, Esq.,

Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.,

Embassy of the United States of America,
Ottawa.

UNITED STATES EMBASSY

OTTAWA, August 17, 1954.

No. 38

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Note No. X-214 of August 17, 1954 in which you inform me that the Canadian Government agrees to certain modifications in the arrangements set forth in the Notes of our Governments of June 30, 1952, in the light of the changed circumstances with respect to the St. Lawrence Seaway Project brought about by the enactment by the Congress of the United States of Public Law 358, approved by the President on May 13, 1954.

The United States Government has called the attention of the Canadian Government to the provisions of Public Law 358 authorizing and directing the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation to construct certain canals and locks on the United States side of the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River as its part of the St. Lawrence Seaway Project. As the Canadian Government has been informed, it is the intention of the United States Government to participate in the St. Lawrence Seaway Project by constructing these navigational facilities.

The United States Government agrees with the requirements of consultation between the two Governments set forth in paragraphs 4(b) and 6 and agrees to relieve Canada of its obligation of June 30, 1952 as referred to in paragraph 3 of your Note No. X-214 of August 17, 1954.

My Government notes the declarations contained in your Note as to the intentions of the Canadian Government with respect to other matters relating to the St. Lawrence Seaway Project.

The United States Government wholeheartedly shares the view expressed by the Government of Canada concerning the benefits to be anticipated from this joint enterprise and welcomes this new opportunity for constructive and harmonious co-operation between our two countries.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

Don C. Bliss

The Honorable Lester B. Pearson,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

Canada and the United Nations

Ninth Session of the United Nations General Assembly

THE ninth session of the General Assembly opened in New York on September 21. The agenda adopted, up to the present time, contains 69 items. There are new and potentially controversial political items on Cyprus, on the status of West New Guinea and on the admission to membership of Laos and Cambodia, and important issues such as disarmament and the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Elections to the various organs of the United Nations took place as usual in the first days of the session. On the Security Council, Belgium, Iran and Peru will replace Denmark, Colombia and Lebanon; on the Economic and Social Council, the Dominican Republic, the Netherlands, Egypt and Argentina were elected to fill the places of four retiring members; France and China, in accordance with the accepted precedent governing the membership of the five great powers on ECOSOC, were re-elected. There were six seats to be filled on the International Court of Justice; Mohammed Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan was elected to fill the vacancy left by the death of Sir Benegal Rau of India and the remaining vacancies were filled by Jules Basdevant (France), Roberto Cordova (Mexico), José G. Guerrero (El Salvador), Hersch Lauterpacht (United Kingdom) and Lucio M. Moreno Quintant (Argentina). Consideration of the controversial question of Chinese representation was postponed for the duration of the ninth session "in the current calendar year".

The general debate in plenary session was concluded on October 6, and the seven main committees of the Assembly have begun consideration of the agenda items assigned to them. Below is an account of the three most important matters on which decisions have so far been reached.

Cyprus

On September 24, 1954, shortly after the opening of the ninth session, the General Assembly had to decide whether an item on Cyprus, proposed by the Government of Greece, should be inscribed on the agenda. The item was described as follows:

Application, under the auspices of the United Nations, of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples in the case of the population of the island of Cyprus.

The action taken by the Greek Government was not entirely unexpected. At the eighth session of the General Assembly the Greek Delegate had stated that, although his Government would not then press the matter, if bilateral talks about Cyprus between Greece and the United Kingdom proved unavailing, the Greek Government would be obliged to raise the question at the ninth session. Prior to the eighth session unofficial delegations from Cyprus had tried to gain a hearing of the case for the union of Cyprus with Greece.

For years proponents in Greece and Cyprus have asserted that the people of the island, four-fifths of whom speak the Greek language, and are considered as of Greek racial origin (the majority of the remainder are of Turkish origin),



desired that Cyprus be united with Greece. These advocates maintain that in any free plebiscite, such as one under the auspices of the United Nations, the majority of Cypriots would choose union with Greece. In bringing the present item before the General Assembly, the Greek Government seeks to provide the islanders with an opportunity to make this choice.

The United Kingdom Stand on Cyprus

The United Kingdom has resisted Greek efforts to bring about a discussion of the status of Cyprus. The United Kingdom Government has maintained that, since United Kingdom sovereignty in Cyprus is well founded in international law, it is not open to third parties to question the status of the island. United Kingdom spokesmen have expressed regret that Cyprus should have become a source of disagreement between the United Kingdom and Greece. They have emphasized that Cyprus is vital to the discharge of the United Kingdom's responsibilities in the eastern Mediterranean and that these responsibilities can be carried out effectively only if full administrative control of Cyprus is maintained. The United Kingdom has refuted the allegations concerning conditions in Cyprus and has pointed to the substantial material benefits which have accrued to the Cypriots from United Kingdom control and to the constitutional reforms which, if permitted to evolve methodically, would lead to self-government in Cyprus.

In the debate on the inscription issue, the General Assembly had to decide whether the legal arguments based on Article 2(7) of the Charter, the domestic jurisdiction clause, combined with the weighty practical arguments concerning

the harm likely to be done by an Assembly debate about Cyprus, were to prevail against the view, which the majority of members have in the past supported, that the General Assembly has very wide competence to discuss matters of international concern. In the end the majority of members voted in favour of inscription of the Cyprus item. All the NATO powers voted against inscription except Greece, and the United States, which abstained.

Canada voted against inscription because, in the words of the Canadian Delegate, "as a matter of practical judgment on the overall situation and not on grounds of competence . . . the inclusion of the item is likely to do more harm than good in Cyprus, in the region of Cyprus and in the United Nations". The Canadian Delegation was further sustained in this conclusion by the wording of the proposed Cyprus item and its supporting memorandum. This language, in the Canadian view, implied not merely a discussion of the Cyprus question but action by the Assembly of a particular kind. By its very wording, therefore, the item pre-judged the issue and pre-supposed an intervention in the domestic affairs of a member state, which intervention would be contrary to the Charter.

Disarmament

Between May 13 and June 22 the five countries—Canada, France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the U.S.S.R.—represented on the Disarmament Commission Sub-committee, held private discussions in London. During these discussions important proposals were advanced by the representatives of the Western countries. These included an Anglo-French paper setting forth a basis for a comprehensive international agreement providing for the eventual total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, and other weapons of mass destruction, together with major reductions in armed forces and other armaments, the whole to be carried out under effective international control. Detailed plans for a control scheme of this kind were embodied in a United States working paper. No agreement could, however, be reached with the Soviet Union, whose representative, Mr. Vyshinsky, continued to press for an unconditional ban on the use of nuclear weapons as a precondition of any progress towards a disarmament agreement. His proposal was, of course, unacceptable to the Western powers on the grounds that without the establishment of an effective and authoritative control scheme before acceptance of such a ban, there would be no means of ensuring its faithful observance by all countries.

No progress was made in the Disarmament Commission towards breaking the deadlock reported to it by the Sub-committee. Accordingly the Commission's report to the General Assembly merely transmitted the text of the various proposals that had been made and expressed the hope that circumstances would facilitate the continued and fruitful consideration of the question of disarmament.

When this subject was brought before the First (Political) Committee of the Assembly at the end of September it seemed unlikely that further consideration of the question would bear fruit. The Soviet representative, however, announced that his country had at last decided to accept the Anglo-French paper as a basis for an international convention, subject to two "basic provisions".

Although on its face the new Soviet proposal seemed to offer encouraging concessions to the Western position, the nature of the "basic provisions" out-



—United Nations

UNANIMOUS APPROVAL GIVEN TO FIVE POWER PROPOSAL

Unanimous approval was given in the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on October 27 to the proposal submitted by Canada, France, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and the United States under which the five powers will resume the disarmament negotiations that were conducted in London during the summer.

lined by Mr. Vyshinsky gave rise to some doubt that the Soviet views had really altered to any appreciable extent. Mr. Paul Martin, Acting Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, in concert with other Western representatives, welcomed the Soviet statement and promised that sincere and sympathetic consideration would be accorded it by the Western countries. He warned, however, that the Soviet Union continued to be reluctant to agree to the kind of international control which the Western countries were willing to accept as the minimum requirement for any effective scheme of disarmament. He went on to say that the urgent importance of finding some basis for agreement was shared by all countries. "None of us" he remarked, "should be ashamed, or too proud, to admit that we are concerned. Humility before the awesome power which scientists are placing in our hands is, I suggest, a becoming attitude for members of governments in any part of the world." He noted, too, that:

It may be that it is awareness of these growing dangers that at least in part has prompted the apparent advances in the Soviet Union position which Mr. Vyshinsky has outlined during the last few weeks. On the one hand, we of the democratic world dare not be naive. It would be foolish and dishonest to pretend that those who are most skeptical may not be right. Certainly the timing of the Soviet Union's proposals suggests that the men in the Kremlin may have their eye rather on debates in London, Paris and elsewhere concerning the unity and the defence programmes of Western Europe, than on the desirability of disarmament programme in itself.

In order to explore every possibility of bridging the gap between the points of view of the Western countries and of the Soviet Union, Mr. Martin introduced a draft Canadian resolution on October 13, providing for an early resumption of private discussions in the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-committee. In doing so he addressed an earnest plea to the other countries represented in the Sub-committee to join with Canada in co-sponsoring the

resolution. France, the United Kingdom and the United States at once accepted this invitation, and a period of negotiation ensued during which the Canadian Delegation played an important role in the working out of amendments to the Canadian draft that would make it acceptable to the U.S.S.R. as well as to the Western countries. Final agreement was reached eventually and Mr. Vyshinsky announced on October 22 that his country would co-sponsor the Canadian draft resolution which was unanimously adopted in the First Committee.

Nature of Amendments to Resolution

Outlining the nature of the agreed amendments, on October 22, Mr. Martin drew particular attention to the difficulty of finding a text which would not imply Soviet acceptance of the United States working paper on control, but would, at the same time, ensure that this paper would be taken into account by the Disarmament Commission and its Sub-committee, along with the Anglo-French proposals and the Soviet proposals. Although expressing satisfaction that the five members of the London Sub-committee had at least reached agreement on a framework of general objectives and procedure which would allow subsequent negotiations to go forward with the optimum chance of success, the Western representatives stressed that substantive agreement on disarmament had yet to be achieved. In this regard Mr. Martin said:

Finally, I should add, in all seriousness, a warning against any hasty or irresponsible optimism. The debate of the past few weeks in this Assembly has made it crystal clear that the gap which still divides us from the Government of the Soviet Union, on the nature and scope of an acceptable disarmament programme—and particularly on the all important matter of control—remains deep and wide. In a few particulars, that gap has been narrowed. That is heartening. But facile optimism, or wishful irresponsibility, could be a grave disservice to the cause of peace.

So too, I think, would be cynicism, or despair at the admittedly great and vital points on which major differences remain. The sound attitude, I suggest, Mr. Chairman, is that we should take heart that at least on procedure, and on a broad definition of objectives, five nations are now agreed; but that we should be careful not to overestimate this very limited step forward.

High Commissioner for Refugees

From October 1 to October 18, the Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee considered the annual report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In addition to stressing the need for continuing emergency aid to refugees under his mandate, the High Commissioner put forward proposals for a five-year programme designed to achieve permanent solutions for the problems of refugees for whom it has not yet been possible to arrange repatriation, resettlement in other countries or assimilation in present countries of residence. The High Commissioner estimated that his five-year programme would cost approximately \$12 million. In order to obtain the necessary funds, the High Commissioner requested the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds be authorized to seek voluntary contributions from Governments.

At the conclusion of the debate, the Third Committee adopted a resolution based on proposals put forward by the United States Delegation and co-sponsored by the Delegations of Australia, Belgium, Costa Rica, Ecuador, France, the Netherlands and Turkey. The main provisions of this resolution were:

- (a) The High Commissioner is authorized to undertake a programme designed to achieve permanent solutions within the period of his current mandate (up to December 1958).
- (b) The Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds is requested to seek voluntary contributions from governments of member and non-member states to a fund (the amount of which is to be determined by the High Commissioner's Advisory Committee at its next session) to be devoted principally to the promotion of permanent solutions and also to permit emergency assistance to the most needy cases among the refugees.
- (c) The Economic and Social Council is requested, not later than its 19th session and in the light of proposals to be submitted to it by the High Commissioner, to establish an executive body which would be responsible for giving directives to the High Commissioner in carrying out his programme and for exercising the necessary controls in the use of funds allotted to his office.
- (d) The High Commissioner is requested to prepare for presentation to this executive body details of proposals for projects designed to achieve permanent solutions, including plans for adequate financial contributions from sources within the countries of residence. In addition, governments concerned are requested, in negotiating agreements with the High Commissioner, to give assurance that they will assume full financial responsibility should any of the refugees within the scope of the programme still require assistance (other than emergency relief) after December, 1958.

Forty states, including Canada, voted in favour of this resolution; the five Soviet-bloc states voted against it. A number of Asian and Arab states abstained mainly on the grounds that the High Commissioner's programme was concerned with refugees of European origin only.



CANADIAN DELEGATION TO THE NINTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Representatives: L. B. Pearson, M.P., Secretary of State for External Affairs (Chairman of the Delegation); Paul Martin, M.P., Minister of National Health and Welfare (Vice-Chairman of the Delegation); Senator C. B. Howard, Sherbrooke, Quebec; D. M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York; G. D. Weaver, Member of Parliament for Churchill.

Alternate Representatives: L. Cardin, Member of Parliament for Richelieu-Vercheres; Mrs. K. G. Montgomery, who is prominent in community activities and public affairs in Edmonton, Alberta; Charles Stein, Q.C., Under Secretary of State; K. P. Kirkwood, Department of External Affairs; Stuart Hemsley, Department of External Affairs.

Parliamentary Observers: T. E. Ross, (Hamilton East); Andre Gauthier, (Lake St. John); A. R. Lusby, (Cumberland); D. R. Michener, (St. Paul's); A. B. Patterson, (Fraser Valley); C. Gillis, (Cape Breton South).

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- The Honourable T. C. Davis was appointed Canadian Ambassador to Japan, effective September 11, 1954.
- Mr. A. J. Andrew was posted from home leave (Vienna) to Ottawa, effective September 20, 1954.
- Mr. P. E. Morin was posted from home leave and sick leave (Rio de Janeiro) to Ottawa, effective September 22, 1954.
- Mr. G. F. Power was posted from home leave (Bonn) to Ottawa, effective September 27, 1954.
- Miss A. Ireland was posted from sick leave (New Delhi) to Ottawa, effective October 5, 1954.
- Mr. G. K. Grande was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Athens to home leave, Ottawa, effective October 7, 1954.
- Mr. G. E. Cox was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Vienna, effective October 11, 1954.
- Mr. T. L. Carter was posted from home leave (Warsaw) to Ottawa, effective October 27, 1954.
- Mr. H. G. Hampson was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective October 27, 1954.
- Mr. T. F. M. Newton was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective October 29, 1954.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

A SELECTED LIST*

(a) Printed Documents:

Information Annex II to Budget Estimates for the financial year 1955. A/2647/Add.1. New York, 1954. 37 pp. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 5A.

Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. A/2711. New York, 1954. 20 pp. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 15.

Annual Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East covering the period 1 July 1953 to 30 June 1954. A/2717. New York, 1954. 35 pp. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 17.

Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries—Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (Final Report by Mr. Raymond Scheyven, prepared in pursuance of G. A. resolution 724B (VIII)). A/2728. New-York, 1954. 22 pp. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 19.

Report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. A/2729. New York, 1954. 31 pp. G.A.O.R.: Ninth Session, Supplement No. 18.

Resolutions of the Fourteenth Session of the Trusteeship Council (2 June-16 July 1954). T/1183. New York, 1954. 45 pp. (bilingual). T.C.O.R.: Fourteenth Session, Supplement No. 1.

United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952: Special Report on the Ewe and Togoland Unification Problem. T/1105. New York, March 1954. 57 pp. T.C.O.R.: Eleventh Session (Second Part), Supplement No. 2.

Report on Togoland under United Kingdom Administration. T/1107. New York, March 1954. 46 pp. T.C.O.R.: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 2.

Report on Togoland under French Administration. T/1108. New York, March 1954. 35 pp. T.C.O.R.: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 3.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian sales agents for United Nations publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen Street West, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal, or from their sub-agents: Book Room Limited, Chronicle Building, Halifax; McGill University Book Store, Montreal; University of Toronto Press and Book Store, Toronto; University of British Columbia Book Store, Vancouver; University of Montreal Book Store, Montreal; and Les Presses Universitaires, Laval, Quebec. Certain mimeographed document series are available by annual subscription. Further information can be obtained from Sales and Circulation Section, United Nations, New York. UNESCO publications can be obtained from their sales agents: University of Toronto Press, Toronto, and Periodica Inc., 5112 avenue Papineau, Montreal. All publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", February 1954, p. 67.

Report on the Cameroons under United Kingdom Administration. T/1109. New York, March 1954. 39 pp. T.C.O.R.: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 4.

Report on the Cameroons under French Administration. T/1110. New York, March 1954. 36 pp. T.C.O.R.: Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 5.

International Court of Justice — Yearbook 1953-1954. 302 pp. Sales No. 125. (A. W. Sijthoff's Publishing Co., Leyden, 1954).

International Organization—Third Asian Regional Conference. Records of Proceedings, Tokio, September 1953. Geneva, 1954. 205 pp. \$3.00.

UNESCO

Final Act of the Inter-Governmental Conference on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, The Hague, 1954. 8C/PRG/4.An. 83 pp. (English, Spanish, French, Russian).

The University Teaching of Social Sciences: ECONOMICS. (Teaching in the

Social Sciences Series). Paris, July 1954. 300 pp. \$2.00.

Canada's Farm Radio Forum by John NICOL, Albert A. SHEA, G. J. P. SIMMINS, R. Alex SIM—editor. (Press, Film and Radio in the World Today Series) Paris, August 1954. 235 pp. \$2.50.

WHO—Proceedings and Reports Relating to International Quarantine (Supplement to Official Records No. 55: Seventh World Health Assembly). Annual Report of the Director-General on the International Sanitary Regulations. First Report of the Committee on International Quarantine. Relevant Proceedings of the Seventh WHA. Geneva, September 1954. 121 pp. \$1.00. Official Records of WHO. No. 56.

(b) Mimeographed Document:

Second Report on The Law of Treaties by H. Lauterpacht, Special Rapporteur. A/CN.4/87. 8 July 1954. 53 pp.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 54/41—Statement made on September 23, 1954, by the Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson.

No. 54/42—*Canada and the United Nations*, a speech by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, made at the Annual Convention of the United Steel Workers of America, at Atlantic City, September 22, 1954.

No. 54/43—*Disarmament*, the Canadian statement on disarmament, made by the Vice-Chairman of the Canadian Dele-

gation to the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the First Committee, October 13, 1954.

No. 54/44—*United Nations Day*, a statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, on United Nations Day, October 24, 1954.

The following serial number is available abroad only:

No. 54/45—*The Bank of Canada: The First Twenty Years*, an address by the Governor of the Bank of Canada, Mr. Graham Towers, to the Canadian Club, Montreal, October 18, 1954.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	Melbourne (83 William St.)
“.....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Austria.....	Minister (Absent).....	Vienna 1 (Strauchgasse 1)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
Belgian Congo.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (35, rue de la Science)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
“.....	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	High Commissioner.....	Colombo (6 Gregory's Rd., Cinnamon Garden)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Avenida General Bulnes 129)
Colombia.....	Ambassador.....	Bogota (Edificio Faux, Avenida Jimenez de Quesada No. 7-25)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (Avenida Menocal No. 16)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Krakowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Trondhjems Plads No. 4)
Dominican Republic.....	Ambassador (Absent).....	Ciudad Trujillo (Edificio Copello 910)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Calle El Conde)
Egypt.....	Ambassador.....	Cairo (6 Sharia Roustom Pacha Garden City)
Finland.....	Minister (Absent).....	Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken 3-C. 32)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris xvi (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Ambassador.....	Bonn (Zitellmann Strasse, 22)
“.....	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Perthshire Block, Headquarters (British Sector) B.A.O.R.2)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 avenue Vassilissis Sofias)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatemala City (28, 5a Avenida Sud)
Haiti.....	Ambassador (Absent).....	Port-au-Prince
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
“.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Indonesia.....	Ambassador.....	Djakarta (Djalan Budi Kemuliaan 6)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Israel.....	Ambassador (Absent).....	Tel Aviv (Farmers' Bld., Dizengoff Rd.)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Bldg.)
Japan.....	Ambassador.....	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku)
Lebanon.....	Ambassador (Absent).....	Beirut (Immeuble Alpha Rue Clemenceau)
	Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)

Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza, Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Ayala Bldg., Juan Luna St.)
Poland.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Kepa)
Portugal.....	Minister (Absent)..... Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Lisbon (Avenida da Praia da Vitoria)
Singapore.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room F-3, Union Building)
Spain.....	Ambassador.....	Madrid (Edificio Espana, Avenida de José Antonio 88)
Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvägen 7-C)
Switzerland.....	Ambassador.....	Berne (88 Kirchenfeldstrasse)
Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (Colonial Bldg.)
Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (Müdafaaı Hukuk Caddesi, No. 19, Cankaya)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (Suite 65, Kerry Bldg., 238 Vermeulen St.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Bldg.)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador.....	Moscow (23 Starokonyushenny Pereulok)
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	London (Canada House)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
“ “	Consul General.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
“ “	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
“ “	Consul and Trade Commis- sioner.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
“ “	Consul General.....	Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.)
“ “	Consul and Trade Commis- sioner.....	New Orleans (215 International Trade Mart)
“ “	Consul General.....	New York (620 Fifth Ave.)
“ “	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street)
“ “	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
“ “	Consul General.....	Seattle (Tower Bldg., Seventh Avenue at Olive Way)
Uruguay.....	Ambassador (Absent)..... Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Montevideo (Calle Colonia 1013, piso 7)
Venezuela.....	Ambassador.....	Caracas (2° Piso Edificio Pan-Ameri- can, Puente Urapal, Candelaria)
Yugoslavia.....	Ambassador.....	Belgrade (Proliterskih Brigada 69)
North Atlantic Council.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (Canadian Embassy)
*OEEC.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris xvi (c/o Canadian Embassy)
United Nations.....	Permanent Representative.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
“ “	Permanent Delegate..... Deputy Permanent Delegate	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

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Association of the German Federal Republic with the North Atlantic Community

(This article on the significance of the London and Paris Conferences follows the article which appeared in the last issue summarizing the Agreements resulting from these Conferences)

THE agreements signed in Paris on October 23 are a considerable diplomatic achievement, particularly in view of the doubts and dismay that prevailed when the European Defence Community Treaty was rejected by the French National Assembly on August 30. The Nine Powers that gathered in London only seven weeks later approached their task in the spirit that they could not afford to let the conference fail. In that spirit they were able, in five short days, to reach agreement in principle on a settlement providing for the association of the German Federal Republic with the West in a manner that would make possible a German defence contribution with adequate safeguards and would promote closer European unity within the framework of a developing Atlantic community. It is difficult to see how any better settlement could have been worked out at this time, given the inevitable conflict of national interests involved in issues of such importance. It is a settlement, moreover, which is firmly based on mutual confidence and non-discrimination and which, because it does not entail as great a measure of supranationalism as did the European Defence Community, is probably more in tune with public opinion in the countries concerned.

A Joint Effort

To this achievement all the participating countries contributed, but special mention should be made of the role played by the United Kingdom, which suggested the conference and made the preliminary soundings. Sir Anthony Eden's tireless skill as Chairman of the Nine-Power meetings, and his government's pledge to maintain troops on the European continent, were perhaps decisive factors. Other indispensable elements were the French agreement to German membership in NATO, the German Federal Republic's self-denying ordinance with respect to the manufacture of atomic, biological and chemical weapons and certain other heavy armaments, and the Franco-German agreement on the Saar, which is in a very important sense basic to the whole settlement.

Canada was represented at the Nine-Power Conferences in London and Paris and at the NATO Ministerial Meeting in Paris by the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Our general interest arose of course from Canada's membership in NATO and its stake in the collective defence arrangements of the West. NATO is one of the foundation stones of Canadian foreign policy

and it was felt that satisfactory solution to the problem of associating Germany with the West must involve measures which would be of concern to NATO as a whole. Canada also had a particular interest as a country maintaining sizable forces in Germany for the common defence.

The Canadian Delegation therefore had three main pre-occupations at these conferences. It sought to ensure that NATO was maintained and strengthened as the chief organ of Western collective defence, and that the new Western European Union would work as closely as possible with NATO. It urged that progress toward closer European unity be made within the wider framework of the Atlantic community. And it made efforts to see that all the NATO countries would have an opportunity to consider the conclusions reached by the Nine Powers. In addition, the Delegation lent what assistance it could in finding a solution acceptable to the European countries most directly concerned, providing it met the above-mentioned points.

Canadian Delegation's Aims Achieved

The Delegation's aims were in the main achieved. The Paris agreements explicitly state that the Western European Union will not attempt to duplicate the military structure of NATO. The year-by-year determination of force goals for all NATO countries will continue to be a function of the NATO Annual Review of member countries' defence programmes, and the maximum force levels set by the Brussels Treaty Powers will not be reviewed and need not interfere with the NATO Annual Review unless there is a conflict between them and the force goals proposed by NATO. The inspections to check on the forces and their equipment assigned to NATO are to be the responsibility of the NATO Supreme Commander, while the levels of armaments to be produced by the Western European Union countries in Europe will be based on the requirements for the forces approved by NATO. It should also be noted that the NATO machinery itself will be reinforced by measures designed to strengthen the central control of the NATO forces in Europe.

Canadian policy toward the arrangements worked out at the Nine-Power Conference in London was outlined in a statement given at that conference by the Secretary of State for External Affairs (the full text of which is given below). In that statement he reaffirmed the Canadian Government's resolve to discharge the continuing obligations arising out of Canada's membership in NATO and its support of the objective of European unity. He welcomed the proposed extension of the Brussels Treaty and looked forward to the closest possible co-operation between NATO and the new Western European Union. At the same time he emphasized that NATO would remain the focal point of Canada's participation in Western collective defence. To date that participation had included land and air forces stationed on the European continent and, as far as he could anticipate, that would continue to be the case.

The only important new commitment which these agreements involve for Canada is the extension of our NATO obligations to cover defence of the territory of the German Federal Republic. In practice, however, Western

Germany is already included in NATO defence plans because, under the existing terms of the Treaty, an armed attack on the occupation forces of three Western powers in Germany would be regarded as an attack on all the NATO Powers. It is for this reason that Canadian forces are stationed in the Federal Republic, and the admission of the Federal Republic to NATO is not expected to affect the disposition of these forces.

As already noted, the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe will exercise greater authority over the forces under his command, including the Canadian forces. He will have increased powers to organize and distribute the logistic support required by these forces and to call for reports and make field inspections regarding the level and effectiveness of the forces and their equipment. We have also agreed not to use our troops in Europe in peacetime without the Supreme Commander's consent, and have accepted the principle of the maximum degree of integration of the NATO forces consistent with military efficiency. However, these measures will probably make little difference to Canada in practice. The Canadian forces, and their logistic arrangements, are already highly integrated with the other NATO forces with which they serve in Europe, and it is most unlikely that these forces would ever have been used except in consultation with NATO.

Outstanding International Development

In many respects the conclusion of these agreements constituted the outstanding international development of 1954. One effect, and perhaps the most important, was to fill the critical void created in Western political and military planning by the failure of the EDC. The German Federal Republic is now to become a sovereign member of the Atlantic alliance and will make a contribution of some twelve divisions, 1350 aircraft and light naval forces to the common defence. At the same time membership in this association will involve limitations on its freedom of action, as it will on that of the other member countries. It is considered, however, that this association is based on a sufficiently substantial community of interest that it will prove of mutual benefit both to the Federal Republic and to the other member countries. Another effect of the success of the London and Paris meetings was to bring about a renewal of Western solidarity and unity of purpose at a time when they were severely shaken by the rejection of arrangements which had been the subject of complicated negotiations and prolonged debates in many parliaments of the Western world. In the third place, these agreements embody an armament control scheme in which, for the first time, sovereign states will be submitting their armed forces and armament production facilities to mutually agreed limitations administered in common. This scheme should not only help to build up the confidence of those who still fear a renewal of German aggression, but should also provide a practical model for any general plan for the limitation and control of armaments that may be devised under the United Nations. Finally, these agreements serve to underline the purely defensive nature of the Alliance, since they include solemn declarations by the Federal Republic on the one hand, never to have recourse to force to achieve the reunification

of Germany or the modification of its present boundaries, and by the Three Powers on the other hand, to take appropriate steps against any violation of this assurance.

The fate of these agreements now lies in the hands of the governments and peoples of the Atlantic community. The admission of the German Federal Republic to NATO and the establishment of the new Western European Union depend on ratification by all the countries concerned. However the spirit of amity and understanding which was evidenced at the London and Paris Conferences encourages the belief that these agreements will make possible both a new advance in the development of the Atlantic community and a notable strengthening of the security of free men everywhere. They offer a basis for reconciliation and enduring co-operation with a country against which Canada has fought in two world wars. They also provide a framework that will enable France, Germany and the United Kingdom to work together for the benefit of Europe as a whole, and that will further foster those bonds between the new Europe and North America without which our common heritage cannot successfully be defended.

Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, at the Nine-Power Conference in London on October 29, following statements by the Chairman, Sir Anthony Eden, and the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles

Your statement, Mr. Chairman, if I may say so, was one of historic importance. If it is thought, as it sometimes is, that the United Kingdom looks across the Channel more intensely in war than in peacetime, that feeling certainly must have been removed by your statement earlier this afternoon. To me it was all the more impressive because I recognize that the source of the power and glory of this island has been its vision across the seas.

The statement of Mr. Dulles was also important not only for the development of European unity, but for that larger Atlantic community development which we are all concerned. Indeed, as I see it, European unity cannot be effectively secured unless the lines not only across the Channel but also across the Atlantic are strong and unbroken. My country has a part to play in this Atlantic aspect of the problem. Therefore, we accept the continuing obligations arising out of our membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and we are resolved to continue to do our best to discharge them. The disappearance of EDC does not, we think, affect those obligations, because EDC—though we were indeed disappointed in its disappearance—as we saw it, was a means to an end and not an end in itself. We are here to find an alternative method to accomplish the same purpose. That alternative method, that alternative arrangement, must include the association of Germany not only with the defence of Europe and the West, but—and this is, I am sure, equally important—with the development of the Atlantic community; an association to be brought about in such a way that the fears that we have in-

herited from the unhappy past will be replaced by a new and better hope for the future.

So new methods are being discussed this week and new solutions are being sought. As far as we are concerned, however, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization remains the focal point of our participation in collective defence and of our hope for the development of closer co-operation with the other peoples of the Atlantic community. As such, it remains a foundation of Canadian foreign policy. Indeed, enduring and whole-hearted support for NATO is for us a policy above politics on which I think our friends can rely.

That support in defence matters is now worked out each year by consultation through the appropriate agencies of NATO. Apart from mutual aid, it now takes the form of naval forces, an infantry brigade group, and an air division of twelve jet fighter squadrons stationed in Europe. We will continue to assist in the common defence through the existing NATO procedures until better ones are agreed on. The presence of these Canadian forces on the European Continent is not only a measure of our military contribution to the common defence, but an evidence of our belief in the future of the North Atlantic community.

Extension of Brussels Treaty Welcomed

While we emphasize, then, our belief in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, we welcome the proposed extension of the Brussels Treaty. We shall look forward to a growing relationship within the framework of NATO to the Brussels Treaty countries, with whom we are bound by the close ties.

We are sure, and I hope our confidence will be realized—I know it will—that these new arrangements through the Brussels Treaty can be developed without weakening or diminishing NATO in any way in its essential functions, because NATO, with Germany associated with it under agreed arrangements, should, we think, be a stronger force than ever against war, and for the progressive development of the Atlantic community.

We are also certain, Mr. Chairman, that in this development the United States, which has played such a magnificent, generous and indeed essential part, will continue to be able to do so. Mr. Dulles has given us hope in that regard this afternoon.

We Canadians, being neighbours of the United States, know as well as anybody else that that country does not fail to accept and to meet successfully any great international challenge which faces it. We are certain that in the days ahead it will continue to meet the challenge of assisting in the development of European unity and the Atlantic community—and the two go together.

The work, then, which we are doing this week must, in order to succeed, make possible the continued contribution of the United States to these great objectives. If that is done, and I know it is going to be done, it will also, I assure you, make it much easier for my own country to continue to do its share.

Slavonic Studies in Canadian Universities

By DR. J. ST. CLAIR-SOBELL

Department of Slavonic Studies, University of British Columbia

THERE is not much point in comparing Slavonic Studies today in Canada—or for that matter in the United States—with the developments in this sphere in the Old World. Slavonic Studies in the United States are a century younger than they are in Europe, and in Canada we can speak of notable development in this sphere only during the last decade—since the end of World War II. The reasons for the growing importance attached to this field of investigation and study are varied, but to most people no doubt the great political strength of the U.S.S.R. and the Slav countries under the direct influence of the Russians is the most important one. It is also worthwhile keeping in mind the cumulative effect of some two centuries of growing political prestige of the Tsarist empire, and the remarkable cultural development in the field of literature, music, the theatre, and the fine arts, which took place in nineteenth century Russia, not to mention the other Slav countries. There is also the factor of the not inconsiderable Slavonic immigration element which has blended with the Canadian population. Perhaps foremost, however, is the very practical consideration that in the world of today it is vitally necessary for young Canadians to learn more about a great group of peoples who, either directly or indirectly, have position and authority in the destinies of nearly half of the population of the world.

Pre-War Studies

Though Slavonic Studies in Canadian universities have become an integrated part of normal academic programmes only in the last ten years, it would be misleading to give the impression that work in this field was not done in Canada before the last war. One has only to recall the achievements of such pioneers as the late economist and political scientist, Professor James Mavor of Toronto University, to whom we owe the valuable study "An Economic History of Russia", or of Dr. Watson Kirkconnell, now President of Acadia University, whose skill as a poet has enabled him to become a gifted interpreter of Slav verse, not to mention his numerous translations from other languages, especially Hungarian. Professor George Simpson of Saskatchewan has long been a leading figure in historical studies, particularly in the Ukrainian field; this scholar's pioneer work has been a great stimulus of Slavonic Studies as a whole in Canada and his scholarly interest and devotion to the Ukrainian people is widely admired. Professor William J. Rose, now of the University of British Columbia, is a Canadian scholar of Polish literature, culture and civilization who before 1939 enjoyed a reputation second to none in this field. At the University of Saskatchewan Professor C. H. Andrusyshen, Chairman of the Department of Slavonic Studies, has devoted many years of painstaking work to the preparation of a large modern Ukrainian-English dictionary. This ambitious project has been supported financially by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation.

Unlike the U.S.A., Canadian educational institutions offered little in the Slavonic languages before World War II and indeed there were not many courses dealing with the history, institutions and peoples of Eastern Europe in our universities.

The extension of linguistic, historical, cultural and economic studies to Eastern Europe has not been an altogether easy matter in Canada, where the traditional arena of study has been that of the area of Graeco-Roman civilization as continued in the countries of Western Europe. The traditional language disciplines in our schools and universities have been: French, Latin and to a lesser extent German, though by the last war Spanish was making some headway, particularly in Eastern Canada, and is even taught sporadically in the schools. Russian and the other Slavonic languages were not taught even in the universities; the only Slavonic language at all cultivated in formal school education was Ukrainian, and this was done not with a view to using the language for scientific or scholarly purposes, but rather as an expression of the desire of the large Ukrainian ethnic group which had immigrated into Canada to maintain ties with this original culture and tradition.

Development Impressive

Since 1945, however, development in Slavonic and Eastern European studies if looked at on a relative scale has been as impressive as in the U.S.A. Immediately after the war many Canadian universities decided to add courses on the Russian language to their curriculum and in some places Polish and Ukrainian as well. Side by side with this traditional discipline (language and literature) has come the addition of what in Britain are known as Regional, in the U.S.A. as, Area Studies: full-dress courses dealing with history, geography, economics and social and political institutions.

The development of courses in East European studies in Canada, though it has been fairly general since the end of World War II, has differed somewhat in emphasis and concentration from place to place. This is understandable when one considers the diversity of population groups and interests in so vast a country. The third largest ethnic group in Canada, that is after the two chief groupings of the Anglo-Saxon and the French-speaking Canadians, is the Slavic-Ukrainian group of the population. These Canadian citizens of Slavic origin constitute upwards of half a million out of a total population of about 15 million. This figure would be misleading without reference to the geographical concentration of our Ukrainian fellow citizens. Though their numbers east of the Great Lakes are growing fast, they still live chiefly in the Prairie Provinces, where in some areas they constitute a high percentage of the population. Thus, it is not surprising that the Universities of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta have instituted a noteworthy amount of study to Ukrainian language, literature and history, whereas the University of British Columbia, situated at the gateway to the Pacific, has concentrated more particularly on the study of Russia, the Soviet Far East and, of course, the Russian language.

In Eastern Canada a similar pattern of growth in Eastern European studies can be seen. The University of Toronto established a Department of Slavonic

Studies shortly after the end of World War II. Here, a series of Area Study courses was introduced, the main fields of interest being history, geography and social institutions of Eastern Europe and Russia in particular. This development was paralleled by a series of courses on the Russian language. In Toronto, there is an extensive evening study programme sponsored by the University, giving instruction in Serbo-Croat, Ukrainian, Czech and Slovak. At McGill important work is done at both undergraduate and higher levels in Slavonic history and geography, in part by European scholars; while the Université de Montréal has a growing *Centre d'Études slaves*, designed for French-speaking Canadians, as well (it should be added) as for recent arrivals from Europe. This work is shared with the University of Ottawa, and will serve useful ends at least as long as men and women immigrants continue to come who are desirous of completing studies begun elsewhere. These Departments have the financial backing of the Paderewski Foundation.

The teaching of Russian has for years been carried on in Dalhousie by Professor Kent Griffin of the Classics Department, and in the University of Western Ontario by Mr. Leonid Ignatiev.

As for the Prairie Provinces, some courses in Slavonic Studies (chiefly Russian and Ukrainian) have been going on in Saskatchewan and Alberta even before 1945, and the volume is growing. In the University of Manitoba a bold step was taken after the war when Dr. J. R. Rudnyckyj was brought from Europe to initiate Slavonic Studies there. He has had a part-time assistant in language and literature, as well as help in the History of Eastern Europe from a young Canadian scholar, Paul Yzyk. One feature of Dr. Rudnyckyj's work has been the publishing of a series of brochures on various subjects of Canadian Slavica, in which (as in the teaching programme) he has been helped financially by the Ukrainian Business and Professional Men's Club of Winnipeg and by the Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Rockefeller Grant

The Universities of British Columbia and Toronto have been exceptionally fortunate in the development of their departments of Slavonic Studies. In 1949, the Rockefeller Foundation of New York made a grant of the sum of \$180,000 which was divided equally between these two institutions. This generous grant was to cover a period of five years in which the two universities were to build up and expand their offerings in the Slavonic field. The action of this great educational and philanthropic foundation has been a stimulus to similar generosity in at least one of our own Canadian communities. For example: the University of British Columbia recently received useful help in the form of prizes, bursaries and scholarships both for graduate and undergraduate students from one of B.C.'s leading industrialists, Mr. Walter C. Koerner, President of Alaska Pine and Cellulose Company. This endowment amounts to \$3,000 annually. The Library of the University of British Columbia also received from the same donor a gift of \$5,000 for a special Slavonic collection. Furthermore the Canadian National Ukrainian Committee, and Polish societies have donated valuable help in the form of book collections, files of foreign newspapers and journals and also often funds for special projects. At the time of writing news has been received that the Rockefeller Foundation has granted an additional

\$10,000 to the Department of Slavonic Studies at the University of British Columbia for the year 1954-55.

Response from Students

The response from the student side to these new ventures in academic studies has been good, though not as great in some provinces as in others. The acid test is, of course, how many students elect Slavonic courses (language, literature, history, geography, institutions) for serious study over at least one full year. In the University of British Columbia the results obtained have been gratifying, not less than four hundred "elections" of this kind being made every year. Of these a substantial per cent do serious work in languages (chiefly Russian), and a number of honours graduates have gone on to do higher studies elsewhere. On this account the writer feels justified in setting down rather more in detail what is going on.

During the last nine years the University of British Columbia has added to the curriculum of the Faculty of Arts eleven courses on Area Studies of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Some of these subjects are: The Cultural History of the Slavonic Peoples; Central Europe; The Economic History and Geography of the U.S.S.R.; Slavonic Literature in translation; The Peoples of the U.S.S.R.; The Theory of the Soviet State; The Structure and Organization of Soviet Planning. Such Area Study courses are designed to familiarize more Canadian students with the general background of the nations of Eastern Europe, and of course they lay heavy stress on the U.S.S.R. Basic to this, however, the Department of Slavonic Studies, consisting today of a staff of eleven full-time teachers, offers up to six years of instruction in the Russian language—including the M.A. degree—and four years of instruction in the Polish language. But the field of Comparative Philology and Linguistics is not neglected. Students *specializing* in Slavonic studies, as opposed to those who are taking courses as electives in a general Arts degree course, may and indeed must, study on a comparative basis several other Slavonic languages. There is a seminar extending over two years on comparative Slavonic linguistics which provides a theoretical reading knowledge of Czech, Slovak, Ukrainian, Serbo-Croat and Slovene.

National Interest Served

All this may seem a little ambitious, and one might perhaps ask: how is the national interest of Canada served by such developments? There is little doubt that it is well served. Canadians are increasingly conscious of the part their country is playing in international affairs and the position it occupies in the comity of nations; and with this conviction comes a recognition of the need for Canadians to broaden the sphere of their interests and knowledge. It is refreshing to encounter this, as one does constantly, in our university life. Moreover, most Canadian students are happily free from undesirable pre-conceptions about other peoples, and possess a healthy willingness to find out all they can about their neighbours. When it comes to the more specific question of demand for young people possessing a sound knowledge of Eastern Europe and principally the Soviet Union, the requirements have not been great, but they are already increasing, and the fact remains that at present the demand is higher than the supply of suitably qualified persons.

Canada and the United Nations

On Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

On December 8, 1953, in a memorable speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations, President Eisenhower proposed that the governments principally involved, to the extent permitted by elementary prudence, should begin now and continue to make joint contributions from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an international atomic energy agency. President Eisenhower added, "We would expect that such an agency would be set up under the aegis of the United Nations". He pointed out that undoubtedly initial and early contributions to this plan would be small in quantity, however the proposal had the great virtue that it could be undertaken without the irritations and mutual suspicions incident to any attempt to set up a completely acceptable system of worldwide inspection and control. President Eisenhower said that the United States would be more than willing—it would be proud to take up with others "principally involved" the development of plans whereby such peaceful uses of atomic energy would be expedited. "Of those principally involved the Soviet Union must of course be one."

As President Eisenhower had made his proposals to the General Assembly of the United Nations, it was to be expected that at the session held this autumn the United States would wish to have them considered by the Assembly. Accordingly last September 23, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., the Chairman of the United States Delegation to the General Assembly, requested that an item entitled "International co-operation in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy: Report of the United States of America" to be added to the agenda of the General Assembly as an important and urgent question.

Canadian Approval

Inaugurating the general debate in the Assembly on the same day, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson signified Canadian approval in the following words:

Canada, like the United States and other free countries principally involved with atomic energy matters, believes that even in the absence, the regrettable absence of Soviet participation, an international atomic energy agency along the lines proposed by President Eisenhower could usefully be formed by the nations willing to subscribe to its aims and support its activities. My country is in a position to make a useful contribution to this work—the work of such an agency and will be glad to do so.

Mr. Dulles, the United States Secretary of State, confirmed that in spite of general world approval of President Eisenhower's proposals the private negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the proposals had been fruitless. A note delivered to his government on the preceding day however, had indicated Soviet willingness to continue discussion on this subject. Mr. Dulles said that the United States was still ready to negotiate with the U.S.S.R. but would no longer allow these negotiations to delay the establishment of an international atomic energy agency.



—United Nations

UNANIMOUS APPROVAL OF UNITED STATES "ATOMS FOR PEACE" PLAN

The Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly gave unanimous approval to the United States "atoms for peace" plan on November 23. A partial view of the conference room is shown above, with Mr. David M. Johnson, the Permanent Canadian Delegate voting for Canada.

The Soviet Representative, Mr. Vyshinsky, denied that the Soviet Union had refused to co-operate and associated his delegation in the unanimous support for the inclusion of the item on the agenda.

On November 4 Mr. Lodge opened detailed discussion by reporting further on the efforts of the United States to explore and to develop the vast possibilities for the peaceful use of atomic energy. He said that these efforts had been and would continue to be directed toward the early creation of an international agency; the calling of an international scientific conference to meet in 1955 under the auspices of the United Nations; and the establishment of training facilities in the United States where students from abroad might learn the working principles of atomic energy with specific regard to its peace-time uses.

Mr. Paul Martin speaking for Canada in the debate, said:

International co-operation in this field without the Soviet Union would be a second best solution. But I do not see how the Soviet Union or anyone else can expect those of us who are now ready to co-operate internationally under the aegis of the United Nations to delay doing so indefinitely . . . It seems to my Government that the most immediate need is for information and training to spread the technology required for the application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes on a wide scale . . . In this connection, I may say that Canada would be a potential source not only of information but of raw material and fissile material.

Our aim, in short, is to see established a specialized agency of the United Nations which would initially promote the various objectives I have enumerated, which would help to meet the first requirements of more information and more

training in this field, and which would facilitate countries participating to set up their own research reactors . . .

When it had seemed that Soviet participation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy would not be forthcoming, the United States had consulted with Canada, Australia, Belgium, France, Portugal, South Africa and the United Kingdom, which were the countries possessing raw materials or technical knowledge of atomic energy and were developing this force for peaceful purposes. With the exception of Portugal, which is not a member of the United Nations, these countries joined in co-sponsoring a seven-power resolution, which expressed the hope that the International Atomic Energy Agency would be established without delay and suggested that once the agency was established it should negotiate an appropriate form of agreement with the United Nations. The resolution also provided for the holding of an international conference of nuclear and related scientists in the summer of 1955, the arrangements for the conference to be made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, acting on the advice of a small advisory committee composed of representatives of France, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Brazil, India and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union did not join in sponsoring this resolution, and a number of other countries had reservations about the manner in which the complicated programme was being advanced. Nevertheless they co-operated in a unanimous vote in favour of the resolution; thus indicating the complete agreement in the Assembly that advantages for economic and social welfare could result from an appropriate implementation of President Eisenhower's welcome suggestions. Although most delegations agreed with Mr. Lodge that this was "an historic moment", many of them cautioned against undue optimism in the face of the formidable problems which remain to be solved before the full potentialities of the scheme can be realized.

The Question of Defining Aggression

The question of defining aggression first came before the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 17, 1950, and was referred to the International Law Commission. The work of the Commission was studied, along with a report of the Sixth Committee, by the General Assembly at its seventh session in 1952. By resolution 688, the General Assembly decided that a definition of aggression was both desirable and possible; and a special committee of fifteen members was set up to study the question further and to submit a draft definition of aggression to the ninth session of the General Assembly.

The Special Committee met between August 24 and September 21, 1953, and prepared a report which was discussed in the Sixth Committee of the current ninth session of the General Assembly. The report included a study of the two main types of definitions (general and detailed) and of the different modes of aggression, including indirect.

It was apparent at the outset of the debate in the Sixth Committee that there was a wide area of disagreement among delegates about the desirability of defining aggression at all and about the type of definition that should be adopted. It was also evident that there was no unanimity on the kind of aggression which should be included in the definition. Some delegates thought it should be restricted to armed aggression while others wished to see the notion of indirect aggression also included in the definition.

Mr. Charles Stein, the Canadian Representative in the Sixth Committee, expressed Canada's position in these words:

We believe that the question of possibility cannot but be considered in relation to the usefulness of a definition. We are still doubtful whether any definition could really be helpful to the competent agencies of the U.N. . . . indeed some definitions might well constitute an obstacle to them . . . We feel, in fact, that any definition would fail to achieve its proper purpose unless it safeguarded the present broad discretion of the Security Council and the General Assembly to assess and decide upon all the factual elements of the case.

As to the scope of the definition, the Canadian Representative was opposed to branding automatically certain acts as aggression. In conclusion, Mr. Stein added that Canada "is not opposed to a definition which would appear likely to be agreed upon by the General Assembly and the Security Council, including the permanent members of the Council, which would not be at variance with the existing scheme of the Charter and which would meet the other texts (I have) outlined".

After nearly five weeks of discussion, the Sixth Committee on November 9, by a vote of 33 in favour and 3 against with 14 abstentions, including Canada, approved a resolution to set up a second special committee, which is directed to meet in 1956 and to submit to the eleventh session of the General Assembly "a detailed report followed by a draft definition of aggression having regard to the ideas expressed at the ninth session of the General Assembly and to the draft resolutions and amendments submitted". An earlier proposal to set up a working group was rejected by 19 votes in favour and 22 against.

Admission of New Members

The agenda item on Admission of New Members at the ninth session was discussed in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. Although a number of proposals were considered and two resolutions eventually were adopted by the Committee, little progress in breaking the deadlock on new members was achieved.

Responsibility for recommending admissions of new members rests with the Security Council. The continuing failure of the Council to approve any of the twenty-one outstanding applications has resulted in the General Assembly becoming increasingly concerned with the problem. At its eighth session, the General Assembly established a three-member Committee of Good Offices to consult with members of the Security Council and report to the General Assembly. The Committee, consisting of representatives of Peru, Egypt and the Netherlands, was forced to report to the ninth session that it had been unable to obtain from members of the Security Council any indications of changes of attitude on their part on outstanding applications.

In addition to considering the report of the Committee of Good Offices when it began its deliberations on the new members question, the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee had before it a draft resolution sponsored by Australia suggesting that the Security Council should give renewed consideration to the applications of Laos and Cambodia in view of the favourable references to recognition of their sovereignty and independence made in the final declaration of the Geneva Conference.

The Canadian Representative in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, Mr. G. D. Weaver, M.P., spoke in the general debate on November 5. He said it was obvious that little progress towards a solution of the new members problem had been made since the eighth session.

The situation still remains that fourteen states* whose admission is overwhelmingly supported by the General Assembly and by the Security Council are kept out by the veto of one member of the Security Council. A further seven applicants** have been unable to obtain the seven supporting votes in the Security Council necessary for a positive recommendation to the General Assembly. Until some solution has been found and deserving applicants have been admitted, we cannot claim that the United Nations is in a position to speak for the world as a whole and to exercise its functions as it should. The Canadian Delegation considers it a matter of great importance that some means should be found to solve this problem, and that all of those states which are eligible for admission under the provisions of the Charter should be added to our councils as soon as possible.

Mr. Weaver paid tribute to the efforts of the Committee of Good Offices and said the Canadian Delegation favoured its being continued "to be ready to take immediate advantage of any new development which might make a solution possible". Mr. Weaver said that the Canadian Delegation would give its "wholehearted support" to the Australian resolution.

Action by Security Council Recommended

A number of draft resolutions recommending action by the Security Council were considered in the Committee. The Representative of India and the Representatives of Argentina, Cuba and El Salvador agreed to combine in one resolution draft proposals which they had submitted separately. Their combined resolution eventually was adopted unanimously in the *Ad Hoc* Committee. It expressed appreciation of the work of the Committee of Good Offices and requested continuation of its efforts; referred all pending applications to the Security Council "together with a full record of the discussions in the present session of the General Assembly for further consideration and positive recommendations"; suggested that the Security Council should meet to consider the problem and requested both the Council and the Committee of Good Offices "to report to the General Assembly during the present session if possible and in any event during the tenth regular session".

Adoption of the resolution sponsored by India, Argentina, Cuba and El Salvador left four other resolutions before the Committee — the Australian resolution; a resolution sponsored by Argentina, Cuba and El Salvador proposing support for all non-communist applicants except South Korea and Viet Nam; a United States proposal recommending support for non-communist applicants including South Korea and Viet Nam, and a familiar Soviet bloc fourteen-power "package" proposal. The Soviet bloc proposal had been rejected at earlier sessions because of its exclusion of Japan and general weighting in favour of the communist countries. The four resolutions eventually were disposed of in the *Ad Hoc* Committee by adoption of a resolution proposed by

* Portugal, Jordan, Ireland, Italy, Austria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, South Korea, Libya, Japan, Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

** Albania, Mongolia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, North Korea and Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

India and Indonesia which referred them en masse to the Security Council without consideration of their merits. The Canadian Delegation abstained on the Indian-Indonesian resolution.

In plenary session, on November 23, the resolution sponsored by Argentina, Cuba, El Salvador and India was adopted unanimously. When the Indian-Indonesian resolution came before the plenary session, the Representative of India proposed that it should not be put to a vote since a divided vote would spoil the unanimity shown by the Assembly with respect to the other resolution. No delegation had any objection to this proposal, and it was therefore unanimously agreed without a vote to take no action on the second resolution.

Reorganization of the United Nations Secretariat

In August of this year the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Hammarskjöld, announced that his Secretariat reorganization plan was complete. In October he placed his report on the subject before the Fifth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly with the recommendation that the plan be implemented on January 1, 1955.

In his report the Secretary-General explained that the reorganization was designed to increase the efficiency and reduce the cost of the Secretariat. Changes and reductions had been effected or were proposed for the lower levels of all departments of the Secretariat. The most significant changes, however, were proposed for the top-level positions in the Secretariat. Four offices, three of them new, were to be set up within the office of the Secretary-General, bearing the titles of Executive Assistant, Legal Counsellor, Controller and Director of Personnel. In addition, seven under-secretaries' offices were to be established, five of which would be responsible for specific departments and two of which would be given a general mandate. On the same level, a director in charge of the Department of Conference Services and a Director-General of the Technical Assistance Administration were to be appointed. The plan also proposed the appointment of deputy under-secretaries in departments where the volume of work merited the services of two senior officials. In all, the Secretary-General requested authorization for fifteen senior posts.

Compromise Proposed

The debate in the Fifth Committee was prolonged by differences of opinion on the numbers of and reimbursement proposed for the senior posts in the Secretariat. The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions considered that the number of senior posts proposed would make the Secretariat organization topheavy. Agreement was reached when the Secretary-General proposed a compromise providing for immediate authorization of thirteen senior posts and the authority, subject to the concurrence of the Administrative and Budgetary Committee, to recruit at a later date two additional deputy under-secretaries should the need of their services become evident.

Mr. Hammarskjöld proposed that senior officials be paid a basic salary of \$12,500 net, with fixed allowances of \$3,500, and he requested that he be given authority to grant an additional allowance of up to \$6,000 per annum to

(Continued on page 376)

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. E. D. McGreer, former Canadian Minister to Denmark, was posted to home leave, effective October 1954.
- Mr. S. M. Scott was appointed High Commissioner for Canada to Pakistan, effective November 1, 1954. Mr. Scott left Ottawa for Karachi October 27, 1954.
- Mr. J. B. Seaborn was posted from the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, to home leave, effective October 29, 1954.
- Mr. J. D. Foote was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, effective November 5, 1954.
- Mr. E. R. Bellemare was posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York, to the Canadian Embassy, Port-au-Prince, effective November 12, 1954.
- Mr. K. P. Kirkwood was appointed Canadian Ambassador to Egypt and Canadian Minister to Lebanon, effective November 1, 1954. Mr. Kirkwood left Ottawa for Cairo, November 17, 1954.
- Mr. A. C. E. Joly de Lotbiniere was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, effective November 18, 1954.
- Miss H. D. Burwash was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Permanent Delegation to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective November 23, 1954.
- Mr. P. V. Lyon was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective November 29, 1954.
- Mr. H. F. B. Feaver was appointed Canadian Minister to Denmark, effective November 1, 1954. Mr. Feaver left Ottawa November 26, 1954.
- Mr. M. Shenstone was posted from the Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, Shemlan to the Canadian Legation, Beirut, effective November 30, 1954.



ROBERT MORRISON LITHGOW

1924 - 1954

"Bob Lithgow was here in Rio for a year before he died suddenly last month of polio. It was his first post and he applied himself with untiring diligence to the many duties which are the lot of a Third Secretary in our smaller missions. He soon demonstrated qualities which with his fine mind would, I am sure, have led him to important offices in our service.

"He was thirty when he died, his career over before it had scarcely begun but he served Canada well and was a credit to his people for the brief period permitted him. We liked him and respected him, and we miss him greatly."

SYDNEY D. PIERCE
Canadian Ambassador to Brazil



CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

- Treaty Series* 1948, No. 36:—Index to Treaty Series, 1948. English text. (Price: 25 cents).
- Treaty Series* 1949, No. 28:—Index to Treaty Series, 1949. English text. (Price: 25 cents).
- Treaty Series* 1950, No. 22:—Index to Treaty Series, 1950. English text. (Price: 25 cents)
- Treaty Series* 1951, No. 17:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and France constituting an agreement for the settlement of Canada's claim in respect of military relief and the claim of France in respect of French vessels requisitioned by Canada during the war. Signed at Ottawa, June 26 and July 4, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 30:—Agreement between the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, India and Pakistan, and the Government of the French Republic regarding British Commonwealth war graves in French territory. Signed at Paris, October 31, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 3:—Exchange of Notes giving effect to the Convention between His Majesty and the Federal President of the Republic of Austria regarding legal proceedings in civil and commercial matters signed at London March 31, 1931, as between Canada and Austria. Signed at Vienna, January 18, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 19:—Supplementary Agreement to revise Article II of the agreement annexed to the Final Act of the Commonwealth-United States Telecommunications Meeting, signed at London on 12th August, 1949. Signed at London October 1, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 21:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Italy constituting an agreement for the settlement of certain Canadian war claims and the release of Italian assets in Canada. Signed at Ottawa, September 20, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 23:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Ceylon constituting an agreement giving effect to the statement of principles agreed between the two countries for co-operative economic development of Ceylon. Signed at Colombo, July 3 and 11, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 24:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and Egypt constituting an agreement for the exchange of most-favoured treatment to regulate and facilitate trade between the two countries. Signed at Ottawa, November 26 and December 3, 1952. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

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Treaty Series 1953, No. 6:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United Kingdom constituting an agreement extending the Double Taxation Agreement of June 5, 1946, with respect to Income Tax to Southern Rhodesia. Signed at Ottawa, February 27 and April 9, 1953. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1953, No. 9:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and India constituting an agreement regarding the inspection of supplies and equipment purchased in Canada by India. Signed at Ottawa, June 5 and 12, 1953. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1953, No. 10:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United Kingdom constituting an agreement extending the Double Taxation Agreement of June 5, 1946, with respect to Income Tax to the Colony of Dominica. Signed at Ottawa, June 30 and July 21, 1953. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1953, No. 14:—Convention between Canada and the United States of America for the Preservation of the Halibut Fishery of the Northern Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea. Signed at Ottawa, March 2, 1953. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1953, No. 16:—International Plant Protection Convention. Signed at Rome, December 6, 1951. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1953, No. 18:—Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America constituting an agreement for the establishment of a joint Canada-United States committee on trade and economic affairs. Signed at Washington, November 12, 1953. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1953, No. 22:—Financial Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Kingdom. Signed at Ottawa, August 13, 1953. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1954, No. 2:—Agreement between the Government of the Kingdom of Denmark and the Governments of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa regarding the war graves and memorials of the British Commonwealth in Danish territory. Signed at Copenhagen, February 22, 1954. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1954, No. 3:—Agreement on Commerce between Canada and Japan. Signed at Ottawa, March 31, 1954. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1954, No. 4:—Agreement for facilitating the international circulation of visual and auditory materials of an educational, scientific and cultural character. Signed at Lake Success, December 17, 1948. English and French texts. (Price: 25 cents).

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

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each senior official, depending upon his responsibilities. The Advisory Committee agreed with the basic salary and the fixed allowances but wished to limit the additional allowances to a maximum of \$4,000 per annum with a limitation of \$35,000 for expenditures of this kind. The United States representative, while agreeing with the basic salary, proposed that the fixed allowances be graduated from \$1,000 to \$3,000 and that additional allowances be paid from a hospitality fund totalling not more than \$40,000 per annum. The Canadian Delegation supported the recommendations of the Advisory Committee. After a lengthy debate a compromise was reached which granted the basic salary and fixed allowances proposed by the Secretary-General but limited additional allowances to a maximum of \$4,000 per annum per official and \$50,000 per annum in toto.

On November 15 the Fifth Committee unanimously adopted a joint resolution co-sponsored by Argentina, India, Lebanon and Yugoslavia expressing general approval of the measures adopted by the Secretary-General concerning the reorganization of the Headquarters Secretariat and invited him, in proceeding with the implementation of his proposals, to take into account the comments contained in the report of the Advisory Committee and the observations and suggestions made during the debate in the Fifth Committee.

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